Mughal Empire in India

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1971

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Agra

PDF created by Rajesh Gambhava - Gujarat

First Edition 1934
Revised Edition 1940
Reprint Edition 1945
Reprint Edition 1947
Revised Edition 1966
Reprint Edition 1971

Published by Lakshmi Narain Agarwal, Hospital Road, Agra-3, and
Printed by Mahendra Jain, Jainsons Printers, M. G. Road, Agra-2

PREFACE

The first edition of this book was published in 1934. Since literature on the subject is already very vast, as well as fast growing, it may not be out of place to mention here the salient features of the present work. I cannot do this better than by summarizing the observations of some of those who were kind enough to assess the first edition of this book.

Rev. H. Heras, S. J., while commending it, observed, "This text-book is a real source of high and systematic knowledge. The intelligent use of this text-book will introduce the student to the genuine historical method." Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai found "the principal merit" of the work in "the skilful piecing together of all available matter and weaving it into a connected account." C.S.S. in the *Journal of Indian History*, wrote, "The effort to make the student acquainted with the sources is perhaps the most distinct contribution of this book." While my reviewer in the *Islamic Culture* credited me with having treated my subject with "enlightened sympathy" and with having tapped "practically all the historical sources available to him in English," I cannot claim to have done anything more.

As the book is the outcome of a real need felt by me, while teaching the subject, I have spared no pains to boil down the bewildering mass of material for the benefit of he more earnest students. At the same time care has been taken to represent all points of view on controversial topics, helping the reader to draw his own conclusions. In the words of Sir Oliver Lodge, I have acted on the motto "to know anything thoroughly, nothing accessible must be excluded," with what result, it is for my impartial critics to judge.

My indebtedness to authors and works cited throughout the book is greater than I can specifically recount in this short Preface. The detailed references in the footnotes are intended to be guides to deeper study no less than acknowledgments of my sources.

—*S. R. Sharma*

Introduction

"No study has so potent an influence in forming a nation's mind and a nation's character as a critical and careful study of its past history. And it is by such study alone that an unreasoning and superstitious worship of the past is replaced by a legitimate and manly admiration."

—R. C. DUTT

THE period of nearly two and half centuries that forms the subject of this study is one of the most brilliant epochs in Indian History. In 1526, Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, by his victory over Ibrahim Lodi in the first battle of Panipat, ushered in a new era in India and a new dynasty on the throne of Delhi, as Henry VII had done in England after his triumph on the field of Bosworth only forty years earlier (1485). The Age of the Mughals in India was memorable in many ways as of the Tudors in England. The first task of the two aventurers, Henry in England and Babur in India, was not dissimilar : both had to make themselves secure on their newly won thrones ; both had to contend against champions, either legitimate or pretentious, of the disestablished powers ; both, in brief, aimed at the establishment of a strong but benevolent monarchy, each in a country newly made his own. If Henry Tudor sought to win the hearts of his subjects and bridge the gulf between two principal factions within England by means of his marriage with Elizabeth of York, likewise did a monarch of the Mughal dynasty, Akbar, marry a Rajput princess to bring about rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims in India. For a king who sought to make himself absolute in every way in England, it was felt necessary that he should be supreme over Church and State, and hence Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy were passed. Akbar aimed at the same objective, but did not seek to impose his royal will with the blood-stained hand of persecution. 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' he thought, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves and at variance one with the other. We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be *one* and *all*, with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire.'[1]

These parallels, striking as they are, may not be pressed too closely. In the first place, there was an essential difference in detail in the two peoples and countries. Secondly, the comparison or contrast is not always between two individuals and exactly contemporaneous monarchs, but primarily between the general circumstances and achievements of two

1 Bartoll, cited by V. A. Smith in *Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 211-12.

dynasties and countries. Yet few can read of Akbar and Elizabeth, or even of Jahangir and James I, without being strongly reminded of certain resemblances or dissimilarities. The death of Elizabeth (1603) in England, and Akbar (1605) in India, placed on their respective thrones successors who had much in common in their personal composition ; both James and Jahangir were notorious for the mixture of opposite elements in their character. The contemporary of 'the wisest fool in Christendom,' who was 'laborious over trifles and a trifler where serious labour was required,' is thus described by V. A. Smith : Jahangir "was a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness."[1] The generation after the death of each of these witnessed a civil war in both countries ; though in one it was merely a fratricidal struggle for the throne, and in another a war of liberation against the tyranny of the crown. In both countries there was no longer benevolence left about the monarchy, but only despotism. The puritanical Aurangzib and the puritanical Cromwell, despite essential differences, had many a stern trait in common that evoked natural revulsion and reaction in each case. The later Stuarts, like the later Mughals, were but inglorious representatives of their respective houses. Here the parallels diverge, perhaps to meet again in our present struggle for political liberation, which is but an enlarged edition of England's own example copied in India with local adaptations.

In 1688, when by her Glorious Revolution, England was on the sure road to complete political emancipation, Aurangzib was busy digging his own grave in the Deccan ; and from the death of Aurangzib (1707) to the extinction of his Empire was not a far cry. "As some imperial corpse," writes Lane-Poole, "preserved for ages in its dread seclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls to dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the Empire of the Mughal when the great name that guarded it was no more."[2] In 1707 also England and Scotland came close to each other, and produced two-thirds of the Union Jack (the symbol of Britain's Imperial expansion) by a combination of the white flag of St. Andrews and the red cross of St. George. But when England was thus integrating, the Mughal Empire was fast disintegrating. When in 1739 Nadir Shah took away the Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan from Delhi, he despoiled, not merely the imperial capital of its wealth but also the imperial crown of its prestige. In 1761, after the third battle of Panipat, as Elphinstone observes, "The history of the Mughal Empire closes of itself : Its territory is broken into separate states ; the capital is deserted ; the claimant to the name of Emperor is an exile and a dependant ; while a new race of conquerors has already commenced its career, which may again unite the Empire under better auspices than before."[3]

Though the Mughal Emperors continued to bear the name and wear the crown for long after their virtual extinction. their phantom figures were only the lingering shadows of a glory that was already past. A hundred years after the third battle of Panipat, the last of the house of Babur and Akbar died in exile in Rangoon, in 1862, at the age of eighty-seven, having been arrested in 1857 by Lieutenant Hodson of the Intelligence Department. tried and convicted like an ordinary felon in January 1858, and sent to Calcutta and thence to Rangoon. Such was the fate of Bahadur Shah 'the *great* emperor'. Only 250 years earlier,

1 Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 387.
2 Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 411.
3 Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 753.

in the last year of Akbar's life, the first English ambassador, John Mildenhall, had come to the Court of the Grand Mughal as a mere suppliant with flickering hopes of success ; in 1685, only eighty years after the death of Akbar, the English under direction of Sir Josiah Child, "the masterful chairman or governor of the Company, who was ambitious (and) aimed at laying 'the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come'....persuaded King James II to sanction the dispatch of ten or twelve ships of war with instructions to seize and fortify Chittagong. The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure. Subsequently, in 1688, the English found themselves obliged to abandon Bengal altogether."[1] But time brought about a sudden transformation in the situation, the details of which need not be traced here. The year of the third battle of Panipat also saw the final discomfiture of the French in India, while the English had already become masters of Bengal. As Smith puts it, "The traders who fled in terror to Fulta in June 1756, were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later." He also observes, "The collapse of the Empire came with a suddenness which at first sight may seem surprising. But the student who has acquired even a moderately sound knowledge of the history will be surprised that the Empire lasted so long rather than because it collapsed suddenly."[2]

The causes of the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire will be described and discussed in their proper place in the body of this work. Here it may be only pointed out that, since the character and strength of the whole structure depended almost entirely upon the genius of the Emperor himself, the deterioration of the Empire went hand in hand with the corruption of the Emperor's personal character and capacity. The Empire was strong and flourishing when the personality at its centre possessed strength and genius ; it became weak and oppressive when that central figure itself fell a prey to all kinds of vicious influences. A character study of the Emperors themselves must, therefore, find an important place in the scheme of our work ; their character was the epitome of the character of the Empire at every stage. But in judging them, we should never forget that they were essentially the products of their age, and as R. C. Dutt says, "We should never make the mistake of comparing the XVI and XVII centuries with the XIX and XX centuries, either in Europe or in India ; and we must never forget that administration was rude and corrupt, and administrators were arbitrary and oppressive all over the world in the olden days. But making allowance for this, we may look back on Mughal rule in India with some reasons for gratification."

Nevertheless, writers are not rare who have judged even Akbar, the greatest of the Mughals, by absolute rather than contemporary standards, and tripped into making very disparaging remarks both about the subject of their criticism and the country to which he belonged. A true historical spirit ought to view in their proper historical perspective, before judging men and nations too severely. In trying to represent the past of a country sympathetic insight into the peculiar genius and traditions of the people is an indispensable virtue, the lack of which often results in the distortion of the true import of facts, if not of the facts themselves. It will not do to judge the builders of the Taj and Fatehpur Sikri by modern standards and declare them hideous monuments of imperialistic and capitalistic exploita-

1 Sm th, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 449.
2 *Ibid.*

tion of the masses. It will not do to denounce Akbar on the authority of either Badauni or the Jesuits alone, any more than it is permissible to idealize him on the sole authority of Abul Fazl. An impartial historian ought to weigh and consider all available sources of information, and where they seem to speak with a dubious voice reserve judgment rather than take sides and condemn too hastily.

Looking at the Grand Mughals from such a standpoint, one can easily agree with S. M. Edwardes, and assert, "Yet they were great men, despite their failings and frailties, and when one turns from the cold catalogue of their defects to consider the unique grandeur of Fatehpur Sikri, the supreme beauty of the Taj Mahal and the Moti Masjid, the magnificence of the Agra and Delhi palaces, and the rare wealth of pictorial and calligraphic art, which owed its excellence to their guidance and inspiration, one feels inclined to re-echo the words of the lady Marechale of France concerning a peccant member of the old noblesse of the eighteenth century : 'Depend upon it. Sir, God thinks twice before damning a man of that quality !' The fame which they achieved in their own age, and which will endure, was the natural corollary of their marked intellectuality."[1]

The virtues as well as the vices of the Grand Mughals in India were not a peculiar product of the tropics ; their spiritual doubles were to be found in France, Prussia, and Russia, to mention only their most outstanding contemporaries. Louis XIV lived between 1643-1715 ; Frederick William I from 1713-40; Frederick the Great, 1740-86 ; and Peter the Great from 1682-1725. They were all cast in the same mould, and need not be individually studied. "Louis XIV," writes Mr. H. G. Wells, "set a pattern for all the kings of Europe. His prevailing occupation was splendour. His great palace at Versailles was the envy and admiration of the world. He provoked a universal imitation. Every king and princelet in Europe was building his own Versailles as much beyond his means as his subjects and credits would permit. Everywhere the nobility rebuilt or extended their chateaux to the new pattern. A great industry of beautiful and elaborate fabrics and furnishings developed. The luxurious arts flourished everywhere ; sculpture in alabaster, faience, gilt wood-work, metal-work, stamped leather, much music, magnificent painting, beautiful printing and buildings, fine cookery, fine vintages.

"Amidst the mirrors and fine furniture went a strange race of 'gentlemen' in vast powdered wigs, silks and laces, poised upon high red heels, supported by amazing canes ; and still more wonderful 'ladies', under towers of powdered hair and wearing vast expansions of silk and satin sustained on wire. Through it all postured the great Louis, the sun of his world, unaware of the meagre and sulky and bitter faces that watched him from those lower darknesses to which his sunshine did not penetrate.

"It was a part—and an excellent part—of the pose of the Grand Monarchy to patronize literature and the sciences. . . .Louis XIV decorated his court with poets, playwrights, philosophers and scientific men."

There was another side to the picture. "Great numbers of his most sober and valuable subjects were driven abroad by his religious persecutions, taking arts and industries with them. . . .Under his rule were carried out the 'dragonnades', a peculiarly malignant and effectual form of persecution. Rough soldiers were quartered in the houses of the Protestants, and were free to disorder the life of their hosts and insult their

1 Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 350.

womankind as they thought fit. Men yielded to that sort of pressure who would not have yielded to rack and fire."

Such was the nature of the Grand Monarchy in the heyday of its power in France. In the period of its decline, it was not unlike the degraded specimens of the Mughals. Louis XIV died eight years after the death of Aurangzib, and was succeeded by his grandson Louis XV, "an incompetent imitator of his predecessor's magnificence. He posed as a King, but his ruling passion was that common obsession of our kind, the pursuit of women, tempered by a superstitious fear of hell. How such women as the Duchess of Chateauraux, Madame de Pompadour, and Madame du Barry dominated the pleasures of the King, and how wars and alliances were made, provinces devastated, thousands of people killed, because of the vanities and spites of these creatures, and how all the public life of France and Europe was tainted with intrigue and prostitution and imposture because of them, the reader must learn from the memoirs of the time."[1]

Students of Mughal history would do well to con over these contemporary standards in Europe when they read of the magnificence, the autocracy, and the corruption of the Grand Monarchy in India. Then they will read 'not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider.' (*Bacon*)

1 H. G. Wells, *The Outline of World History*, pp. 816-21 (Cassell, Popular Ed., 1930).

CHAPTER 1

India as Babur Found Her

"It is a remarkably fine country ; it is quite a different world compared with our countries."

So wrote Babur in his *Tuzak* or *Wakiat*, a work which Elphinstone characterizes as "almost the only piece of real history in Asia".[1] It is the work, besides, of "a man of genius and observation, and presents his countrymen and contemporaries in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror. . . .In Babur the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters. His descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller ; and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising."[1]

Natural Conditions

Such as it is, it is strange that no historian of Mughal India has thought fit to commence his description of the country, in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, with the live pictures given by the founder of the dynasty in his *Memoirs* :

> 'Hindustan,' writes Babur, 'is situated in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd climates. No part of it is in the 4th. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. You have no sooner passed the river Sindh than the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes, the manners and customs of the people are entirely those of Hindustan.'

His first experience of this strange land, however, was not unlike that of any other stranger. He thought, 'The country and towns of Hindustan are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have a uniform

1 Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

look : its gardens have no walls ; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places the plain is covered by a thorny brush-wood to such a degree that the people of the *parganas*, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes.

'The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season inundations come pouring down all at once and from rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful, in so much that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature.

'Its defect is that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season you cannot shoot. even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless ; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effect of the moisture. The houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built.

'There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season ; but then the north wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this *andhi*.

'It grows warm during *Taurus* and *Gemini*, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heat of Balkh and Kandahar. It is not above half so warm as in these Places.'

Economic Conditions

Nevertheless, 'The chief excellence of Hindustan is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver . . .Another convenience of Hindustan is that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable, and without end. For any work of any employment there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages.'[1]

The economic condition was certainly such as to tempt an adventurer like Babur. *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, a work of the reign of Jahangir, contains a description of the prosperity of India at the time of Babur's invasion. 'One of the most extraordinary phenomena of Sultan Ibrahim's time,' it says, 'was that corn, clothes, and every kind of merchandise were cheaper than they had ever been known to be in any other reign, except perhaps in the time of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji ; but even that is doubtful. . . .Ten *mans* of corn could be purchased for one *bahloli* ; five *sirs* clarified butter, and ten yards of cloth. could be purchased for the same coin. Everything else was in the same exuberance ; the reason of all which was that rain fell in the exact quantity which was needed, and the crops were consequently luxuriant, and produce increased tenfold beyond the usual proportion. . . .A respectable man with a family dependent on

1 Elliot & Dawson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, IV, pp. 2-1-23.

him might obtain wages at the rate of five *tankas* a month. A horseman received from twenty to thirty (*tankas*) as his monthly pay. If a traveller wished to proceed from Delhi to Agra, one *bahloli* would, with the greatest ease, suffice for the expenses of himself, his horse, and escort.'[1]

Allowance being made for overstatement, this should enable us to visualize the comparative affluence of the period. An account of the political condition of the country will complete the description of India as Babur found her in 1526 A.D

Political Condition

'The capital of Hindustan,' writes Babur, 'is Delhi. From the time of Sultan Shihab-ud-din Ghori to the end of Sultan Firoz Shah's time, the greater part of Hindustan was in the possession of the Emperor of Delhi. At the period when I conquered that country five Musalman kings and two Pagans exercised royal authority. Although there were many small and inconsiderable *Rais* and *Rajas* in the hills and woody country, yet these were the chief and the only ones of importance.'[2]

A. Musalman Kings

1. *Delhi.* 'One of these powers was the Afghans, whose government included the capital, and extended from Bahrah to Bihar. . . .Sultan Bahlol Lodi Afghan, and his son Sultan Sikandar. . . .seized the throne of Delhi, as well as that of Jaunpur, and reduced both kingdoms under one government.'

2. *Gujarat.* The second prince was Sultan Muhammad Muzaffar, in Gujarat. He had departed this life a few days before Sultan Ibrahim's defeat (at Panipat, 1526). He was a prince well-skilled in learning, and fond of reading the *hadis* (or traditions). He was constantly employed in writing the Kuran. They call this race Tang. Their ancestors were cupbearers to the Sultan Firoz that has been mentioned, and his family. After the death of Firoz they took possession of the throne of Gujarat.'

3. *Bahmanis.* 'The third kingdom is that of the Bahmanis in the Dekhin, but at the present time the Sultans of the Dekhin have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles ; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amirs.*'

4. *Malwa.* The fourth king was Sultan Mahmud, who reigned in the country of Malwa, which they likewise call Mandu. This dynasty was the Khilji. Rana Sanka, a Pagan, had defeated them and occupied a number of their provinces. This dynasty also had become weak.'

5. *Bengal.* 'The fifth prince was Nusrat Shah, in the kingdom of Bengal. His father had been king of Bengal, and was a *saiyad* of the name of Sultan Ala-ud-din. He had attained this throne by hereditary succession. It is a singular custom in Bengal (however) that *there is little of hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty. . . .whoever kills the king and succeeds in placing himself on that throne, is immediately acknowledged as king* ;. .the people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne: whoever fills the throne we are obedient and true to it." As for instance, before the accession of Nusrat Shah's father, an Abyssinian (Muzaffar

1 E. & D. *op. cit.*, pp. 47-65.
2 *Ibid*, p. 259.

Shah Habshi), having killed the reigning king, mounted the throne, and governed the kingdom for some time (three years). Sultan Ala-ud-din killed the Abyssinian, ascended the throne, and was acknowledged as king. After Sultan Ala-ud-din's death, the kingdom devolved by succession to his son, who now reigned.'[1]

'The five kings who have been mentioned,' says Babur, 'are great princes, and are all Musalmans, and possessed of formidable armies.'

B. Hindu Kings

1. *Vijayanagar.* The most powerful of the Pagan princes, in point of territory and army, is the Raja of Bijanagar.'

2. *Mewar.* 'Another is Rana Sanka, who has attained his present high eminence, only in these later times, by his own valour and his sword. His original principality was Chitor. During the confusion that prevailed among the princes of the kingdom of Mandu, he seized a number of provinces which had depended on Mandu, such as Rantpur (Rantambhor), Sarangpur, Bhilsan, and Chanderi.'

'There were a number of other *Rais* and *Rajas* on the borders and within the territory of Hindustan ; many of whom, on account of their remoteness, or the difficulty of access into their country have never submitted to the Musalman Kings.'[2]

Babur's Omissions

Such, in brief, is the description of India that we are able to gather from the writings of Babur himself. Very little is necessary to be added to make the situation, at the time of his invasion, more clear.

First may be pointed out the omission by Babur of the kingdoms of Khandesh, Orissa, Sindh and Kashmir. With the former two Babur had nothing to do : Khandesh enjoyed a quiet prosperity under its Farukhi (Musalman) ruler ; and Orissa (Hindu) was engaged in constant warfare with Bengal in the north and Vijayanagar in the south. Sindh was ruled by the Sumana Jams until 1520. Then Shah Beg Arghun, being driven away by Babur from Kandahar, took possession of it. His son Shah Hussein was defeated by Babur in 1527. Kashmir was a prey to internal factions ; its nobles set up and pulled down puppet princes as it suited their interests. Muhammad Shah ruled Kashmir, from 1499 to 1526, with the help of his minister Malik Kaji Chakk. In the latter year the minister overthrew his master, to be himself overthrown in turn, within nine months, by rivals who obtained help from Babur's officers. Later, however, the factious nobles made common cause against their enemy and forced the Mughals to retire into the Punjab.

Secondly, even of the rulers and kingdoms mentioned by Babur, it is worth while to add a little more information. Among the contemporary rulers of India Babur has chosen to make special mention of the Raja of 'Bijanagar' and 'Rana Sanka'. He characterizes the former as 'the most

1 Nasir-ud-din Nusrat Shah was 'a prince of gentle disposition and strong natural affections, for he not only refrained from slaying, mutilating, or imprisoning his brother, but doubled the provision which his father had made for them.' He married a daughter of Ibrahim Lodi, and sheltered many an Afghan chief who fled from Delhi, after the battle of Panipat, and bestowed fiefs upon them. He sent Qutb Shah, one of his nobles, in 1529, to make a demonstration against Babur, further details of which will be found in Ch. II, below.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 259-62.

powerful of the Pagan princes in point of territory and army,'[1] but nevertheless, he was too distant from Babur for further notice. The latter had 'attained his present high eminence,. . . .by his own valour and his sword.' This valour and sword, however, were soon tried against Babur himself and found wanting. Besides defeating the Rana at Khanua (March 1527), 'In the year 934 H., by the divine favour in the space of a few hours, I took by storm Chanderi, which was commanded by Maidani Rao (Medini Rai), one of the highest and most distinguished of Rana Sanka's officers, put all the Pagans to the sword, and from the mansion of hostility which it had long been, converted it into the mansion of the Faith,'[2] as will be hereafter more fully detailed.

Condition of South India

Babur's unconscious tribute to Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar (1509-29) was well deserved. Though this great prince of South India did not come into direct contact with the Mughal invader, he is worthy of remembrance because of his relations with the Bahmanis who are mentioned by Babur.

'But at the present time the Sultans of the Dekhin,' he truly observed, 'have no authority or power left. All the different districts of their kingdom have been seized by their most powerful nobles ; and when the prince needs anything, he is obliged to ask it of his own *Amirs.*' The disruption of the Bahmanis was among other reasons, due to the pressure of Vijayanagar, which, in its turn, was to fall a prey to Musalman hostility within half a century (1565) of the extinction of Bahmani as a single independent kingdom.

The last of the independent Bahmanis was Mahmud Shah (1482-1518), under whom the kingdom split up : Bijapur was the first to set up the Adil Shahi (1489) ; next came the Imad Shahi of Berar (1490). After the death of Mahmud Shah (1518), four puppet princes were set up successively at Kulburga, the Bahmani capital, by Amir Barid the Minister. Not content with this, Barid finally established the independent Barid Shahi of Bidar in 1526, the year of Babur's victory over Ibrahim Lodi.

> Ferishta describes the situation well. 'In the year 933 H. (1526 A.D.) the Emperor Babur conquered Delhi, upon which Ismail Adil Shah, Burhan Nizam Shah, Kutb Shah (who was to found the Kutb Shahi of Golkonda in 1528) sent ambassadors to his court. Kaleemullah (last of the Bahmanis) also sent one of his companions, in disguise, with a petition to the Emperor ; setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious servants ; offering, if the Emperor of Delhi would relieve him from

1 The Empire of Vijayanagar comprised practically the whole of the present Madras, Mysore and all other States in the peninsula When Krishna Deva Raya fought against Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, for the possession of the Raichur Doab, on 19th May, 1520, his army consisted of 703,000 infantry, 32,600 cavalry, and 551 war-elephants, besides an uncounted host of camp-followers, etc. Domingo Paes, the Portuguese visitor to Krishna Raya's capital, considered Vijayanagar, 'the best provided city in the world' ; and the King himself 'by rank a greater Lord than any by reason of what he possesses in armies, and territories : He is the most feared and perfect King, that could possibly be, cheerful of disposition and very merry ; he is one that seeks to honour foreigners and receives them kindly, asking about all their affairs, whatever their condition may be. He is a greater ruler and a man of much justice ; gallant and perfect in all things, but subjected to sudden fits of rage.' (Smith, *op. cit.*, 304-11)

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 24.

his distressed situation, to cede to him, Daulatabad and the province of Berar. Babur, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the kings of Malwa and Gujarat being still unsubdued, paid no attention to this request ; but the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Amir Barid, he treated the king with greater rigour, who, making his escape to his uncle Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur, was received by him honourably in hopes of using his name to his own advantage ; but the king, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Burhan Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Kaleem-ullah resided at Ahmadnagar till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmani.'[1]

The Deccan was thus preoccupied at the time of Babur's invasion ; being distracted and divided on the one hand by the protracted duel between Vijayanagar and Bahmani, and on the other by the internecine struggles between the various Musalman princes and factions (Sunni *v.* Shia ; Deccani *v.* Foreigners—Arab, Turk, Persian, Mughal, and Abyssinian)—all contributing their share to weaken and paralyse the country by intrigue, fight, and assassination.[2]

The Portuguese were a new element in South Indian politics. Vasco de Gama opened a new era, as well as a new problem, for India, by reaching Calicut in 1497. His countrymen soon became a nuisance to the Muslim pilgrims bound for Jedda ; they also became a menace to the Musalman kingdoms bordering on the Arabian Sea. In 1510, Albuquerque, their intrepid Governor, conquered Goa, then the principal part in the Bijapur territory. In 1530, the year in which Babur died, they assembled a large fleet at Bombay, proceeded to Daman and captured it. "The entry of this European nautical power," indeed, "created an unsettling factor" both in the commercial and political life of India.[3]

Condition of North India

North India was in no better position to offer effective resistance to the invader. Both Malwa and Gujarat were constantly at war with the Rajputs under Rana Sanga and Medini Rai. In northern Malwa, particularly, the Rajputs had gained considerable ascendancy. Mahmud II, the reigning prince at the time of Babur's invasion, had secured the throne against his rivals, with the help of Medini Rai. Subsequently, jealous of the Rajputs, he tried to get rid of them with the assistance of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. Medini Rai secured the aid of Rana Sanga and inflicted a defeat upon the Musalmans. Mahmud was wounded and captured but chivalrously restored to his throne. Yet, when Muzaffar of Gujarat died, in 1526, Mahmud unwisely supported Chand Khan (younger son of Muzaffar) against his abler elder brother Bahadur Shah. As a penalty for his backing the wrong horse, Bahadur Shah annexed Malwa to his own kingdom in 1531.

Bahadur Shah, who was to try conclusions with Babur's son, was growing formidable, unnoticed by the Mughal invader. In 1524, his father Muzaffar Shah had supplied Alam Khan, an uncle of Ibrahim Lodi, with a small force and a sum of money to contend for the throne of Delhi. But Bahadur Shah himself, being dissatisfied with his father, sought his fortune under Ibrahim Lodi, in 1526, when the latter was preparing for his fatal

1 Briggs, II, pp. 558-59.
2 Bijapur alone lost 16,000 killed in the battle of Raichur, 19th May, 1520.
3 *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 495. For details of Portuguese policy in India see Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-34.

struggle. While the Gujarati adventurer distinguished himself in the preliminary skirmishing against the Mughals, he did not persist for long; evidently he was scared away by his patron's jealousy. Then he retreated to Jaunpur, where he heard of his father's death, and hastened home. There he busied himself with securing his father's throne and extending his influence in the south by dynastic marriages and political alliances with rival princes of Berar and Khandesh against Bidar and Ahmadnagar. In 1529, he also sheltered Jam Firuz of Sindh who had been driven away by Shah Beg Arghun, the fugitive from Babur already mentioned (p. 9 above). In 1530, he received under his protection Afghan refugees from Delhi; and fortified Diu against the Portuguese who had just taken Daman.

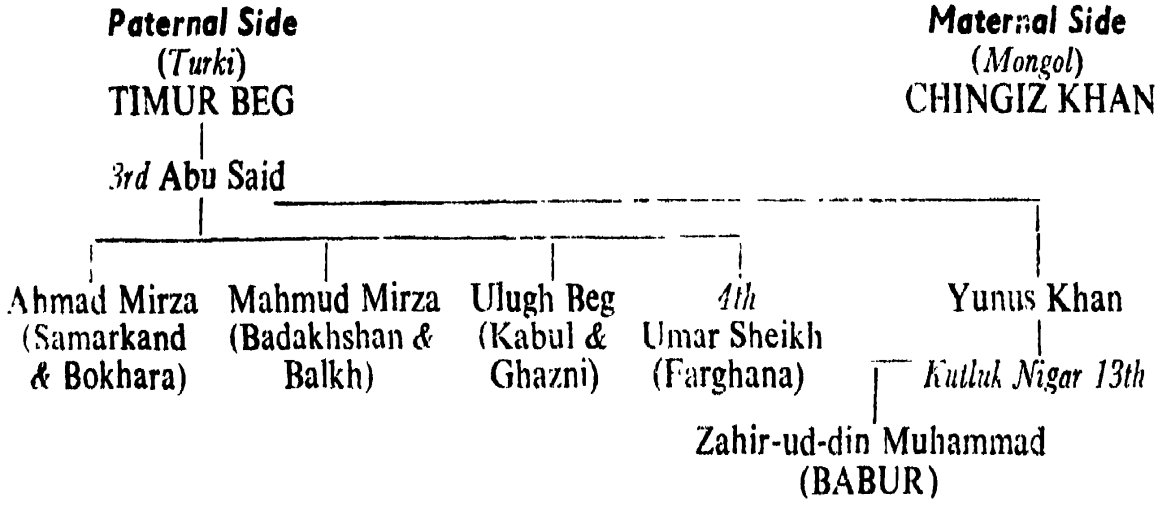
In Rajputana, Rana Sanga (or Sangram Singh), who ascended the throne of Mewar (Chitor) in 1509, controlled directly or indirectly the entire resources of Rajasthan. 'Eighty thousand horses, seven *Rajas* of the highest rank, 104 chieftains with 500 war-elephants, followed him into the field.' In his reign Mewar reached the zenith of her glory. Eighteen pitched battles he fought against the kings of Delhi and Malwa; no force could face him in Hindustan. According to Sheikh Zain, 'There was not a single ruler of the first rank in all these great countries like Delhi, Gujarat, and Mandu, who was able to make head against him. The banners of the infidel flaunted over two hundred cities inhabited by people of the Faith.'[1]

Finally, we come to the kingdom of Delhi, India's political centre of gravity. When Ibrahim Lodi succeeded to his father's throne, Ahmad Yadgar says, 'many nobles became aware of the king's fickle disposition and raised the standard of opposition.'[2] He disgusted his tribe by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it (1517) one of his brothers was proclaimed king at *Jaunpur*, was subdued in the course of twelve months, and was privately executed by Ibrahim, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Islam Khan next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion; some were secretly made away with after being imprisoned; and one was assassinated at the seat of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and disaffection; various chiefs revolted, and the whole of the eastern part of Ibrahim's dominion threw off its obedience, and formed a separate state under Darya Khan Lohani, whose son afterwards took the title of King. Daulat Khan Lodi, Governor of the Punjab, dreading the fate of so many other chiefs, revolted and called in the aid of Babur.[3] So also did Rana Sanga: "The Empire of Delhi was in confusion; it had become the prey of the strongest; and the former successes and mighty power of the Rana might secure to justify at once his hopes of seating himself on the vacant throne of the Lodis, and his more reasonable and glorious ambition of expelling both the Afghans and Turki invaders from India, and restoring her own Hindu race of kings, and her native institutions."[4]

1 Cited by Rushbrooke Williams, *An Empire Builder*, pp. 12-13.
2 E. & D. *op. cit.*, V, p. 14.
3 Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 420.
4 Erskine, *Babur and Humayun*, I, p. 462.

BABUR'S PEDIGREE

GENEALOGY



Notes—1. It will be seen rom the above that Babur was *fifth* in descent from Timur and fourteenth from Chingiz Khan, both of them great conquerors and scourges of Asia.

2. It is also to be noted that Babur was a *Turk* from his father's side, and a *Mongol* on his mother's side. *Turki* is, therefore, a more accurate term for Babur's dynasty, than *Mughal*. Mughal or Mogul is the Persian and Indian form of Mongol.

3. Babur was the cognomen given to his grandson by Yunus Khan. In Turki it means 'tiger'.

(For a history of Timur and Chingiz Khan and their descendants prior to Babur, see Erskine, *A History of India under the First Two Sovereigns of the House of Taimur*, Vol. I, pp. 8-76.)

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CHAPTER 2

How the Empire was Founded

"Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway, one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing."

—BABUR

THE Mughal Empire in India was founded in 1526, by Babur, who, according to all estimates, is one of the most fascinating personalities in all history. He spent the greater part of his life outside India ; but though, as Lane-Poole says, his permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, his earlier life (of which he has left an imperishable record in his *Memoirs*) constitutes an interest by itself not less valuable. "Given such a man," writes Flora A. Steele, "it would be sheer perversity to treat him solely in reference to the part he played in India, as this would be to deprive ourselves of no less than thirty-six years of the very best of company."

Babur's life falls into three definite periods : 1. Early adventures up to his conquest of Kabul (1494-1504) ; 2. Babur as King of Kabul (1504-25) ; and 3. Babur in India (1525-30).

I. Early Adventures

A. Birth and Accession Babur was born on Friday, February 14, 1483 (*Muharram* 6, 888 *Hijra*).

Babur's father, Umar Sheikh, died on Monday, June 8, 1494 (*Ramzan* 4, 899 *Hijra*).

Babur's *Memoirs* begin with the sentence—'In the month of Ramzan of the year 899 (*Hijra*), in the twelfth year of my age, I became ruler in the country of Farghana.'

B. Political Heritage Timur's empire had been divided among his own descendants, as well as those of Chingiz Khan. Its principal kingdoms and rulers were all interrelated as follows :

1. Tashkent, Sairam, Shahrukhia were under Babur's elder maternal uncle, Mahmud Khan.

2. The region between Tashkent and Yalduz was under Babur's younger maternal uncle, Ahmad Khan.

1 See also *C.H.I.*, IV, p. 3.

3. Samarkand and Bokhara were ruled by Babur's eldest paternal uncle, Ahmad Mirza.

4. Badakhshan, Hisar and Kunduz were ruled by Babur's elder paternal uncle, Mahmud Mirza.

5. Kabul and Ghazni were ruled by Babur's youngest paternal uncle, Ulugh Beg.

6. Khorasan and Herat were under Husain Mirza, the head of the House of Timur.

7. Farghana was the kingdom of which Babur's father, Umar Sheikh, was the ruler.

Yunus Khan, twelfth in descent from Chingiz Khan, had three daughters by his first wife. They were married respectively to Babur's two paternal uncles, Ahmad Mirza and Mahmud Mirza, and Babur's father Umar Sheikh. Kutluk Nigar was Babur's mother.

Both Yunus Khan and his wife, Ais-Daulat Begum, exercised considerable influence over Babur. About the former, Babur writes in his *Memoirs* : 'He had the most agreeable and refined manners and conversation such as are very seldom to be met with in the most polished society'; and about the latter, 'Few amongst women will have been my grandmother's equals for judgment and culture ; she was very wise and far-seeing, and most affairs of mine were carried through by her advice.'

Babur combined in himself the ferocity of the Mongol, 'the courage and capacity of the Turk,' and the polished urbanity of the Persians—which were all inherited traits.

Farghana, with Andijan as its capital, was, as above noticed, Umar Sheikh's kingdom. It was a fertile tract of country on the Jagzrates, 50,000 sq miles in extent (now Khokand in Russian Turkistan). But Babur's father was not satisfied with this. So he quarrelled with his eldest brother, Ahmad Mirza, who had received the largest share of the paternal dominions, viz., Samarkand and Bokhara.

In the midst of these quarrels, however, Umar Sheikh died of an accidental fall, while feeding his pigeons (Monday 8th June, 1494). This fatal event synchronized with the invasion of Farghana by Babur's paternal and maternal uncles, Ahmad and Mahmud Mirza, respectively.

Though Babur was hardly twelve years of age at this time, he was saved from the critical situation by the loyalty of his subjects. He gratefully records : 'They (i.e., his enemies) found in our soldiers and peasantry a resolution and singlemindedness such as would not let them flinch from making offering of their lives so long as there was breath and power in their bodies.'

C. Samarkand

Samarkand, the city of Timur (then ruled by his uncle Ahmad Mirza), exercised the greatest fascination over the ambitious son of Umar Sheikh. It was to the west of Farghana, a city five miles in circuit, noted for its learning, and possessed of a great astronomical observatory (built by Ulugh Beg), and had celebrated colleges, baths and mosques According to Babur 'even the baker's shops (of Samarkand) are excellent and the cooks are skilful.'

In July 1494, when Ahmad Mirza died, Babur set his heart upon the conquest of Samarkand. However, not until two years later could he make his first effort (July, 1496), and even then not successfully. But this attempt marked an important stage in Babur's life.

Next year (1497), though only for a while, Babur succeeded in his

ambition. He captured Samarkand and kept it for a hundred days. Then there was rebellion in Farghana, which cost him both the kingdoms: 'Thus, for the sake of Farghana I had given up Samarkand, and now found I had lost the one without securing the other.'

D. Wanderings

After this, Babur became a wanderer for two years. As he himself writes, ever since he was eleven years of age, he never spent two festivals of the *Ramzan*, in the same place ; or in the words of Ferishta, 'the football of fortune, like a king on a chess-board, he moved about from place to place, buffeted about like a pebble on the sea-shore.'[1] But wherever he went, Babur was always cheerful, always kindly, always ready to enjoy the beauties of nature,—especially 'a wonderful, delicate, and toothsome melon with a mottled skin like shagreen.'

In 1498, he won Farghana back, though he had to lose it again in 1500, because of an attempt to restrain his greedy 'Mughal rascals' from plundering. 'It was a senseless thing,' he writes, 'to exasperate so many men with arms in their hands. *In war and in statecraft a thing may seem reasonable at first sight, but it needs to be weighed and considered in a hundred lights before it is finally decided upon.* This ill-judged order of mine was, in fact, the ultimate cause of my second expulsion.'

Once more, therefore, he had to seek refuge 'by dangerous tracks among rocks. In the steep and narrow ways and gorges which we had to climb, many a horse and camel dropped and fell out. . . .We passed on, nevertheless, with incredible labour, through fearful gorges and tremendous precipices, until after a hundred agonies and losses, at last we topped those murderous steep defiles and came down on the borders of Kan, with its lovely expanse of lake.'

During 1500-01 he captured Samarkand for a second time, married his cousin Ayesha, had by her a daughter, 'who in a month or forty days went to partake of the mercy of God.' After this they parted : for, 'as my affections decreased, my shyness increased.'

Soon, Babur was defeated by Shaibani, the Uzbeg Leader[2] at Sar-i-pul (Bridge Head), and again driven out of Samarkand within eight months. From 1502-04 he was once again a fugitive, with a following of only 'more than 200 and less than 300 men with clubs in their hands and tattered clothes in their backs.' In a garden he was once awaiting death ; 'but soon found life and fortune.' The kingly blood in him carved out a kingdom in Kabul, in 1504.

II. King of Kabul (1504-1525)

'It was in the last ten days of the second *Rabi* (Oct., 1504) that without a fight, without an effort, by Almighty God's bounty and mercy, I obtained and made subject to me Kabul and Ghazni and their dependent districts.'

'During my residence at Kabul,' he writes with great self-complacency, 'I passed my days in such entire absence of care, as I never did at

1 Briggs, II, p. 23.

2 'Shaibani or Shahi Beg was a princely adventurer who first became Governor of Turkistan, and from that time forward, came into prominence as the great enemy of the Timurids in general, and of Babur in particular. His power, his cunning, his cruelty made him a most formidable opponent ; and until the hand of death finally removed him, he was to constitute an insupportable barrier to the career of the young prince of Farghana.' (Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 54.)

any other time or do now.' So he assumed, in 1507, the title of Padshah or Emperor, which had never been borne by any Timurid before him : 'Up to that date people had styled Timur Beg's descendants *Mirza* even when they were ruling ; now I ordered that people should style me *Padshah*.'

'The adoption of this new title marked an important change in his political ideas.'[1]

The same year (1507), Babur conquered Kandahar and bestowed it upon his younger brother Nasir, who, however, soon lost it within a week. It was not reconquered finally until fifteen years later.

Babur still yearned for Samarkand. This year (1507) also he paid a visit to his cousins in Herat which was 'the home of culture and ease.'[2] 'In the whole habitable world,' says Babur, 'there is not such another city.' But his object in going there was to see if he could secure their help in making yet another effort against Shaibani. He, however, soon realized that 'the brave barbarian from the north' was not to be vanquished by men like these. The Mirzas, although accomplished and having a charming talent for conversation and society, 'possessed no knowledge whatever of the conduct of a compaign or of warlike operations, and were perfect strangers to the preparations for a battle, and the dangers and spirit of a soldier's life.'

On his way back, Babur met with 'such suffering and hardship as I had scarcely endured at any other time of my life.' Nevertheless, in 1511-12, he had the satisfaction of winning Samarkand, Bokhara and Khorasan for the last time, with the help of Shah Ismael Safavi of Persia.

In *Rajab*, 917 Hijra (Oct., 1511) Babur re-entered Samarkand, 'in the midst of such pomp and splendour as no one has ever seen or heard of before or even since.'[3] Babur's dominions now reached their widest extent : from Tashkent and Sairam on the borders of the deserts of Tartary, to Kabul and Ghazni near the Indian frontier, including Samarkand, Bokhara, Hisar, Kunduz and Farghana.

But this glory was as short-lived as it was great. After flying from one part of his dominions to another, losing everywhere, he returned to Kabul in 1513-14.

The Shah had exacted from him a very heavy price : Babur was to hold those kingdoms under the Shah : he was also to become a convert to the Shia faith and adopt all its symbols, as well as enforce the Shia creed on the orthodox Sunni subjects of the conquered kingdoms. Though Babur refused to persecute anybody for his religious faith, his own conversion led to his fall.

With this last discomfiture in the north and west, the second period of Babar's life comes to a close ; after this he definitely turned to the south and east, viz., India.

Although he continued to sit on the throne of Kabul for another twelve years, the history of the period 1514-25 is of little interest to the student of Indian History, except in its bearing on Babur's Indian expeditions, to which we must now turn our attention.

'Kabul,' writes Babur, 'is the intermediate point between Hindustan

1 Ishwari Prasad, *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 295.
2 'Herat,' says Khwandamir, 'is the eye—the lamp that illumines all other cities ; Herat is the soul to the World's body ; and if Khorasan be the bosom of the earth, Herat is confessedly its heart.'
3 *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 246 ; cited by Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

and Khorasan. 'Babur,' according to Lane-Poole, 'is the link between Central Asia and India, between predatory hordes and imperial government, between Tamerlane and Akbar.'[1]

III. Babur in India (1525-1530)

Towards Hindustan

'The great advantage of Hindustan,' Babur was aware, 'besides its vast extent of territory, is the amount of gold, coined and uncoined, which may be found there. To Hindustan, therefore, he turned his wistful attention when, after the conquest of Kabul, he felt the need for supplies :

(1) In 1504, he marched along the Peshawar-Attok road, went through the Khyber, and then instead of crossing the river Indus, marched on Kohat. Here he found much booty which he seized.

(2) In September 1507, he resolved, after some discussion, to march in the direction of Hindustan. So, placing a cousin in charge of Kabul, he came as far as Adinapur (now Jalalabad), fighting his way among the Afghans and vainly attempting to subdue those 'robbers and plunderers even in time of peace'. The retreat of Shaibani emboldened Babur to return to his capital ; and once more the advance into India was postponed.

(3) Some time between 1514 and 1519, Babur profited by the example of Shah Ismail, determined to possess an effective artillery, and secured the services of an Ottoman Turk, named Ustad Ali, who became his Master of Ordnance.

Between 1520 and 1525, likewise, he secured another Turkish expert named Mustafa, for the same purpose.

These were clear indications of Babur's effective preparations for the intended conquest of India. "If there was one single material factor, which more than any other, conduced to his ultimate triumph in Hindustan," observes Rushbrooke Williams, "it was his powerful artillery."[2]

(4) Babur again, in 1518, attempted reduction of the tribes and fortresses on the north-east of Kabul, as a preliminary to the conquest of Hindustan.

Five Expeditions

The urge for definite conquest, however, came to him from one of his nobles, who said, 'Go on then and possess yourself of the noblest country in the universe. Establish beyond the river Indus the Empire which your fathers have marked out for you. Go and fix your Court in the centre of Hindustan and prefer the delights of the Indies to the hoar and snow of Tartary. Everything seems to invite you to the south ; Providence has conducted you to Kabul and put you on the road to Hindustan ! God and Muhammad engaged you to extinguish the idolatry of the Indians.'

The effect of this on Babur is best summed up in what he himself wrote after the battle of Panipat :

> 'From the year 910 *Hijra*, when I obtained the principality of Kabul, up to the date of the events I now record, I had never ceased to think of the conquest of Hindustan. But I had never found a suitable opportunity for undertaking it, hindered as I was, sometimes by the apprehensions of my *Begs*, sometimes by disagreements between my brothers and myself Finally, all these obstacles were happily removed. Great and small, *Begs* and captains, no one dared say a word against the project.

1 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
2 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

'So, in 925 *Hijra* (1519) I left at the head of an army, and made a start by taking Bajaur. . . .*From this time to 932 Hijra (1526) I was always actively concerned in the affairs of Hindustan.* I went there in person, at the head of my army, five times in the course of seven or eight years. The fifth time by the munificence and liberality of God, there fell beneath my blows an enemy as formidable as Sultan Ibrahim, and I gained the vast Empire of Hind.'[1]

The five expeditions referred to above were :

First Expedition. In 1519 he stormed Bajaur which fell after a spirited struggle, in which Babur's new artillery played a decisive part. 'By the favour and pleasure of the High God, this strong and mighty fort was taken in 2 or 3 hours ; matching the fort were the utter struggle and effort of our braves : distinguish themselves they did, and won the name and fame of heroes.'

Babur looked upon this as the first step on the road to Hindustan. If here he indulged in wholesale massacre, it was to make an example. When he proceeded further to Bhira, on the Jhelum, he acted with great restraint :

'As it was always in my heart to possess Hindustan, and as these several countries had once been held by the Turks,[2] I pictured them as my own, and was resolved to get them into my own hands, whether peacefully or by force. For these reasons it being imperative to treat the hillmen well, this order was given : *Do no hurt or harm to the flocks and herds of these people, nor even to their cotton ends and broken needles.'*

He despatched Mulla Murshid to Sultan Ibrahim 'giving him the name and style of ambassador, to demand that the countries which from old times had belonged to the Turks should be given up to me.' The Mulla was also given a letter for Daulat Khan, Governor of the Punjab. 'But the people af Hindustan, and particularly the Afghans,' writes Babur, 'are a strangely foolish and senseless race. This person, sent by me, Daulat Khan detained some time in Lahore, neither seeing him himself, nor suffering him to proceed to Sultan Ibrahim ; so that my envoy, five months after, returned to Kabul without having received any answer.'

Babur quitted India, leaving Bhira in the charge of Hindu Beg ; but the latter was soon (1519) expelled by the natives.

Second Expedition. The same year, in September, Babur again marched through the Khyber, in order to subdue the Yusufzai and provision Peshawar fort as a base for future operations in Hindustan. But he was recalled by disturbing news from Badakhshan, which came into Babur's possession in 1520.

Third Expedition. For the third time Babur marched in 1520, through Bajaur towards Bhira. Subduing the recalcitrant Afghan tribes on the way, he proceeded to Sialkot, which submitted without striking a blow. The people of Saiyidpur defied Babur, but were easily subdued. However, Babur had to hastily retrace his steps again to fight Shah Beg Arghun, ruler of Kandahar.

After two unsuccessful efforts, Babur finally acquired Kandahar, in 1522, through the treachery of its Governor, Maulana Abdul Bagi. Shah

1 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 113, n. 2, Cf. *C.H.I.*, IV, p. 10.
2 Timur had overrun the Punjab in 1398-99.

2M d

Beg established himself in Sindh, and Kamran (Babur's second son) was put in charge of Kandahar.

Fourth Expedition. Thus, thoroughly secure at home, Babur for the fourth time invaded India, in 1524. Daulat Khan, Governor of the Punjab, was growing very powerful. Sultan Ibrahim had summoned him to Delhi. But Daulat Khan offended him by not appearing in person. To protect himself from the Sultan's wrath, Daulat Khan sent his son Dilawar Khan, to invite Babur to dethrone Ibrahim Lodi in favour of his uncle Alam Khan (or Ala-ud-din).

Babur readily fell in with this invitation, and marched once more into the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenab. Lahore and Dipalpur soon fell into his hands. Daulat Khan was defeated by the Delhi forces and driven into exile. But he came back and sought reinstatement at the hands of the invader. Babur, however, offered him only Jalandhar and Sultanpur instead. Daulat Khan felt disappointed, and the fiefs were bestowed upon his more reliable son Dilawar Khan. Dipalpur was given to Alam Khan.

Daulat Khan and his second son Ghazi Khan fled to the hills, only to return in the wake of Babur's withdrawal. They recaptured Sultanpur from Dilawar, and Dipalpur from Alam Khan. Ibrahim's attempt to subdue Daulat Khan proved unsuccessful. But Babur's Lahore detachment inflicted a defeat upon him.

On account of this unsettled state, Alam Khan fled to Kabul and once again sought Babur's aid to seat himself on the throne of Delhi. In return Babur was promised sovereignty over Lahore and the west Punjab.

Alam Khan returned to India with this understanding. But the wily Daulat won him over. The two Khans accordingly marched on Delhi, only to be disgracefully routed by the Sultan.

Fifth Expedition. Babur now crossed the frontier for the last time (Nov., 1525), with the largest army he had ever led into Hindustan. Humayun was with him, with a contingent from Badakhshan. Crossing the Jhelum, the Lahore army also joined him. All told, his followers numbered not more than 12,000 of whom perhaps only 8,000 were effectives.

Sialkot had been lost. His generals in India had gathered together at Lahore. But Daulat Khan alone had taken the field with not less than 40,000 men. Ibrahim Lodi was soon to confront him with 1,00,000 men and a large number of war-elephants.

However, Daulat Khan's forces melted away at Babur's mere approach. Babur had nothing more to do with him than upbraid him for his treacherous conduct. Death soon snatched away Daulat Khan altogether from the field.

On February 26, 1526, Humayun won his spurs for the first time, against an advance division of the Imperial forces. Ibrahim was coming from Delhi, and Babur from Sirhind and Ambala. On April 1, again Babur's men encountered a cavalry division of the Sultan and crushed it. From April 12 to 19, one whole week, the two armies faced each other, with little action, near Panipat—the plain intended by Nature to be the battlefield of nations.

First Battle of Panipat

The battle was fought on April 21, 1526.

"On one side were the courage of despair, and something of the resources of scientific warfare; on the other side, men-at-arms of the mediaeval

type, with crowded ranks of super-men and archers thronging on in foolhardy disorder."[1]

On April 19, a night attack by Babur's men failed.

On April 20, there was a scare in Babur's army, of being out-numbered by the Indian forces.

On April 21, the Imperial army, emboldened by the unimpressive conduct of the enemy, forged ahead. Owing to its large numbers, it had to converge suddenly ; the wide front collapsed in confusion in readjusting itself before Babur's narrowed entrenched position.

A keen master of strategy, Babur at once had recourse to *Tulghma*,[2] and simultaneous artillery action. The Mughals surrounded the Indians on all sides and attacked, routed and slaughtered. Seldom was a day 'so fought, so followed, so fairly won.'

'The sun had mounted spear-high when the onset began and the battle lasted till midday, when the enemy were completely broken and routed, and my people victorious and triumphant. By the grace of Almighty God this difficult affair was made easy to me, and that mighty army, in the course of half a day, was laid in the dust.'

Result. (1) Ibrahim lay dead on the field, together with Bikram, the Hindu Raja of Gwalior, "who had joined the Muslim Sultan in defence of their common country."[3]

(2) 6,000 corpses were counted near where the Sultan was found dead ; 15 or 16 thousand had died in different parts of the field. "On reaching Agra, we found from the accounts of the natives of Hindustan, that 40,000 or 50,000 men had fallen in the fields."[4]

(3) "The land simply changed masters after one supreme effort."[5]

"To the Afghans of Delhi the battle of Panipat was their Cannae. It was the ruin of their dominions, the end of their power."[6]

(4) The battle of Panipat marks the end of the second stage in Babur's conquest of Hindustan.

Reasons. (1) Ibrahim Lodi, though not lacking in personal valour, was, in Babur's estimation, 'an inexperienced young man careless in his movements, who marched without order, halted or retired without method and engaged without foresight.'

(2) The week when the two armies lay facing each other, went in Babur's favour : it gave his men time to regain their self-confidence.

(3) The Delhi army had come up too precipitately without a halt from the start. It was not disciplined enough for orderly readjustments to given situations. A sudden attempt in this direction threw its vast number into utter confusion.

(4) Babur was, on the contrary, a tried and resourceful commander, and his veterans were seasoned and disciplined warriors. "His men began the battle in no small alarm : it was their Emperor's cool science and

1 Keene, *History of India*, I, p. 76.
2 This was the usual Uzbeg tactic ; first turning the enemy's flank, then charging simultaneously on front and rear, letting fly the arrows at a break-neck gallop, and if repulsed returning at top-speed. Babur learnt this from Shaibani, at the battle of Sar-i-pul and learnt to use it with deadly effect in India (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 57). For plan of battle see Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 131 ; *C.H I.*, IV, pp. 12-13.
3 Keene, *op, cit.*
4 E. & D *op. cit* , IV, p. 255.
5 Keene, *loc cit.*
6 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

watchful tactics that restored their confidence and gave them back their pluck."[1]

(5) Ibrahim's war-elephants and vast numbers were more a source of weakness than strength against Babur's scientific combination of cavalry and artillery. The last was used in India among the earliest by Babur.[2]

The Sequel

After the victory Babur at once despatched Humayun, with Khwaja Kalan, to Agra, and another party to take charge of the fort and treasure of Delhi. On Friday, April 27, the *khutba* was read in his name at Delhi.

Marching with the main army, Babur halted on the Jumna opposite Delhi, in order to visit the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes. 'On Thursday, the 28th *Rajab* (May 10th), about the hour of afternoon prayers, I entered Agra, and took up my residence in Sultan Ibrahim's palace.' Here Babur received from Humayun, among other treasures, a diamond (Koh-i-noor ?) valued at 'half the daily expenditure of the whole world.'[3] But the father, in generous recognition of his son's services, presented it to Humayun together with other gifts worth 70,00,000 *dams* (or £ 20,000). 'A *pargana* of the value of seven *lacs* was bestowed on Ibrahim's mother. Parganas were also given to each of her *Amirs*. She was conducted with all her effects to a palace, which was assigned for her residence, about a *kos* below Agra.[4] His *Begs* received six to ten *lacs* apiece (£ 1,700 to £ 2,800). Every soldier got his share of the booty. Even traders and camp-followers were not forgotten in the bounty, including those who were absent. Friends in Farghana, Khorasan, Kashghar, and Persia were surprised with gifts of gold and silver, cloth and jewels, and captive slaves. Holy men in Herat, Samarkand, Mecca and Medina got their offerings; and every person in Kabul, man and woman, slave and free, young and old, received a silver coin as a memento of the victory. The balance was stored up in the vaults of the capital for the support of the army and administration.[5]

Post-Panipat Problems

The Afghans

'When I first arrived in Agra, there was a strong mutual dislike and hostility between my people and the men of the place. The peasantry and soldiers of the country avoided and fled from my men. Afterwards, everywhere, except only in

1 *Ibid.*

2 Babur's description of the reception of the fire-arms at Bajaur is interesting:
'The people of Bajaur,' he writes, 'had never seen matchlocks, and at first were not in the least afraid of them; but, hearing the reports of the shots, stood opposite the guns mocking and playing unseemly antics. But, that day Ustad Ali Kuli (the chief gunner) brought down five men with his matchlock, and Wali Kazim killed two and the other musketeers shot well and bravely, ...and aiming so truly that before night seven to ten Bajauris were laid low, whereupon defenders of the fort became so frightened that not a man ventured to show his head for fear of the matchlockmen.'

3 Tavernier valued it at £880,000 (Erskine, *op. cit.*, I, p. 438). It had originally belonged to Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji of Malwa. It was taken by Raja Bikramajit of Gwalior who had fallen on the field of Panipat Now the Gwalior army presented it to Humayun as ransom while he besieged Agra. (E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 257).
It weighed 8 *miskals* or 224 *ratti* (672 carats). Aurangzib's diamond presented to him by Mir Jumla, weighed 900 carats. (Briggs, II, pp. 46-47). *C H.I.*, IV, p. 13, says that the diamond is now in the Tower of London. *Cf.* Abdul Aziz, *The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals* (Lahore, 1942), pp. 182-227.

4 E. & D., *loc. cit.*

5 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-67.

Delhi and Agra, the inhabitants fortified different posts, while the governors of towns put their fortifications in a posture of defence, and refused to submit or obey.' The nature of the situation he was confronted with, after his victory at Panipat, is best described in his own words :

(a) 'Kasim Sambhali was in Sambhal ;

(b) 'Nizam Khan in Bayana ;

(c) 'the Raja Hasan Khan Mewati himself in Mewat : that infidel was the prime mover and agitator in all these confusions and insurrections ;

(d) 'Kanauj, with the whole country beyond the Ganges, was entirely in the possession of refractory Afghans, such as Nasir Khan Lohani, Ma'ruf Farmuli,[1] and a number of other *Amirs* who had been in a state of open rebellion for two years before the death of Ibrahim.

'At the period I defeated that prince, they had overrun, and were in possession of Kanauj and the country in that quarter, and had advanced and encamped two or three marches on this side of Kanauj. They elected Bihar Khan (or Bahadur Khan), the son of Darya Khan, as their King, and gave him the name of Sultan Mahmud. When I came to Agra we could not find grain or provendor, either for ourselves or for our horses. The villagers, out of hostility for us, had taken to rebellion, thieving, and robbery. The roads became impassable.

'I had not time, after the division of treasure, to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different *parganas* and stations.'

To make matters worse, the heat was abnormal that year, and many of Babur's men dropped down dead. Not a few of his *Begs* and best men began to lose heart, objected to remaining in Hindustan, and even began to make preparations for retreat.

"I no sooner heard this murmuring among my troops, than I summoned all my *Begs* to a council. I told them that, by Divine power, I had routed my formidable enemy and achieved the conquest of the numerous provinces and kingdoms which we at present held. And now, what force compels, and what hardship obliges us, without any visible cause, after having worn out our life in accomplishing the desired achievement, to abandon and fly from our conquests, and to retreat back to Kabul with every symptom of disappointment and discomfiture ? 'Let not any one who calls himself my friend, ever henceforward make such a proposal. But if there is any one among you who cannot bring himself to stay, or give up his purpose of returning back, let him depart.' Having made this fair and reasonable proposal, the discontented were of necessity compelled, however unwillingly, to renounce their seditious purposes."

The final subjugation of the Afghans had to be deferred in the face of a more formidable foe.

1 Sheik Rizkhulla Mushtaki (1492-1581 A.D.) in his *Wakiat-i-Mushtaki* characterizes this Mian Ma'ruf Farmuli in the following terms : "He was a saintly, courageous, and generous man. From the time of Sultan Bahlol to that of Islam Shah, he fought in every battle-field but always escaped without a wound. He would accept of no reward or present from any king (as he was working 'solely in the cause of God') and would never eat food from the house of any Hindu." For interesting anecdotes illustrating this character, see E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 548-49.

The Rajputs

Rana Sangram Singh of Mewar, popularly known as Rana Sanga,[1] and Medini Rai of Chanderi, were two tough warriors under whose leadership the Rajputs had determined to drive out the insolent invader.

The fact that Muslims like Hasan Khan Mewati, and Sultan Mahmud Lodi (brother of Ibrahim Lodi) had joined with the Rana, made it apparent that *it was not a war of the Hindus against the Muhammadans, but a united national effort against a common enemy of the country.*

> Ahmad Yadgar, in his *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghana* writes : "Rana Sanga who was at that time a powerful chief, sent a message to Hasan Khan saying, 'The Mughals have entered Hindustan, have slain Sultan Ibrahim, and taken possession of the country ; it is evident that they will likewise send an army against both of us ; if you will side with me we will be alive, and not suffer them to take possession'."[2]

But Babur himself looked upon this only as *holy war* against the infidel, with whom had joined some Muslim apostates. This is indicated by his assumption of the title of *Ghazi* after the victory: 'After this victory, I used the epithet of *Ghazi*, in the Imperial titles.' This was necessary to arouse his dispirited and home-sick followers. Babur was a master of the art of persuasion, with a keen eye for the dramatic.

'A general consternation and alarm prevailed among great and small. There was not a single person who uttered a manly word, nor an individual who delivered a manly opinion. The *Wazirs*, whose duty it was to give good counsel, and the *Amirs* who enjoyed the wealth of kingdoms, neither spoke bravely, nor was their counsel or deportment such as became men of firmness.'

Preliminary skirmishes only confirmed the apprehensions of Babur's men, who had heard disconcerting stories of Rajput valour. Babur, as Lane-Poole points out, "was now to meet warriors of a higher type than any he had encountered. The Rajputs, energetic, chivalrous, fond of battle and bloodshed, animated by a strong national spirit, were ready to meet face to face the boldest veterans of the camp, and were at all times prepared to lay down their life for their honour."[3]

1 Rana Sanga was the head of the Rajput principality of Chitor, and the representative of a family which, by universal consent of the Rajputs, is allowed the pre-eminence among all the Rajput tribes as the most ancient and the noblest. Like Babur, he had been educated in the school of adversity. After overcoming the many difficulties and dangers of his early life, when he at length mounted the throne, he carried on successful wars with his neighbours on every side, and added largely to his hereditary dominions. From Sultan Mahmud Khilji, the king of Malwa—whom he defeated in battle, took prisoner, and honourably entertained in a spirit worthy of the best days of chivalry—he had wrested the wide and valuable provinces of Bhilsa, Sarangpur, Chanderi and Ranthambhor. He had engaged in hostilities with Sultan Ibrahim of Delhi, and twice had met the Sultan himself in pitched battles. Eighty thousand horses, seven Rajas of the highest rank, nine Raos, and one hundred and four chieftains bearing the titles of Rawul and Rawut, with five hundred war elephants, followed him into the field. The princes of Marwar and Amber did him homage, and the Raos of Gwalior, Ajmer, Sikri, Raisen, Kalpek, Chanderi, Bundi, Gagraon, Rampura, and Abu served him as tributaries or held of him in fief. His personal figure corresponded with his deeds. He exhibited at his death but the fragment of a warrier ; one eye was lost in the broil with his brother, an arm in an action with the Lodi King of Delhi, and he was a cripple owing to a limb being broken with a cannon-ball in another, while he counted eighty wounds from the sword or the lance on various parts of his body.' (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-74.)

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 35-36.

3 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 176

The forebodings of an astrologer, whom Babur describes as 'an evil-minded rascally fellow,' made things appear more ominous. But Babur rose equal to the situation, as always he had done :

> 'On Monday, the 23rd of the first *Jumada*, I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved one time after another to make effectual repentance.' He had been confirmed toper; now he determined to renounce wine for ever. So, 'having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, etc., I directed to be divided among the *derwishes* and the poor.'
>
> Salt was thrown into the store of wine just received from Ghazni ; all the rest found in the camp was poured upon the ground ; and a well was ordered to be dug, and an alms-house built on the spot, to commemorate this great religious event. As a boon to his Muhammadan followers and subjects, he gave up the *tamgha* or stamp-tax in all his dominions *so far as Muslims were concerned.*

To 'stiffen the sinews, and summon up the blood' of his men Babur also made a stirring appeal to them in the following words :

"Noblemen and soldiers ! Every man that comes into this world is subject to dissolution. . . .How much better is it to die with honour than to live with infamy. . . .God Most High has been gracious in giving us this destiny that if we fall we die martyrs, if we conquer we triumph in His Holy Cause. Let us swear with one accord that, by the Great Name of God, we will never turn back from such a death ,or shrink from the stress of battle, till our souls are parted from our bodies."

This raised the spirits of the army wonderfully, and gave them confidence. They swore by the divorce of their wives, and on the Holy Book ; they recited the *fatiha* and said, "O King ! God willing, we will not spare ourselves in sacrifice and devotion, so long as breath and life are in our bodies."

Jihad

Babur declared *Jihad* or holy war on the infidel, on February 11, 1527. The justification for it is to be found in the following statements :

(i) 'Although Rana Sanga, the Pagan, when I was in Kabul, had sent me an ambassador with professions of attachment, and had arranged with me, that, if I would march from that quarter into the vicinity of Delhi, he would march from the other side upon Agra ; yet, when I defeated Ibrahim, and took Delhi and Agra, the Pagan, during all my operations, did not make a single movement.'

(ii) On the other hand the Rana also complained of broken faith ; and, in particular claimed Kalpi, Dholpur, Bayana, as well as Agra—all of which had been occupied by Babur.[1]

(iii) 'Rana Sanga, having reduced Nizam Khan of Bayana to great extremities, that chief sent a deputation to Babur, requesting his aid, for which he was ready to pay him due homage. The King did not hesitate to accept his allegiance, and sending a force to expel Sanga, Nizam Khan was confirmed in possession of Bayana, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty *lacs* of rupees.'[2]

1 Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 462.
2 Briggs, II, p. 51.

The two armies met at Khanua (10 miles from Sikri ; 20 from Agra) on Saturday, March 16, 1527.

Babur's arrangements were in the main similar to those at Panipat, with this difference, that guns this time were mounted on wheeled tripods to facilitate movement. A special feature in the disposition was also the great strength of the reserve. Babur in person led the centre, Humayun was on the right, and Mahdi Khwaja (Babur's brother-in-law ?) on the left.[1]

The effectives on the Rajput side, no doubt, outnumbered their antagonists by seven or eight to one ;[2] and, although Babur's army on this occasion was greater than the one he had commanded at Panipat, "the depression and vacillation which the Padshah was at pains to overcome proves that the average morale was not so good."[3]

Results : The victory of Babur was nevertheless final and complete. 'Hardly a clan of the Rajputs was there but had lost the flower of its princely blood. Rana Sanga himself escaped badly wounded. The heads of the gallant Rajputs (who had been 'sent to hell') were built into a ghastly tower, and Babur, as previously stated, assumed the title of *Ghazi* or victor in holy war.

The consequences of the battle of Khanua[4] were most momentous : (i) The menace of Rajput supremacy, which had loomed large before the eyes of the Muhammadans in India for the last ten years, was removed once for all. (ii) The Mughal Empire in India was now firmly established. In the words of R. Williams, "Babur had definitely seated himself upon the throne of Sultan Ibrahim and the sign and seal of his achievement had been the annihilation of Sultan Ibrahim's most formidable antagonists. *Hitherto the occupation of Hindustan might have been looked upon as an episode in Babur's career of adventures, but from henceforth it became the key-note of his activities for the remainder of his life.* His days of wandering in search of a fortune are now passed away : the fortune is his, and he has but to show himself worthy of it. And it is significant of the new stage in his career which the battle marks that never afterwards does he have to stake his throne and life upon the issue of a stricken field. Fighting the extension of his power, for the reduction of rebels, for the ordering of his kingdom. It is never fighting for his throne.

(iv) "It is also significant," he further observes, "of Babur's grasp of vital issues that from henceforth *the centre of gravity of his power is shifted from Kabul to Hindustan.* . . .He resolutely remained in India for the rest of his days, fighting, governing, administering, striving to put all things upon a sound basis ere death called him away."[5]

(v) Within a year Babur had struck two decisive blows, which shattered the power of two great organized forces : the battle of Panipat had utterly broken the Afghan power in India ; the battle of Khanua (also called Sikri) crushed the great Rajput Confederacy.[6]

Babur commissioned his officers to subjugate the rest of the country,

1 For plan and details see Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
2 Whatever the exact numbers might have been "a more gallant army could not be brought into the field." (Lane-Pool, *op. cit.*, p. 180.)
3 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
4 A village in Bharatpur State 37 miles west of Agra, *C.H.I.*, IV, p. 16.
5 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, 156-57.
6 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

and sent them in various directions with small forces to help them. "These little bands fought with utmost zeal, conscious that they were making their own fortunes, whilst at the same time the territories thus acquired represented an extension of the dominions of *their master*."[1]

Reduction of Rebels

Humayun conquered Sambhal, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, and Kalpi; Muhammad Ali Jung-Jung captured Rabiri; Mahdi Khwaja subdued Etawa; Kanauj was taken by Sultan Muhammad Duldari; and Dholpur by Sultan Junaid Barlas. Sheikh Guren of Kol (Doab) was won over by promise of protection; Sheikh Bayazid—an important lieutenant of the Lodi king—was granted a *jagir* worth a *crore* of rupees in Oudh. Bayana and Gwalior had rallied round Babur for fear of the Rajputs; and the Lohani and Farmuli chiefs who had championed the cause of Sultan Mahmud, melted away before Babur's concentration of forces. Hasan Khan Mewati died on the field of Khanua."[2]

When Babur felt his grip on Hindustan sure beyond doubt he sent back Humayun to Badakhshan and other important officers to other parts of his dominions outside India. Kandahar, ever since its final conquest in 1522, was in Kamran's charge. Khwaja Kalan, Babur's old general, had been sent to Ghazni after the battle of Panipat. Askari was established in Multan when it was conquered in 1527. Hindal was at Kabul.

In February, 1529, Babur wrote to Khwaja Kalan in Afghanistan: 'The affairs of Hindustan have at length been brought to some degree of order, and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand when, through His favour, everything will be quite settled here.' But after the battle of Khanua, and before Babur could realize the hope here expressed, there were at least three more enemies left to overcome:

1. *Maidani Rao of Chanderi.* 'On Monday the 14th of the first Rabi (Dec. 9, 1527), I set out in pursuance of a vow, on a holy war against Chanderi (near Bhopal). . . .Chanderi had formerly belonged to the Sultans of Mandu. . . .When Rana Sanga advanced with an army against Ibrahim as far as Dholpur, that prince's *Amirs* rose against him and on that occasion Chanderi fell into Sanga's hands. He bestowed it on Maidani Rao, a Pagan of great consequence, who was now in the place with 4000 or 5000 Pagans . . .I sent to him to assure him of my favour and clemency, and offering him Shamsabad in exchange for Chanderi. Two or three considerable people about him were averse to conciliation,. . . .and the treaty broke off without success. . . .So, the citadel was attacked on all sides; and by the favour of God, in the space of two or three *gharis*, I gained this celebrated fort, without raising my standard, or beating my kettledrum, and without using the whole strength of my arms. On the top of a hill to the north-west of Chanderi, *I erected a tower of the heads of Pagans*. . . .I gave Chanderi to Ahmad Shah, the grandson of Sultan Nasir-ud-din, and fixed a revenue of fifty *lacs* to be paid from it to the Imperial treasury.' We also learn from Ahmad Yadgar: 'So much plunder was taken from that heathen army' by the *Amirs* 'that the King's troops obtained sufficient to support them for years.'[3]

1 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

2 Babur bestowed on Hasan Khan's son a *pargana* of several *lacs* for his support..... 'I bestowed on Chin Timur Sultan the city of Tajara, which was the capital of Mewat, granting him at the same time a settled provision of fifty *lacs*.. I bestowed the treasure of Alwar, with everything in the fort, upon Humayun.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 273-74.)

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 39.

2. *Afghan Rebels.* On February 2, 1528, Babur set out to punish the Afghan rebels who had advanced from Bihar into Doab, stormed Shamsabad,[1] and driven the Imperial garrison out of Kanauj. At Babur's approach, the enemy crossed the river Ganges and mustered on its left bank to dispute Babur's passage. The Emperor reached the great river, on February 27 ; built a bridge across its broad stream, by March 13 ; put the insurgents to headlong fight, and hotly pursued them as far as Oudh. After this Babur returned to Agra for the rainy season.

> 'On Thursday, the 3rd of the First *Jumada*, I received letters which contained intelligence that Mahmud, the son of Iskandar, had taken Bihar. On Thursday, 17th, we marched eight *kos*, and halted at Dakdaki, a *pargana* of Karra, on the banks of the Ganges . . . .Whilst in this neighbourhood, intelligence reached us in rapid succession, that Sultan Mahmud had gathered round him 1,00,000 Afghans, and was moving upon Chunar ; that Sher Khan Sur, on whom I had bestowed marks of favour, to whom I had given several *parganas*, and whom I left in command in that quarter, had now joined these Afghans. . . .On the 24th. . . .it appeared that the rebels had come and laid siege to Chunar : but that on getting the certain news of my approach, they were filled with consternation, broken up in confusion and raised the siege.'

3. *Nusrat Shah of Bengal.* After this the rebels sought refuge in Bengal. 'As I was at peace with Bengal, and has always been the first to enter into any understanding that had a tendency to confirm a friendly state of things,' Babur started negotiations with Nusrat Shah, the ruler of Bengal. Failing in this, he sent an ultimatum : 'If he refused to leave the passage open, and neglected to listen to the remonstrances which I made, then whatever evil fell on his head, he must regard that as proceeding from his own act ; and he would have himself only to blame for any unpleasant circumstance that occurred.'

On May 6, 1529, the issue was decided finally at the battle of the Gogra (Buxar). The result was disastrous to the Bengalis. On Babur's side, "the movement was brilliantly carried out in the face of a determined resistance. Attacked in front and rear and flank, the enemy broke and fled. Good generalship had once more guided valour to victory."[2] A treaty of peace was concluded with Bengal, according to which each party was to respect the sovereignty of the other and neither party was to shelter or support the other's enemies.[3]

Sheikh Bayazid, who had throughout sided with the rebels, once more attacked Lucknow, but could not hold on for long : 'It appeared that on Saturday, the 12th of *Ramzan*, the enemy had made an attack, but could effect nothing. . . .consequently the fort was taken.' 'On the 18th Shawwal at midnight I reached the garden of *Hasht-bihist* at Agra.'

Babur's Last Days

Babur had very few days left to him now on this side of the grave. When everything was quite settled in Hindustan, he had written to Khwaja Kalan in Afganistan, 'I shall set out for your quarters, God willing, without losing a moment. How can the delights of those lands

1 Babur had bestowed Shamsabad on Bikramji, the second son of Rana Sanga, in return of Ranthambhor. (E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 281.)
2 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 192.
3 Cf. *C.H.I.*, IV, p. 18.

ever be erased from the heart ? How can one, like me, who has vowed abstinence and purity of life, possibly forget the delicious melons and grapes of that happy land ? The other day they brought me a musk-melon ; as I cut it up I felt a deep home-sickness and sense of exile from my land, and I could not help weeping.'

Accordingly, he even set out and went as far as Lahore, where he met his son Kamran. He was disappointed at Humayun's failure againt the Uzbegs. He had recalled Hindal, his youngest son, from Kabul. The strain of his ceaseless campaigns, wanderings, and early drinking excesses, had told upon him rather heavily, despite his extraordinary energy and strength.

"He had been known to take up a man under each arm, and run with them round the battlements of a fortress, leaping the embrasures ; and even in March 1529, he notes : 'I swam across the river Ganges for amusement. I counted my strokes, and found that I swam over in thirty-three strokes. I then took breath, and swam back to the other side. I had crossed by swimming every river I had met except only the Ganges.' He was also perpetually in saddle, riding 80 miles a day sometimes, and the rapidity of his marches was often amazing."[1]

He had even survived the poison administered to him by Ibrahim Lodi's mother.[2] Now his strength was on the decline ; even his mental vigour seemed to have been affected. There was a plot to set aside Humayun, in favour of Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja (Babur's sister's husband ?). Humayun received a timely warning, and hastened to Agra, which he reached on June 27, 1529, together with his mother.

Nomination of Humayun

"If God should grant you the throne and crown," Babur said to him, "do not put your brothers to death, but look sharply after them." In the summer of 1530 Humayun fell dangerously ill. In this state he was carried from Sambhal to Delhi. Hearing of this, Babur tenderly expressed to Maham, Humayun's mother, "Although I have other sons, I love none as I love your Humayun. I crave that this cherished child may have his heart's desire and live long, and *I desire the kingdom for him* because he has not his equal in distinction !"

Every schoolboy knows the story how Babur bore away his son's illness and sacrificed himself in order to save Humayun. As the latter recovered the former became worse ; and after two or three months Babur died, on Monday, December 26, 1530.[3]

Just before this he had called his *Amirs* together and told them : "*For years it has been in my heart to surrender my throne to Humayun* and retire to the Gold-Scattering Garden. By the Divine Grace I have obtained in health all things but the fulfilment of this wish. Now, when I am laid low by illness, *I charge you to acknowledge Humayun as my successor, and to remain loyal to him.* Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humayun will also bear himself well before men.'

Then turning to Humayun he repeated his admonition to him regar-

1 Lane-People, *op. cit*,, p. 188.

2 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-45. Also see S. M. Edwardes, *Babur : Diarist and Despot*, pp. 63-67. Babur, when he recovered from the effects of this poison, observed : 'An evil arrived but happily passed. God gave me new birth....I know today the worth of life !'

3 Read S.K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, p. 13 ; Sri Ram Sharma, 'The Story of Babur's Death' in *The Calcutta Review*, Sept., 1936.

ding, in particular, the treatment of his brothers : "Humayun, I commit to God's keeping you and your brothers and all my kinsfolk and your people and my people ; and all of those I confide to you. . . .The cream of my testamentary directions is this : Do nought against your brothers, even though they may deserve it."

By his own desire, Babur's body was carried to Kabul and buried there in 'the sweetest spot' on a hill-side, amidst beloved surroundings, a cool-running stream and sweet-smelling flowers.[1]

"Death makes no conquest of this Conqueror,
For now he lives in Fame."

Estimate of Babur

Babur's fundamental qualities, according to an old estimate, were 'a lofty judgment, noble ambition, the art of victory, the art of government, the art of conferring prosperity upon his people, the talent of ruling mildly the people of God, ability to win the hearts of his soldiers, and love of justice.[2]

"Babur," writes Vincent A. Smith, "was the most brilliant Asiatic prince of his age, and worthy of a high place among the sovereigns of any age or country."[3]

Havell says, "His engaging personality, artistic temperament, and romantic career make him one of the most attractive figures in the history of Islam."[4]

According to Elliot, "Good-humoured, brave, munificent, sagacious, and frank in his character, he might have been a Henry IV if his training had been in Europe."[5]

"In his person," writes Ferishta, "Babur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance was pleasing, and his disposition affable."[6]

Last but not the least, Babur's cousin Mirza Haidar describes him as being "adorned with various virtues and clad with numberless excellences, above all which towered bravery and humanity. . . .Indeed, no one of his family before him ever possessed such talents, nor any of his race perform such amazing exploits or experience such strange adventures."[7]

(1) *Babur as a Man.* According to Lane-Poole, "His permanent place in history rests upon his Indian conquests, which opened the way for an imperial line ; but his place in biography and in literature is determined rather by his daring adventures and preserving efforts in his earlier days, and by the delightful *Memoirs* in which he related them. Soldier of fortune as he was, Babur was not the less a man of fine literary taste and fastidious critical perception . . . . *His battles as well as his orgies were humanized by a breath of poetry.*"[8]

As a man of parts, the estimate of Mirza Haidar is invaluable : "In the composition of Turki poetry he (Babur) was second only to Amir Ali Shir. He has written a *divan* in the most lucid Turki. He

1 For interesting particulars read S. K. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
2 Cited by Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 179.
3 Smith, *O. H.*, p. 321.
4 Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 420.
5 E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 219.
6 Briggs, II, p. 65.
7 *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* ; cited by Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 10 n.
8 Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.*, pp. 10, 12.

invented a style of verse called *mubaiyan*, and was the author of most useful treatise on jurisprudence which has been generally adopted. He also wrote an essay on Turki prosody, more elegant than any other and versified the *Rasala-i-Validiya* of His Reverence (?). Then there is his *Wakai*, or Turki *Memoirs*, written in simple, unaffected, yet pure style. He excelled in music and other arts."[1]

Babur was undoubtedly a man of outstanding genius, a lover of fine arts, a born naturalist, a keen and critical observer of men and things, and an accomplished writer who has immortalized himself, not merely as the founder of one of the most glorious dynasties that have ruled in India, but also as the prince of autobiographers by bequeathing to posterity his delightful *Memoirs* which abound in descriptions of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industries, "more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found in equal space, in any modern traveller ; and considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, truly surprising."

"But," Elphinstone very truly observes, "the great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trails of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper with which he set out on his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste, nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyments of nature and imagination."[2]

"No part of his character," Erskine points out, "is more admirable than his uniform humanity and kindliness of disposition. If, in the course of his *Memoirs*, some cruel executions appear, they belong to the age, not to the man. The historians of his reign remark that whenever any, either of his nobles or brothers, had revolted or entered into rebellion against him, no sooner did they acknowledge their offence and return to their duty than, to use the words of Khafi Khan, contrary to the customs of the princes of Persia, Arabia, or India, he not only forgave them, but never retained towards them any feeling of resentment."[3]

Babur was pre-eminently a man of faith. "Nothing happens," he used to say, "but by the will of God. Reposing ourselves on his protection, we must go forward." He attributed every bit of his success to the grace of the Almighty. After his victory over Ibrahim, even before entering the capital, he reverently visited the tombs of Muslim saints and heroes in the vicinity of Delhi. His glorious renunciation of wine before the battle of Khanua was an act of genuine repentance for his sins before God.

(2) *Babur as a General.* The history of Babur that we have traced is nothing if it were not a record of brilliant generalship. Himself 'an admirable horseman, a fine shot, a good swordsman, and a mighty hunter,' Babur was well calculated to catch the imagination of his soldiers. Besides these qualities, he possessed in an eminent degree the supreme virtues of a born leader of men. He enjoyed and suffered with his men, and thoroughly understood every man in his army, both officer and private.

1 Babur, besides being a perfect writer of the various scripts in use during his time, had also invented a style of his own, which was called after him 'the *Baburi* script'. To Humayun his advice was to 'write unaffectedly, clearly, with plain words, which saves troubles to both writer and reader.' 'The language of kings,' he wrote, 'is the king of languages.' This at any rate aptly describes the quality of Babur's own writings. For an appreciation of arts and letters under Babur, read S. M. Jaffar, *The Mughal Empire*, pp. 27-31.

2 Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 438-39.

3 Erskine, *op. cit.*, pp. 524-25.

What is perhaps more necessary in a commander of armies, he correctly gauged both the strength and the weakness of the commanders and armies that were opposed to him. Above all, to his native courage he added the unbending tenacity of his will and the unquenchable fire of his ambition. 'Filled as I was by the ambition of conquest and broad sway,' he writes, 'one or two reverses could not make me sit down doing nothing.'

'What though the field be lost,
All is not lost—the unconquerable will
And courage never to submit or yield.'

The following passage from his Memoirs is typical of his life :

1507—'For about a week we went on trampling down the snow, yet were only able to make two or three miles a day. I helped in trampling the snow : with ten or fifteen of my household, and with Kasim Beg and his sons and a few servants, we all dismounted and laboured at beating down the snow. Each step we sank to the waist or the breast, but still we went on trampling it down. After a few paces a man became exhausted, and another took his place. Then the men who were treading it down dragged forward a horse without a rider ; the horse sank to the stirrups and girth, and after advancing ten or fifteen paces was worn out and replaced by another ; and thus ten to twenty of us trod down the snow and brought our horses on, whilst the rest—even our best men, many of them *Begs*—rode along the road thus beaten down for them, hanging their heads : *It was no time for worrying them or using authority ; if a man has pluck and hardihood, he will press forward to such work of his own accord.*

"That night the storm was terrible, and snow fell so heavily that we all expected to die together. When we reached the mountain cave the storm was at its worst. We dismounted at its mouth. Deep snow ! a one-man road ! and even on that stamped-down and trampled road, pitfalls for horses ! The days at their shortest ! The first arrivals reached the cave by day-light, later they dismounted wherever they happened to be ; dawn found many still in the saddle. The cave secured was small. I took a shovel, and scraping and clearing the snow away made a place for myself as big as a prayer-carpet—near its mouth. I dug down breast high, but did not reach the ground. This made me a little shelter from the wind when I sat right down in it. They begged me to go inside, but I would not. *I felt that for me to be in warm shelter and comfort whilst my men were out in the snow and drift, for me to be sleeping at ease inside whilst my men were in misery and distress, was not a man's act and far from comradeship. What strong men can stand, I would stand : for, as the Persian proverb says, 'In the company of friends, Death is a nuptial feast.'* So I remained in the snow and wind in the hole that I had dug out, with snow four-hands thick on my head and back and ears."

But, where strictness was called for, Babur never hesitated : Ferishta observes, 'He even used violence to prevent outrage' ; 'It is certain,' he adds, 'his presence alone saved the honour of Daulat Khan's family,[1] (when Babur's men would have otherwise outraged it). Babur preserved by his exertions on this occasion, a fine library collected by Ghazi Khan

1 We have already noted how he honourably provided for Ibrahim Lodi's mother after the Sultan's death at Panipat.

(Daulat Khan's son), who was a poet and a man of learning.'[1] Babur himself records : 'Having learned that the troops had exercised some severities towards the inhabitants of Bahrah, and were using them ill, I sent out a party, who having seized a few of the soldiers that had been guilty of the excesses, I put some of them to death, and slit the noses of some others and had them led about the camp in that condition. *As I reckoned the countries that had belonged to the Turks as my own territories, I admitted of no plundering or pillage.*'[2]

(3) *Babur as Ruler.* The Empire of Babur extended from Badakhshan to Bengal, from the Oxus to the Ganges : in India alone, from Bhira (Bahra) in the west to Bihar in the east ; from the Himalayas in the north to Chanderi in the South. But 'I had not time. . . .to send proper persons to occupy and protect the different *parganas* and stations.' Babur was too much preoccupied with wars and conquests to devote any serious attention to the administrative organization of his vast dominions. Having conquered, his primary consideration seemed to be to maintain his kingdom in peace and order. This, no doubt, he was well qualified to do, with his military genius and efficient army. But to organize conquest and to organize administration are two different things ; the latter calls for genius of an altogether different type. Sher Shah and Akbar possessed this, but not Babur.

(i) To court danger and hardship, and show valour in arms ;

(ii) To shun indolence and ease, as unbecoming of a King ;

(iii) To consult *Begs* and ministers ; to avoid private parties ; to call the court to public levees twice every day ;

(iv) To keep up the strength and discipline of the army—

these were the principles he had inculcated upon Humayun ; and they seem to have nearly exhausted Babur's kingly code. He was, no doubt, anxious to protect his subjects from the oppression of free-booters, as is indicated by the following casual observation in his *Memoirs* :

> 'Every time that I have entered Hindustan, the Jats and Gujars have regularly poured down in prodigious numbers from their hills and wilds, in order to carry off oxen and buffaloes. These were the wretches that really inflicted the chief hardships, and were guilty of the severest oppression in the country. These districts (in the Punjab) in former times, had been in a state of revolt and yielded very little revenue that could be come at. On the present occasion, when I had reduced the whole of the neighbouring districts to subjection, they began to repeat their practices. . . .I sought out the persons guilty of these outrages, discovered them and ordered two or three of the number to be cut in pieces.'

Apart from this, he also did what was necessary, in order to ensure speedy communication between the principal parts of his dominions ; e.g., he took care to maintain intact the Grand Trunk Road between Agra and Kabul, establishing a regular series of posthouses, at a distance of about fifteen miles from each other, and stationed relays of six horses and proper officers at each.[3]

Ferishta says, 'Whenever he marched, he always caused roads to be measured after him, a custom which prevails among the Emperors of

1 Briggs, II, p. 42.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 233.
3 'Pathways were introduced into Hindustan for the first time, they not having been in use before.' *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Hindustan to this day ; and the statute he made concerning the measurement of distance has hitherto remained in force. . . .The *gaz Sikandari* or yard of Sikandar, which prevailed when he reached India was suspended by the *Baburi gaz*[1] which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jehangeer Padshah.'[2]

Being a man of high aesthetic tastes, Babur also delighted in creating beautiful *bags* and buildings, acqueducts and bridges. 'In Agra alone,' he writes, 'I every day employed on my palaces 680 persons ; and in Agra, Sikri, Bayana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Koel, there were every day employed on my works 1491 stone-cutters.'

He came to a country that was rich beyond the dreams of avarice. 'The chief excellency of Hindustan,' he noted, 'is that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver.' This brought him a large revenue, utilizing the old machinery of collection, and no new organization of Babur's creation. So, 'the countries from Bahrah to Bihar, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of 52 *krors* (*tankahs*), as will appear from the particular and detailed statement. Of this amount, *parganas*, to the value of 8 or 9 *krors* are in the possession of some *Rais* or *Rajas*, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these *parganas* for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience.'[3]

So much we are able to know from Babur's own direct testimony ; the rest is mostly inference.[4] However, the following abstract of the description of Babur's administration by Erskine,[5] ought to prove

1 He fixed 100 *tunabs* for 1 *Kroh*
1 *tunab*=40 *gaz*
1 *gaz*=9 (*moosht or fist*)
or 1 *Kos*—4000 yards- over $2^1/_2$ miles. (Briggs, II, pp, 66-67).

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 262 ; also Edward Thomas, *Chronicle of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, pp. 387-91. "Everything considered," Erskine put it at "£ 4,212,000 as the amount of Babur's nominal revenue ; a very large sum when the working of the American mines had not yet produced its full effect." Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

Thomas' estimate is 2,60,00,000 silver *tankahs* or £ 2,600,000. Here it may also be pointed out that Babur was responsible for the introduction of anonymous coinage in India :

"The practice of striking coin in subordinate cities," Thomas writes, "also appears to have been an innovation introduced by the Mughals, who drew a wise distinction between the importance of the lower currency of copper and money fabricated from the more costly gold or silver. The absence of the Sultan's name likewise indicates a departure from Indian practice, under which we have uniformly seen the designation of supreme authority impressed upon the copper money equally with the coins of higher value.

"Babur's introduction of so much of the leading ideals of his Bokhara money into Hindustan was destined to be attended with more permanence in the coins of the poor, whose standard he adopted, than in that of his more elaborately executed *dirhams* and *asharfis*, in which he outraged local associations.

"The average weight of the pieces of this class is very uniform at something over 140 grains, a total we have frequently met with in the earlier coins of the Pathan issues, 80 of which went to the old *tankah*, 4 to the modified *Sikandari*, and 32 to the foreign *Baburi* and *Shah Rukhi*." (*Ibid.*, *p.* 314).

4 We also get occasional glimpses of Babur's administration in statement like the following in Ahmad Yadgar's *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i Afghana* :

'That district was entirely subdued, from one end to the other, and collectors were appointed in various places. Orders were issued for reading *khutba* and coining money, and a *jagir* was bestowed upon the fortunate *Shahzada*.. ..

'The Mughals, who had for many years desired the possession of Hindustan, at last governed it.... Amir Khalifa, being a person of influence, and possessing the chief authority managed the government and his decrees were like those of the Sultan himself.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 37-38).

5 Erskine, *op. cit.*, pp. 526-31.

useful to the reader :

'Over a great portion of his dominions outside India, especially in the more inaccessible hills and secluded valleys, his sway was hardly admitted by the rude tribes that traversed them ; and prudence was satisfied with some easy acknowledgment which was treated as tribute. In upper and lower Sindh the *khutba* was read in his name ; but though his supremacy was acknowledged, he had little direct power. To the east of Indus, all the Punjab, including Multan, and to the south and east of the Sutlej, the rich provinces of Hindustan lying between the river and Bihar on the one side, and the Himalaya mountains and the countries of the Rajputs and of Malwa on the other, were subject to him ; the western boundary being nearly a line marked by the fortress of Bayana, Rantambhor, Gwalior, and Chanderi. On the south towards Bengal, the limits of his authority are not well defined. Though he possessed the greater part of Bihar, some portion of it, especially the hilly or wooded parts of the country, were still held by the remains of the Afghans or by native chiefs. On the frontier of his Empire, the Rajput principalities, the shattered kingdom of Malwa, Bundelkhand, and Bengal were still independent states.

'There was little uniformity in the political situation of the different parts of this vast Empire. Each kingdom, each province, each district, and (we may almost say) every village, was governed in ordinary matters, by its peculiar customs. The higher officers of government exercised not only civil but criminal jurisdiction, even in capital cases, with little form and under little restraint.

'We have very imperfect means of knowing what were the taxes then levied. The chief revenue was the land-tax directly raised on the land in fully settled and quiet provinces ; but where the country remained under its native chiefs, or was not fully subdued, was drawn by the Emperor in the shape of an annual tribute.

'Though frequently the officers of the army or government were rewarded by *jagirs* or estates. over which they had very often jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, their legal power over the land itself did not extend to a property in the soil, but the exercise of such rights as belonged to the government. The *jagirdar* or holder of the *jagir*, was properly in Musalman times, merely an officer of government, and removable at pleasure, except where the grant had been made hereditary.

'Besides the land-tax, there was a duty levied on the frontier, on goods imported by caravans or otherwise. The *tamgha*, or stamp, was the mark by which, on cattle and in goods, the payment of the duties was ascertained. There were transit duties on merchandise transported from one part of the country to another. There was a shop-tax, chiefly in towns ; and, in parts of the country where the Muhammadans had a confirmed and safe ascendency, the *jiziya* or poll-tax was levied on all who were not Musalmans.'

Babur was, with all his virtues, a Musalman Emperor.[1] When he had killed the Pagans (as he called the Hindus) he piled up a pyramid of their skulls, at least for the delectation of his orthodox followers. He considers the war against the Rajputs as *jihad* or 'holy war' and assumed the

1 Cf. "Babur and the Hindus" by S. K. Banerji in the *Journal of the U. P. His. Socy.*, IX, pt. II, 1936.

title of *Ghazi*, after his victory at Khanua. He spoke of the self-immolation of the Rajputs at Chanderi as '*going to hell.*' When he remitted the *tamgha* after his penitence and vow to renounce wine, it was only Musalmans who were exempted from it, and not the Hindus. After the fall of Chanderi, as Ferishta tells us, he 'did not fail to rebuild and repair the mosques in Chanderi, Sarangpur, Rantambhor and Raisen, which had been partly destroyed and otherwise injured by being converted into cattle-sheds, by Medini Rai's orders.' Babur himself stated on his conquest of Chanderi, that he converted 'the mansion of hostility' into 'a mansion of faith'. All these facts make it difficult to accept the too liberal policy outlined in the Bhopal MS.,[1] ascribed to Babur.

But to say this is not to allege the contrary. Babur was beyond question a man of deep faith in God ; but his belief in Islam must have sat comparatively light on his mind. He had abjured his orthodoxy and become a Shia to win the support of the Shah of Persia to his cause.[2] At the same time, he had refused to persecute his quandom orthodox co-religionists at the command of his newly accepted suzerain. There is no evidence of his ever having destroyed a Hindu temple or otherwise persecuted the Hindus on account of their religion. On the other hand, there is at least one reference to his equal recognition of the Hindu and Turki *Amirs* who had enlisted in his service.

'On Thursday, the 19th *Shaban*, I called the *Amirs*,' he writes, 'both *Turki* and *Hindu*, to a council, and took their opinion about passing the river.' This was during his last campaign, in Bengal (1529).

At least six Hindu Rajas, and among them Raja Bikramajit of Rantambhor (second son of Rana Sanga), accepted Babur's sway and paid their tribute.[3]

To conclude : "Unfortunately Babur, being no administrative genius, but a plain warrior with statesmanlike instincts, found it necessary to carry on the administrative plan which he found already in existence, namely,

1 It reads :

'O my son ! People of diverse religions inhabit India, and it is a matter of thanksgiving to God that the King of kings has entrusted the government of this country to you.

It therefore behoves you that :

(i) You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to religious susceptibilities.

(ii) In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India ; thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

(iii) You should never destroy places of worship of any community and always be justice-loving so that relations between the King and his subjects may remain cordial and thereby secure peace and contentment in the land.

(iv) The propagation of Islam will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

(v) Always ignore the mutual dissensions of Shias and Sunnis ; otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam.

(vi) Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year, so that the body politic may remain free from disease.'

This is a translation by Dr. Syed Mahmud, of a document in the Bhopal State Library supposed to be Babur's confidential will and testament to his son Humayun. (*The Indian Review*, Aug., 1929). For the text and a more recent version of the same see *The Twentieth Century* for January 1926, pp. 239-44.

2 Sir Denison Ross, while characterizing Babur as a 'rigid Sunni', also appreciates his 'moral courage' in adopting the Qizilbash head-dress in this connection, though from a 'purely political' motive. See *C.H.I.*, IV, p. 19.

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 262-81. Cf. S. M. Edwardes, *Babur as Diarist and Despot*, pp. 40-41.

that of parcelling the dominions among his officers, with the understanding that each was responsible for the good order of the districts under his control. The consequences of this plan had always been the same : the monarchy, having erected an artificial barrier between itself and the local administration, lost little by little all its authority, until last of all its prestige departed, and the throne became the prey for contending factions. The great *Amirs* on the other hand, gained what the crown lost. During the reign of Babur this does not become apparent, partly because he was invested with the prestige of a conqueror : partly because the time was too short for the consequences of his policy to make themselves felt. Even before he died, however, the symptoms of radical unsoundness in the administration are not far to seek. The old haphazard financial system entirely failed to provide means for the up-keep of the professional soldiers, like the gunners and matchlockmen, who were paid directly from the royal revenue. Having distributed with lavish generosity the royal hoards in Delhi and Agra, Babur suddenly found himself with an empty treasury.[1] For the moment the deficit was met by a levy of 30 per cent on the revenues of all great officers. But in the time of Humayun there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dethronement of a dynasty."[2]

BABUR'S FAMILY

(1) *Maham* — BABUR — (2) *Gulrukh* — (3) *Dilbar*

HUMAYUN — Kamran, Askari, Hindal, *Gulbadan*, etc.

1 'By this time,' Babur wrote in Oct., 1528, 'the treasure of Iskandar and Ibrahim in Delhi and Agra was at an end.' See S. K. Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, p. 6.
2 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

CHAPTER 3

The Empire in Transition

"The world is his who exerts himself."
"Fail not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency : indolence and ease agree ill with kingship."

—BABUR TO HUMAYUN

THE Empire whose foundation was so laboriously laid by Babur was nevertheless precarious and unstable in character. The strength and security of an arch depends upon its key-stone ; in the present case it was too weak to hold on steadily for long. The story of Humayun's loss and re-acquisition of his heritage are not less fascinating than the adventures of his father. They are also instructive as showing the vital dependence of the empire on the personal character of the monarch.

Humayun's life divides itself into four clear periods : (I) Early life, up to his Accession (1508-30) ; (II) Struggles to maintain his Inheritance (1530-40) ; (III) Fifteen Years of Exile (1540-1555) ; and (IV) Restoration and Death (1555-56).

I. Early Life (1508-30)

Humayun was born on *Zaikada* 4, 913 *Hijra* (March 6, 1508) in the citadel of Kabul.

(1) Birth and Accession

He mounted the throne, at Agra, on First *Jumada* 9, 937 *Hijra* (December 30, 1530) at the age of twenty-three—four days after the death of Babur.

Khwandamir writes : 'The hand of the kindness of the Creator of Souls and Substances put the happy robe of royalty on the person of this able monarch, the Conqueror of the World. On Friday, the 9th of the said month, in the *Jami Masjid* at Agra the *khutba* was read in the name and title of this noble King, and the noise of congratulations which arose from the crowd of the people reached beyond the heavens.'[1]

The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* records : 'On the death of the Emperor Babur, Prince Humayun, who arrived from Sambhal, ascended the throne at Agra, *with the support of Amir Nizam-ud-din Ali Khalifa, on the 9th Jumada-Awwal,* 937 H. The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and officers were treated with great kindness. The *mansabs* and offices which

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 118.

were held under the last sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and contented.[1]

(2) **Apprenticeship**

(a) On the death of his cousin, Khan Mirza, in 1520, Humayun, at the age of twelve, was appointed to the government of Badakhshan. Babur himself visited the province, together with Humayun's mother to install the young Prince in his first charge.

(b) When Babur invaded India in 1526, Humayun joined him with a contingent from Badakhshan.

(c) In this campaign, too, Humayun won his maiden victory over a force from Hissar-Firoza, which was on its way to join Ibrahim Lodi (1526).[2]

(d) After Panipat, Humayun, who had played his part well, received a great diamond and gifts worth 7,00,000 *dams* (about £20,000).

(e) Humayun also, after this, led the army against the Afghan insurgents in the east, and captured Sambhal, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, and Kalpi.

(f) At the battle of Khanua (1527) Humayun led the right wing of the Mughal army and was well rewarded.[3]

(g) In 1528, when he was back in Badakhshan, Babur wrote to him (Nov., 13) to advance with the support of his brothers to 'Hisar, Samarkand, or Merv, as may be most available. . . .This is the time for you to court danger and hardship, and show your valour in arms. Fail not to quit yourself strenuously to meet every emergency ; indolence and ease agree ill with kingship.' He also tendered him much good advice in the same letter, urging Humayun, among other things, 'to act handsomely by his brother Kamran ; not to complain of loneliness in Badakhshan, as it was unworthy of a prince ; to consult his *Begs* and ministers, particularly Khwaja Kalan ; to avoid private parties ; but to call the court to public levees twice daily ; and above all to keep up the strength and discipline of the army.'[4]

(3) **Return to India**

In spite of all this care and anxiety on the part of Babur, Humayun precipitately returned to India in 1529. Babur thus enthusiastically describes the advent of his son :

> 'I was just talking with his mother about him when he came. His presence opened our hearts like rose-buds, and made our eyes shine like torches. It was my rule to keep open table every day, but on this occasion, I gave feasts in his honour, and showed him every kind of distinction. We lived together for some time in the greatest

1 Ali Khalifa had favoured Mahdi Khwaja's succession ; for the circumstances under which he apparently changed his mind, see E. & D., *loc. cit.*, V, pp. 187-88. Note also on the same page the discrepancies in the computation of dates in terms of the Christian era. The complacency of the nobles referred to here must have been only skin deep in the case of several of them.

2 In a footnote to Babur's *Memoirs*, Humayun notes that on March 6, 1526 he was at Shahabad, on the left bank of the Sarsuti, on his way of Panipat, and this same day the razor or scissors were first applied to his beard. 'As my honoured father mentioned in the commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have noted the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I Muhammad Humayun am transcribing a copy of these *Memoirs* from the copy in his late Majesty's own handwriting.'—(Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 40 n.).

3 With Alwar (Mewat), Hasan Khan Mewati's possession.

4 Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.*, p. 197.

intimacy. The truth is that his conversation had an inexpressible charm, and he realized absolutely the ideal of perfect manhood.'[1]

But why did Humayun desert his charge ?

(4) Abortive Conspiracy

The reasons were three : (i) His own failure against the Uzbegs who were making fresh incursions ; (ii) Babur's failing health, and his call to Hindal from Kabul to be by his side ; and (iii) *the conspiracy at Agra to supersede Humayun.*

This last was in favour of Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja who was Babur's brother-in-law (sister's husband), and who had been in charge of the left wing of the Mughal army at the battle of Khanua, where Humayun led the right wing. The origin and details of this intrigue are of little value to us, since it proved abortive. But, as Rushbrooke Williams observes, "that the sceme should have been considered feasible at all is eloquent testimony of Babur's feebleness in body and mind."[2] He also contradicts Mirza Haidar's statement that Babur had recalled Humayun, for which he gives the following reasons : (i) The appearance of Humayun at Agra surprised everyone at Agra ; (ii) Babur was expecting Hindal, and would never have recalled both sons at the same time ; (iii) no successor had been settled upon to occupy the governorship of Badakhshan : (iv) Humayun was asked by his father to return to his charge.[3]

Humayun had met Kamran and Hindal at Kabul ; and they had agreed that, in view of the grave conspiracy which was afoot at Agra, Humayun should hasten to the capital and Hindal should take his place in Badakhshan. Ultimately, Babur sent Suleiman Mirza to that distant province.

The rest of the story has already been told. The conspiracy nipped in the bud, Humayun spent some time on his estate in Sambhal. Then followed his illness and Babur's affectionate sacrifice on Monday 26, 1530. Before this happened Babur had commended Humayun to his nobles in unmistakable terms : "Now when I am laid low by illness, I charge you to acknowledge Humayun as my successor, and to remain loyal to him. Be of one heart and mind towards him, and I hope to God that Humayun will also bear himself well towards men."

But, no sooner was Babur's breath stilled in death, or, to use Khwandamir's phrase, 'left the throne of this world for the eternal heaven,' than Humayun's troubles began.

II. Struggles to maintain his Inheritance (1530-40)

Political Situation

Babur had bequeathed to Humayun "a congeries of territories, uncemented by any bond of union or of common interest, except that which had been embodied in his life. In a word, when he died, the Mughal dynasty like the Muhammadan dynasties which had preceded it, had sent down no roots into the soil of Hindustan."[4] Babur had not annexed Bengal to the east, nor the great provinces of Malwa and Gujarat, now united under one king (Bahadur

1 Lane-Poople, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
2 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 171.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 172, n. 2. Cf. S. K. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-12. The circumstances that attended Humayun's succession have been well discussed by Dr. Banerji in Ch. II of his book. The date of Humayun's accession, viz., 30th Dec., 1530 (i.e., four days after Babur's death) is also accounted for by him.
4 Mallison, *Akbar*, p. 49.

Shah), to the south. The many chiefs of the Rajputana were cowed but not subdued, and in most of outlying parts of the kingdom the Mughal power was but slightly recognized.[1]

(A) AFGHANS

Numerous Afghan officers still held powerful fiefs, and these men had not forgotten that the kings of Delhi had been Afghans but a few years before When a member of the deposed dynasty (Sultan Mahmud Lodi) appeared amongst them in Bihar, there were all the materials for a formidable insurrection. Thus, even in his inherited dominions—about an eighth part of all India—Humayun was not secure from rivals and revolts.[2]

The principal rallying centres for these Afghans who were all 'ripe for revolt', were :

(i) *Mahmud Lodi*, the brother of Ibrahim, whom Babur had driven away but not crushed. He was supported by the old heads of the Afghan nobility, Biban and Bayazid, who though lately driven into the recesses of the eastern provinces and of Bihar, were only waiting for a fit opportunity to return and re-occupy the kingdom from which they had been expelled. The King of Bengal, who had married a sister of Mahmud Lodi, also supported him.

(ii) *Sher Khan Sur*, who was 'the most capable, unscrupulous, and ambitious man in the whole Afghan party,' had joined the rebels even during the last days of Babur, although the latter had 'bestowed on him many marks of favour, and given him several *parganas* and put him in command in the east.' He looked upon the Mughals with great contempt as indicated by his following statement :

> 'If fortune favours me, I can drive these Mughals back out of Hindustan ; they are not our superiors in war, but we let slip the power that we had by reason of our dissensions. Since I have been among the Mughals, I have observed their conduct and found them lacking in order and discipline ; while those who profess to lead them, in the pride of birth and rank, neglect the duty of supervision, and leave everything to officials whom they blindly trust. These subordinates act corruptly in every case . . . . they are led by lust of gain, and make no distinction between soldier and civilian, foe or friend.'[3]

Fair or otherwise, this estimate only serves to reveal the ambition and attitude of Sher Khan, who was soon to drive Humayun into exile and occupy his throne.

(iii) *Alam Khan* or Ala-ud-din Lodi, the uncle of Ibrahim, was one of those that invited Babur to India, fought against his nephew at Panipat. He had later fallen into disgrace and was confined in a fort in Badakhshan. Since the death of Babur, Ala-ud-din had effected his escape, and sought refuge with Bahadur Shah of Gujarat.

"Without any open declaration of war with Humayun, Bahadur Shah liberally supplied Ala-ud-din with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Agra, under his son Tatar Khan. This army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dis-

1 For a more detailed appreciation of the situation read S. K. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-34.
2 Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 219-20.
3 Keene, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

persed ; and Tatar Khan fell in battle, at the head of a division which remained faithful in the desertion."[1]

The career of Bahadur Shah, up to the death of Babur, has already been described in detail in the first chapter. He gave shelter not merely to Ala-ud-din Lodi, but also to another of Humayun's rivals, presently to be noticed. Briefly, besides the prestige and power he had acquired over his southern neighbours, Bahadur Shah, who was ruler of Gujarat and Malwa, "was actively pressing his triumphs over the Rajputs and rapidly approaching within striking distance of Agra."[2]

(B) COUSINS AND BROTHERS

Besides the Afghans, Humayun had rivals and enemies nearer home.

(i) *Muhammad Zaman* was the grandson of Sultan Husain of Herat, and married his cousin Ma'Suma, a step-sister of Humayun. He had shown himself a capable general in Babur's campaigns.

(ii) *Muhammad Sultan Mirza* was also a descendant of Timur and grandson of the late Sultan of Khorasan by a daughter. From his royal birth and station, he too was considered worthy to aspire to the throne.

(iii) *Mir Muhammad Mahdi Khwaja*, a brother-in-law,[3] of Babur, the abortive conspiracy in whose favour has already been noticed. Babur's prime minister and life-long friend Khalifa[4] was interested in him. He was in command of a division of the army, and belonged to the nobility of religion. At Khanua, as we have seen, he was put in charge of the left wing, as Humayun led the right wing. So with the army he had enjoyed equality of status with the present Emperor.

(iv) *Kamran Mirza* was the most dangerous of all Humayun's brothers. He was in charge of Kabul and Kandahar at the time of Babur's death. Babur, as we have noticed, had commanded Humayun 'to act handsomely by his brother Kamran.' Askari and Hindal were the other two brothers of Humayun. Elphinstone remarks, "From his having assigned no shares to his younger children, it is probable that Babur did not intend to divide the Empire ; but Kamran showed no disposition to give way to his brother ; and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great

1 Elphinstone, *op. cit* . p. 442.

2 "He earnestly wished for some political trouble to entangle the Emperor in the eastern provinces, so that his attention and energy might be diverted to that quarter, and Bahadur might thus be given a free hand to deal with the Rajputs. He scanned the eastern horizon of Hindustan and saw the clouds gathering in South Bihar which boded ill to the Mughal Empire. He thought of subsidizing Sher Khan and making use of his rising power to keep the Emperor busy in that quarter." (Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 109).

3 "He was the husband of Babur's full sister, Khanzada Begam." (Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 170). Both Ahmad Yadgar and Nizam-ud-din Ahmad however (in the passage cited in n. 4 below) speak of him as Babur's *son-in-law*. (E. & D. *op. cit.*, p. 36). Both Gulbadan Begam and Khwandamir describe him as *brother-in-law*. See S. K. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4 His full name was 'Amir Nizam-ud-din Ali Khalifa.' The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* states—Amir Nizam-ud-din Ali Khalifa was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldly business, he had a dread and suspicion of the young prince Humayun and was unfriendly to his succession. And if he was not friendly with the eldest son, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. *Mahdi Khwaja* was son-in-law (?) of the late Emperor, and was a generous and liberal young man He was very friendly with Mir Khalifa, who had promised to raise him to the throne. This fact became generally known, and several of the nobles took part with Mahdi Khwaja. He also fell in with the idea, and began to assume kingly airs. (E. & D., *op. cit.*)

advantage over Humayun, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his new and disaffected provinces."[1] "Ever weak and shifty," says Lane-Poole, "Askari and Hindal were dangerous only as tools for ambitious men to play upon."[2]

(C) MILITARY WEAKNESS OF HUMAYUN

Surrounded as Humayun was with astute and powerful enemies on every side, what was most necessary in him was 'a firm grasp of the military situation and resolution to meet it'. Both these qualities, Humayun lamentably lacked. "It was a situation that called for boundless energy and soldierly genius."[3] On the north-west was Kamran, 'a surely ill-conditioned traitor, unworthy of Babur's seed,' and the most formidable of Humayun's brothers. On the east were the Afghans under Mahmud Lodi and Sher Khan. On the south was Bahadur Shah, supporting the pretenders.

'The army was not a national one, connected by common language and country, but a mixed body of adventurers, Chaghatai, Uzbek, Mughal, Persian, Afghan and Indian. Even the Chaghatai chiefs, who had enjoyed most of the Emperor's confidence and favour, were not perfectly unanimous. Though attached to the family of Babur, as the representatives of that revered prince and of the great Timur, yet no eminent chief, or head of a tribe considered the crown itself as beyond the range of his ambition. It was the age of revolution; and the kingdoms on every side—Persia, Samarkand, Bokhara, Hisar, Balkh and Hindustan itself—saw the throne occupied by adventurers, or the immediate descendants of adventurers, not more distinguished than themselves. . . .Under such circumstances, a thousand unforeseen accidents might occur to blow the smouldering embers of intrigue and faction into a flame.'[4]

At such a crisis, the personal character of the prince was a matter of great importance. But Humayun, though he possessed all the humaner virtues of his great father, lamentably lacked "the decision and spirit of command, without which no prince can secure the respect and confidence of his subjects." He was too gentle and good to be successful in such an age and under such circumstances ; his failure was in no small measure due to his "beautiful but unwise clemency. Instead of taking a statesmanlike view of the situation, meeting the most pressing danger first, and crushing one antagonist before he engaged another, he frittered away his army in divided commands, and deprived it of its full strength ; he left one enemy unsubdued behind him while he turned to meet another ; and when victory by chance rewarded his courage, rather than his tactics, he reposed upon his laurels and made merry with his friends while his foes used the precious time in gathering their forces for a fresh effort. . . .Humayun's troops were still the men who had won Delhi and defeated Rana Sanga, and Babur's generals were still in command of their divisions. But Humayun weakened their valour and destroyed their confidence by division and vacillation, neglected the counsels of the commanders, and displayed such indecision that it is a marvel that any army still adhered to his falling fortunes."[5]

On the day of Humayun's accession, Nizam-ud din Ahmad writes,

1 Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 441.
2 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 219
4 Erskine, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4.
5 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

Division of the Empire

'Mirza Hindal arrived from Badakhshan and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures (*do Khazana*) of former kings. The territories were then divided: (i) Mirza Hindal received the district of Mewat (Alwar) in *jagir*; (ii) the Punjab, Kabul and Kandahar were settled as the *jagir* of Mirza Kamran[1]; (iii) Sambhal was given to Mirza Askari; (iv) every one of the *Amirs* also received an increase of his *jagir*." (v) According to the *Akbar Nama*, Mirza Suleiman was confirmed in Badakhshan. . . .

Note.—The great blunder in this distribution was in leaving the perfidious Kamran in charge of the most vital part of Babur's dominions. By this cession Humayun was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been also retained. "It was a mistake on Humayun's part," writes Dr. Ishwari Prasad, "to make these concessions, because they created a barrier between him and the lands beyond the Afghan hills. Kamran could henceforward, as Rushbrooke Williams observes, cut the tap-root of his military power by merely stopping where he was. Besides, the cession of Hissar-Firoza was a blunder, for it gave Kamran command of the new military road which ran from Delhi to Kandahar."[2]

(D) EARLY EXCURSIONS

(i) 'After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty proceeded to Kalinjar, the Raja of which place expressed his fealty, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne.[3]

(ii) 'In those days, Sultan Mahmud (son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi), with the assistance of Biban, Bayazid, and the Afghan nobles, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jaunpur and its dependencies. Humayun now marched to subdue him, and having achieved success,[4] he returned victorious to Agra. There he held a great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said that 12,000 persons received robes at that feast, and 2,000 of them were presented with outer-garments of gold brocade and gilt buttons.'

Note.—Though such pomp was not unknown to Babur,[5] Humayun's

1 At first he had been confirmed in his possession of Kabul and Kandahar alone. But Kamran not being satisfied, left Kandahar in the possession of Askari, and marched for Hindustan. Humayun then added Peshawar and Lamghan to his grant. "But Kamran's views were too extensive to be satisfied even with that concession." He soon marched up to and occupied Lahore as well. Humayun, surrounded as he was with great difficulties, confirmed him in his new acquisition. A *firman* was accordingly issued, bestowing on Kamran the government of Kabul, Kandahar, and the Punjab; "a grant which exalted that prince to the possession of dominions and power nearly equal to his own." Kamran, who had a turn for poetry, flattered Humayun with a few odes and wheedled out of him the rich province of Hissar-Firoza as well. This was an important grant, and most welcome to Kamran, as it lay nearly on the high-road between his possessions in the Punjab and Delhi.

2 Ishwari Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 326; Elphinstone, *op. cit*, p. 441.

3 According to Badauni, the fort was captured after a siege lasting for a month—(E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 189, n. 3). The date assigned is May-June, 1531. (Erskine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 9). See S. K. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-36.

4 Sultan Mahmud Lodi and his Afghan supporters were defeated at Dauroh on the river Gaumti, about 48 miles north of Jaunpur. Abbas Khan mentions the place as Lucknow; Dauroh is mentioned by Jauhar. (E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 350).

5 E.g., 'In the third year, His Majesty (Babur) proceeded towards Lahore. At Sirhind he was met by the Raja of Kahlur, who presented him seven falcons, and three *mans* of gold, and was confirmed in the *zamindari* of that place. When the King's camp reached Lahore, Mirza Kamran was honoured to the presence, and he brought the *zamindars* of the country to kiss the feet of the conqueror of the world. The King's

already depleted treasury could ill-afford such extravagance at this moment of crisis, when he had to fight enemies on all sides. "In the time of Humayun," says Rushbrooke Williams, "there is a repetition of the old story of financial breakdown, accompanied by revolution, intrigue, and the dethronement of a dynasty."[1] Humayun's lavishness on this occasion was typical of his general extravagance.

(iii) 'At this time Muhammad Zaman Miza. . . .who had originally come from Balkh to seek refuge with His late Majesty, now set himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the fort of Bayana. and placed in the custody of Yadgar Taghai. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yadgar Beg saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat.

(iv) 'About the same time Muhammad Sultan Mirza, with his two sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, went off to Kanauj, and there raised a rebellion.'

The Gujarat Campaign

(i) 'His Majesty sent a person with letters to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat demanding the surrender of Muhammad Zaman Mirza, to which he returned a haughty refusal, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance.[2] This excited the anger of the Emperor, and he resolved to march against Gujarat and chastise Sultan Bahadur. He proceeded to Gwalior and there passed two months in making excursions and hunting' (1532).

(ii) When Humayun finally marched against Bahadur Shah, that prince was busy with the siege of Chitor[3] (1534). At the approach of the Emperor he held a council of war. Many officers advised the raising of the siege, but Sadr Khan, who was the chief of the nobles, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereign of Musalmans were to attack them while so engaged, would in effect assist the infidels, and this would remain a reproach against him among Musal-

encampment was located in the environs of Lahore, and the royal tents were pitched in the garden of Mirza Kamran, who gave a magnificent banquet, which lasted three days. At its conclusion, the King left the garden and took his abode in the fort. The whole road thither, from the garden to the gate of the city, was lined by the servants of Shahzada Kamran, dressed in silks and brocade, decked like bridegrooms: and the troops, with their gay red and yellow flags, resembling the early spring. Elephants adorned with gilded trappings, covered with jewels, were led in front of the royal cortege. When they entered the city gates, money was thrown to the poor and destitute, and a grand entertainment was given in the palace of Sikandar Lodi. The King was pleased with the sights and hunting which the Punjab afforded, and he therefore remained there for the space of a year, during which Mirza Hindal came from Kabul. He was admitted to the presence and treated with marked distinction. When the cold season was over, Mirza Hindal returned to Kabul, and at the time of his departure he received, as a present from His Majesty, two elephants, four horses, girdles, and jewelled daggers.'—Ahmad Yadgar, E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 40.

1 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

2 For an account of the nature of the correspondence between Humayun and Bahadur Shah, and other diplomatic relations, see Banerji, *op. cit.*, Ch. X (pp. 99-117).

3 The Rana in his distress dispatched an envoy to ask succour from Humayun. Humayun, thus invited, moved forward with a considerable army as far as Gwalior, as if to assist the Rana. There he encamped for about two months and asked Bahadur Shah to desist from his attack on Chitor and give up the traitors he was harbouring. Neither demand was complied with. Humayun with some loss of reputation, soon after decamped, compelled to repress disturbances in Jaunpur and Bihar. The Rana despairing of assistance bought peace of Bahadur Shah. (Erskine, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15).

mans until the Day of Judgment. He, therefore, advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them. 'When the Emperor had passed through Malwa and had come to Sarangpur, he was informed of this ; so he rested there.'

Note.—This was Humayun's third great blunder. It was a double failing : timely assistance might have won over the Rana as a perpetual ally who might have acted as a bulwark against Gujarat ; if attacked at once, Bahadur Shah might perhaps have been crushed at the first blow.

But as it happened, 'Sultan Bahadur carried on the siege of Chitor at his ease, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast, and divided the spoil among his soldiers. Then he turned his front to the Imperial army.'

(iii) Humayun then, hearing of this, marched against Bahadur Shah and met him at Mandasor. The king of Gujarat again called a council of war. Sadr Khan advised giving battle, but Rumi Khan who commanded the artillery, counselled entrenchment so as to give full play to his guns (*top*) and rockets (*tufang*). 'They were very strong in artillery, and except the Emperor of Rum, no other potentate could equal them. Sultan Bahadur acquiesced in this view and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.'[1]

For two months Humayun did nothing but cut off the supplies of the enemy. Famine ensued in the enemy's camp. 'The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismounted. When Sultan Bahadur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of the pavilion and went towards Mandu with five of his most trusty adherents. . . .When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight.'

(iv) Humayun pursued Bahadur Shah to Mandu and besieged the fort. 'Sultan Bahadur was asleep when the alarm was raised. A general panic followed and the Gujaratis took to flight. Sultan Bahadur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujarat, and Sadr Khan and Sultan Alam (Lodi) threw themselves into the fort of Sungar, which is the citadel of Mandu. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khan was placed in confinement and an order was given for cutting off the feet of Alam Khan.'

(v) 'Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gujarat. Sultan Bahadur had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Champanir, and these he carried off to Ahmadabad. (He set fire to the town before leaving Champanir.) Humayun pursued him up to Cambay. On his way he took Ahmadabad, which being plundered yielded enormous spoil.' Bahadur Shah ultimately escaped to the island of Diu.[2]

Note.—Humayun, instead of following up his success and finishing with the fugitive, marched to Champanir. This was his fourth blunder.

1 'Flushed with the recent victory the Gujaratis might probably have overwhelmed Humayun's army, on which the irritations as well as the revels of the delay had exerted their usual influences ; but the triumph of the heavy artillery in the siege of Chitor had given undue weight to the advice of the Ottoman engineer, the 'Rumi Khan,' who had worked the guns with the help of the Portuguese and other European gunners ; and, as with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevestopol, the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders.' Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 224).

2 July, 1535. The same day on which he left Cambay, Humayun arrived and 'encamped on the shore of the salt sea' which none of his ancestors had ever seen.

(vi) Champanir[1] was no doubt taken (1535-36), Humayun himself with Bairam Khan scaling the fort at night its most abrupt side, with the help of steel spikes driven into the scarp of the rock. 'Great numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed.' Ikhtiyar Khan who held a high position among the Gujaratis, was kindly received by the Emperor, who 'made him one of his personal attendants.' He was a man of great knowledge and experience, and had a great reputation as a statesman, an accomplished geometrician and astronomer. He was also of some repute as a poet. When the fort was taken, the place where Bahadur Shah had hidden his treasure was known only to one officer. Humayun instead of getting the secret out of him by torture, preferred to make use of wine: the man was invited to an entertainment ; and 'when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good cheer,' he revealed the secret. The treasure was found in a vault under the bed of a reservoir.[2]

'The gold was divided among the soldiers—so much a head. The goods and stuffs of Rum, Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the kings of Gujarat had treasured, all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no person attempted to collect revenue that year in Gujarat.[3]

(vii) After this, there was a slight rally at Ahmadabad, in favour of Bahadur Shah. But Mirza Askari who was at Muhammadabad won over them an easy victory. 'More than two thousand men were killed in the battle.'[4]

(viii) After this, the Emperor bestowed Ahmadabad and its dependencies upon Mirza Askari in *Jagir*, Patan upon Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and Broach upon Mirza Hindu Beg. Tardi Beg received Champanir, and Kasim Hussain obtained Baroda. Khan Jahan Shirazi and other nobles also received grants. The Emperor proceeded after these successes to Burhanpur, and from thence to Mandu.[5]

"Malwa and Gujarat—two provinces equal in area to all the rest of Humayun's kingdom—had fallen like ripe fruit into his hands. Never was

1 *Champanir* : This important fortress occupies the upper part of a hill that arises towering out of the level plain, in the south-east portion of Gujarat and is visible over a great part of that province. The fortress is surrounded on several of its sides by steep and nearly prependicular rocks which have gained for it the reputation of being impregnable to active operation. It had an upper and a lower fort, the one rising above the other ; while the extensive, and at the same time magnificent town of Muhammadabad—Champanir extended on one side along its base. Humayun invested it vainly for four months but finally took it in the manner described.

'The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness and success of the enterprise by which its capture was achieved,' says Ferishta, 'render this action equal, in the opinion of military men, to anything of the kind recorded in history.'—(Briggs, II, p. 79).

2 Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 443 n.

3 Cf. Ferishta ; Briggs, II, p. 80.

4 The author of this work (*Tabakat-i-Akbari*) heard from his father who was then wazir of Mirza Askari, that at midday, when it was intensely hot, the Gujaratis came hastily out of Ahmadabad.... Mirza Yadgar Nasir and Mirza Hindu Beg came up in due order, with their forces, and the Gujaratis took to flight.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 196).

5 Ferishta adds : "In this state of affairs, Buhran Nizam Shah, Imad Shah, and the other sovereigns of the Deccan, apprehensive of his designs, wrote submissive letters, tendering their allegiance. Humayun had scarcely obtained their flattering tokens of his success, when accounts arrived of the insurrection created in the north by Sher Khan." (Briggs, II, pp. 80-81).

conquest so easy. Never, too, was, conquest more recklessly squandered away."[1]

Note. This was Humayun's fifth great blunder in this direction. Instead of ensuring the settled government of the conquered provinces, he was content to assign its various parts to governors whose loyalty had not been tested, and hastened to devote himself to pleasures. 'The Emperor Humayun,' says Nizam-ud-din Ahmed, 'remained for a year at Agra and took his pleasure.'[2]

(ix) Meanwhile, both Gujarat and Malwa were rapidly lost[3] (1535-36).

"One night Mirza Askari in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue, exclaimed, 'I am a king, and the shadow of God.' Just at this period Hindu Beg had counselled Mirza Askari to have the *khutba* recited and coin struck in his name, and set up his claim to independence, expecting that the troops in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service. Mirza Askari did not accept the advice ; but Tardi Beg. . . .sent a messenger to Humayun, to inform him that Mirza Askari had hostile intentions, and was about to march upon Agra and proclaim himself king."

Ahmadabad and other places revolted in favour of Bahadur Shah, who soon returned from Diu with Portuguese aid, and recovered all his lost dominions.[4] 'Mirza Askari and the *Amirs* mounted and made a show of fighting, and then retired. . . .But before Mirza Askari retreated from Ahmadabad, the news-writers and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the proposition which Mirza Hindu Beg had made to the Mirza for his assuming the crown, the although he had not assented thereto, they reported that he entered into hostile designs' (1535-36).

Humayun left Mandu, and reached Agra before Askari. Although not received, he considered it prudent to take no notice of reports. Thus the countries of Malwa and Gujarat, 'the conquest of which had been obtained by the exertions of so fine an army, were now abandoned without a struggle.'[5]

Note. This 'beautiful but unwise clemency' towards his brothers was to prove Humayun's ruin.

(x) When Sultan Bahadur was defeated, Humayun had sent away Muhammad Zaman Mirza to Sind, instead of taking better account of him. The pretender laid siege to Lahore, when on account of trouble in Kandahar, Kamran had left the Punjab temporarily. When Muhammad Zaman heard of the Emperor's return to Agra, he again took refuge in

1 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

2 'On the return of Humayun to his capital, it was observed that he gave way more than ever to the excessive use of opium ; public business was neglected ; and the governors of the surrounding districts taking advantage of the state of affairs, promoted their own aggrandisement.' (Briggs, II, p. 83).

3 'One year had seen the rapid conquest of the two great provinces ; the next saw them as quickly lost." (Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 226).

4 Nuno d'Cuna, the Portuguese Viceroy, offered Bahadur Shah a force of 500 Europeans in return for allowing them to fortify Diu and important trade concessions. Later Bahadur Shah was invited to a conference by the Portuguese in the course of which he fell into the sea and died in 1537, at the age of 30. But Humayun took no advantage of the death of his intrepid enemy which put Gujarat into disorder.

Dr. Banerji attributes the general revulsion of feelings against Humayun in Malwa and Gujarat to Humayun's indulgence in excessive cruelty. See Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

5 Ferishta : Briggs, II, p. 83.

Gujarat. Kamran meanwhile recovered Kandahar from the Persians who had for some time occupied it.[1]

The fateful contest with Sher Khan

Sher Khan has already been mentioned as one of the important leaders of the Afghan revolt against the Mughals. His early life and career will be more fully dealt with in the next chapter. Here only his relations with Humayun will be considered.

(i) By the end of 1531 Sher Khan had made himself master of the province of South Bihar, and occupied the important stronghold of Chunar[2] near (Benares). In that year, Humayun, before marching south against Bahadur Shah, but after the defeat of Mahmud Lodi at Dauroh encountered Sher Khan for the first time.[3] The *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* of Abbas Khan gives the following account of this event :

> When Humayun had overcome Sultan Mahmud, and had put the greater number of his opponents to death, he sent Hindu Beg to take Chunar from Sher Khan, but Sher Khan declined to give it up to him. When he heard this Humayun commanded his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Chunar. . . .The army of Humayun besieged Chunar. . . .Sher Khan knew that the Emperor would be unable to delay long in those parts for his spies brought him word that Bahadur Shah, the king of Gujarat, had conquered the kingdom of Mandu and was meditating the seizure of Delhi and would shortly declare war.[4] Humayun also having received this intelligence, Sher Khan sent his *vakil* to him and wrote saying, "I am your slave, and the client of Junaid Barlas. . . .As you must entrust the fort of Chunar to someone, make it over to me, and I will send my son Kutb Khan to accompany you in this expedition. Do you lay aside all anxiety as regards these parts ; for if either I or any other Afghan do any act unbefitting or disloyal, you have my son with you : inflict on him such reprisals as may be a warning to others."
>
> When Sher Khan's emissary represented this to the Emperor Humayun, he replied, "I will give Chunar to Sher Khan, but on this condition, that he sends Jalal Khan[5] with me."

Finally, when Humayun heard of Mirza Muhammad Zaman's escape from Bayana, and Bahadur Shah's intended march on Delhi, he agreed to Sher Khan's proposal. Sher Khan was delighted and sent Kutb Khan, his son, and Isa Khan his chamberlain, to the Emperor, who set off to

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 199.

2 The fort of Chunar stands on a rock close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindhya Mountains which extend to the same river near Mirzapur. From that neighbourhood the hills recede westwards, by the fort of Rohtas and Shirghati, and do not approach the river again, until near Bhagalpur, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Bihar and Bengal, and shut up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places—one near Chunar and the other at Sicragalli, east of Bhagalpur. The hills themselves are not high, but poor and covered with woods. "As Humayun marched along the Ganges and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chunar "—Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

3 Gulbadan Begam states : 'He (Humayun) defeated them (Biban and Bayazid) and then went to Chunad (Chunar), took it and thence returned to Agra.' This is also confirmed by Jauhar.—(Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 73).

4 Abul Fazl also asserts that Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat sent him (Sher Khan) a subsidy and summoned him to his side. Farid made capital out of this for sedition and sent excuses for not going.—*Akbar Nama*, I, p. 328.

5 Jalal Khan succeeded Sher Shah after his death, as Islam Shah.

Agra, and employed himself in suppressing the rebellion of Sultan Bahadur.[1]

(ii) 'Sher Khan took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one enemy of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihar. When the Emperor came back from Gujarat, the Khan-Khanan Yusuf Khail (who brought the Emperor Babur from Kabul to Hindustan) said to him : "It is not wise to neglect Sher Khan, for he is rebelliously inclined, and well understands all matters pertaining to government ; moreover all the Afghans are collected round him." The Emperor Humayun, relying on the vastness of his forces, and on the pride of Empire, took no heed of Sher Khan, and remaining the rainy season at Agra, sent Hindu Beg to Jaunpur, with directions to write a full and true report regarding Sher Khan.

'When Sher Khan heard that the Emperor Humayun, intended himself marching towards Bihar, he sent magnificent presents to Hindu Beg, Governor of Jaunpur, and gained his good-will. At the same time Sher Khan wrote thus : "From what I promised I have not departed. I have not invaded the Emperor's country. Kindly *write* to the Emperor, and assuring him of my loyalty, dissuade him from marching in this direction ; for I am his servant and well-wisher." When Hindu Beg beheld Sher Khan's presents, he approved of them and was well pleased, and he said to the *vakil*, "So long as I live let your mind be easy. No one shall injure you." And in the presence of Sher Khan's *vakil* wrote a letter to the Emperor Humayun saying : "Sher Khan is a loyal servant of Your Majesty, and strikes coin and reads the *khutba* in your name, and has not transgressed the boundaries of Your Majesty's territory, or done anything since your departure, which could be any cause of annoyance to you." The Emperor on receipt of Hindu Beg's letter, deferred his journey that year.

(iii) 'Sher Khan meanwhile detached Jalal Khan, Khawas Khan senior, and other chiefs, to conquer Bengal and the city of Gaur. On their entering Bengal, Sultan Mahmud, unable to oppose them retired to the fort of Gaur. The Afghans having made themselves masters of the surrounding country, invested and besieged that fortress, before which daily skirmishes took place.

(iv) 'The following year the Emperor marched towards Bihar and Bengal. When he arrived near Chunar,[2] he consulted his nobles whether he should first take Chunar, or march towards Gaur, which the son of Sher Khan was besieging, but had not yet taken. All his Mughal nobles

1 Kutb Khan escaped from Humayun when he was busy in Gujarat—Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

2 The march took place, according to Elphinstone, in *Safar* 944 A.H. (July, 1537) —*History of India*, p. 444-n. 6. "The Memoirs of Humayun say that the army reached Chunar on the *Shabi Barat* (*Shaban* 15th) of A.H. 945. January 1539 : but this would leave only 6 months for the conquest of Bengal, and all the other operations till Humayun's defeat in *Safar* A.H. 946, June 1539 I conclude. therefore, that the Memoir writer, who scarcely ever gives a date, may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began on 15th *Shaban*, A.H. 944 (January 8th, 1538). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months ; some say 6 months."—(*Ibid.*, p. 436 n.) Accordidg to Dr. Banerji, the correct dates were, starting from Agra 27th July, 1537 A.D., reaching Chunar Oct., 1537 A.D., siege of Chunar Oct. (1537)—March (1538), (Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 210).

By his wrong choice, Humayun committed a great blunder, and walked into the snare that Sher Khan had clearly laid for him. He had to pay dearly for this initial mistake in strategy. After the fall of Chunar, as was his wont, he indulged in giving a great banquet, and in distributing honours and rewards.—(Jauhar ; *ibid.*, p. 140.)

advised that he should first take Chunar, and then march on Gaur, and it was so determined ; but when Humayun asked the Khan-Khanan Yusuf-Khail for his opinion, he (having previously heard that the Mughal nobles had agreed it was advisable first to take Chunar) said, "It is a counsel of the young to take Chunar first ; the counsel of the aged is, as there is much treasure in Gaur. it is advisable to take Gaur first ; after that the capture of Chunar is an easy matter." The Emperor replied : "I am young, and prefer the counsel of the young. I will not leave the fort of Chunar in the rear." The author has heard from the Khan-Khanan's companions, that when he returned to his quarters, he observed : "The luck of Sher Khan is great that the Mughals do not go to Gaur. Before they take this fort, the Afghans will have conquered Gaur, and all its treasures will fall into their hands." When Chunar fell to Humayun, Gaur had already fallen to Sher Khan,[1] who also took about the same time the more important fort of Rohtas by stratagem.[2]

He (Sher Khan) thanked God and said : "The fort of Chunar is no fort in comparison with this : as that has gone out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gaur as (I am) at getting possession of Rohtas."

(v) 'After the Emperor had got possession of Chunar, he halted in Benares, and sent an envoy to Sher Khan, having in view to get possession of the country of Bihar. Sher Khan knew he had this design, and said to the envoy, "I have captured this fort of Gaur, and have collected about me a very large force of Afghans. If the Emperor will abandon all design upon Bengal, I will surrender Bihar to him, and make it over to whomsoever he will depute, and will agree to the same boundaries of Bengal as existed in Sultan Sikandar's time ; and I will send all the ensigns of royalty—as the umbrella, throne, etc.,—to the Emperor, and will yearly send ten *lacs* of rupees from Bengal. But let the Emperor return towards Agra." The Emperor, on hearing about Bihar, became exceedingly glad and agreed to what Sher Khan proposed. . . .Sher Khan was much delighted, and said, "I will fulfil the terms agreed upon, and will pray day and night to Almighty God that while life lasts no hostility may befall between the Emperor and myself, for I am his dependant and servant."

(vi) 'Three days after this despatch the envoy of Sultan Mahmud, the successor of Nusrat Shah of Bengal, came into the presence of the Emperor Humayun, and made the following communication : "The "Afghans have seized the fort of Gaur, but most of the country is yet in my possession ; let not Your Majesty trust to Sher Khan's promises, but march towards these parts, and before they have established and strengthened themselves, expel them from the country, and altogether suppress this revolt. I also will join you, and they are not powerful enough to oppose you." As soon as he heard this report of Sultan Mahmud, the Emperor ordered his victorious standards to be set in motion towards Bengal.'

Jauhar adds : 'The king moved forward with the whole army, and in four days with little difficulty took possession of Gaur, the

1 When the fort fell into Sher Khan's hands there was such a mass of treasure in it, that, according to Niamatulla, 'he could not get a sufficient number of porters to carry it, and was at a loss how to convey these effects to Rohtas.' Finally, all the elephants, camels, oxen and all the beasts of burden captured at Ghari, from the Mughals, were utilized for the purpose.—(E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 112).

2 For details of this see E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 357-462 ; also Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 10.

capital of Bengal, and drove away all the Afghans. After cleansing and repairing the city, the first act of His Majesty was to divide the province into *jagirs* among his officers; after which he very unaccountably shut himself up in his *harem*, and abandoned himself to every kind of indulgence and luxury. While the King had thus for several months given himself up to pleasure and indolence, information was at length conveyed to him that Sher Khan had killed 700 Mughals, had laid siege to the fortrees of Chunar, and taken the city of Benares; and had also sent forward an army along the bank of the Ganges to take Kanauj; that he had further seized the families of several of the officers, and sent them prisoners to Rohtas.'[1]

(vii) Sher Khan looked upon Humayun's conduct as a definite betrayal of his previous engagements with himself. "I have observed all loyalty to the Emperor," he said, "and have committed no offence against him, and have not encroached upon his boundaries. . . .The Emperor desired the kingdom of Bihar, and I was willing to surrender it. But it is not the right way to govern a kingdom to alienate so long a force (as Sher Khan then possessed) from his services; and in order to please their enemies, to ruin and slay the Afghans. But since the Emperor takes no heed, and has violated his promise,. . . .you will hear what deeds the Afghans will do, and the march to Bengal will end in repentance and regret, for now the Afghans are united, and have laid aside their mutual quarrels and envyings. The country which the Mughals have taken from the Afghans, they got through the internal dissension among the latter." As Humayun did not keep to his word, Sher Khan felt himself free to act as he pleased. Accordingly, he despatched some of his officers to the west to attack the Empire when Humayun was away in Bengal.

'They took Benares and killed the greater part of the Mughal garrison there. Then they proceeded to Bahraich, and drove out the Mughals from those parts, until they arrived at and captured the city of Sambhal, and made slaves of the inhabitants and spoiled the city. Another force was sent towards Jaunpur, the governor of which place was killed in battle, and the same force was sent in the direction of Agra. Every governor on the part of the Emperor Humayun, throughout the whole country, who offered any opposition, was killed, or was defeated and driven out of the country; so that all the districts as far as Kanauj and Sambhal fell into the possession of the Afghans. The officers of Sher Khan also collected the revenue of both the autumn and spring harvests of these parts.'

(viii) Meanwhile, Mirza Hindal who had returned to Agra from Humayun's camp, raised the standard of revolt at the capital, and murdered Sheikh Bahlol who was much respected by the Emperor Humayun. 'When the Emperor heard of this defection, he left Jahangir Beg in charge of Bengal with a reinforcement of 5,000 chosen men, and set off for Agra. At this time Muhammad Zaman Mirza returned from Gujarat with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him and did not

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 141. 'When Humayun entered Gaur,' says Niamatulla, 'Sher Khan had previously fitted up all the mansions of that place with an exquisite variety of ornaments and embellishments, and rendered them a perfect gallery of pictures, by party-coloured carpets and costly silk-stuffs, in the hope that Humayun, charmed with it, would be induced to prolong his stay there; and his designs were unexpectedly seconded by fate, for Humayun remained four months in Gaur, and had no leisure for any other occupation than pleasure and enjoyment.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 112-13. According to Banerji, Humayun's stay in Gaur was from Aug., 1538 to Mar., 1539.—*Op. cit.*, p. 227.

utter a word of reproach.'[1] Humayun, however, was not allowed to escape so easily by Sher Khan.

(ix) The latter, summoning all his forces from Bihar, Jaunpur, and other places, collected them in the environs of the fort of Rohtas. Thence he marched to confront the Emperor. 'At every stage he entrenched himself with an earthwork, and going on entirely at his leisure, made very short marches. When the Emperor heard that Sher Khan was coming, he retraced his steps, and turned in the direction of Sher Khan's army. But, Sher Khan, on hearing this, wrote to the Emperor saying, that if the Emperor would give him the kingdom of Bengal, and be satisfied that the *khutba* be read and money struck in the Emperor's name, he would be the Emperor's vassal.' 'These proposals were received with great satisfaction.'[2] 'Then Humayun sent Sheikh Khalil on an embassy to Sher Khan. . . . Sheikh Khalil, in the presence of the Emperor's men who had accompanied him, debated long and earnestly with Sher Khan and strongly advised the proposed peace ; and during the consultation, the following words fell from Sheikh Khalil : "If you do not agree to peace, away with you ; declare war and fight." Sher Khan said, "What you say is a good omen for me ; please God, I will fight." After the consultation, Sher Khan gave to Sheikh Khalil money and rich clothes and manufactures of Malda and of Bengal in enormous quantities, and captivated his heart by these presents and favours. Then he piled him with further flatteries, as a result of which he got the following advice :

"War with the Emperor Humayun is more for your advantage than peace ; for this reason, that in his army the most complete disorder exists ;[3] he has no horses or cattle and his own brothers are in rebellion against him.[4] He only makes peace with you now from necessity, and will not eventually abide by the treaty. Look on this opportunity as so much gained, and do not let it out of your grasp, for you will never again have such another."

Having consulted his nobles, and finding that they all enthusiastically responded, Sher Khan addressed his army thus : "For two days I have drawn out my army, and have returned to my encampment, that I might put the Emperor off his guard, and that he might not suspect that my army was coming towards him. Now turn, set your faces towards the army of the Emperor, and let not the honour of the Afghans out of your grasp nor fail to display your utmost devotion, for now is the time to regain the Empire of Hindustan."

1 *Tabakat-i-Akbari* ; E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 201-2.

2 'But next morning Sher Khan fell upon the royal army unawares and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array.'—*Ibid.*, p. 203.

3 Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengal destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chausa. . . . Sher Khan having got intelligence of the distress of the army, came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months '—*Ibid.*, p. 202. See Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-35.

4 Ferishta writes, 'To add to Humanyun's embarrassments which could hardly be exceeded, his brother Kamran Mirza, instead of aiding him in this crisis, aspired to the throne, and marched with 10,000 horses from Lahore, giving out that he came to offer assistance. On the arrival of Kamran at Delhi, Hindal Mirza prevailed on him to unite their forces in prosecution of the siege ...The princes finding the governor of Delhi refusing to surrender or betray, raised the siege and marched towards Agra. On reaching that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained against each other (the eyes of both being turned towards the throne) evinced itself in open war. Hindal Mirza, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwar with 5,000 horses and 300 elephants ; while Kamran Mirza entering Agra proclaimed himself King.'—Briggs, II, p. 86.

The Afghans replied, "Let not our lord allow any hesitation to find its way to his noble heart." Having read the *fatiha*, and drawn up his forces in order of battle, Sher Khan with all haste marched towards the Emperor's camp. When the Afghans were close at hand, news was brought to the Emperor that Sher Khan was coming with all speed to battle with him.

> 'The Emperor ordered out his army to resist the attack, saying that after a short delay and having performed his ablutions, he also would follow. The Emperor was a lion in valour, and in the excess of his gallantry and daring, and the pride of youth, and confidence in the multitude of his forces and followers, who had no equals for intrepidity and gallantry, he despised the forces of Sher Khan who were all Afghans, and did not even inspect his forces nor pay regard to what is necessary in an engagement : nor did he take into consideration the disorganization which the climate of Bengal had produced in his army.'[1]

'Sher Khan knew all the devices and stratagems of war, and knew how to commence and conclude an engagement, and had experienced both prosperity and misfortune. The army of the Mughals had not extricated themselves from their camp, before the Afghan army were already upon them, and coming boldly on, attacked the army of the Emperor without hesitation. In the twinkling of an eye, they routed the Mughal forces on 26th June, 1539. Humayun had not compeleted his ablution when the intelligence reached him that the Mughals were utterly scattered, so that to rally them was impossible. The confusion in the army was so great that he had no time to remove his family,[2] but fled in the direction of Agra with the intention of collecting all his forces at that place, and returning again from thence to destroy his enemy.'

Jauhar, Humayun's personal attendant, gives the following particulars of the disastrous end of this battle (of Chupaghat or Chausa) :

> 'An archer seated on an elephant discharged an arrow which wounded the King in the arm, and the enemy began to surround him.[3] His Majesty then called to his troops to advance and charge the enemy, but no one obeyed ; and the Afghans having succeeded in throwing everything into confusion, one of the King's followers came up, seized his bridle, and said, "There is no time to be lost ; when your friends forsake you, flight is the only remedy." The King then proceeded to the bank of the river, and although followed by one of his own elephants, he urged his horse into the stream, but in a short time the horse sank. On seeing this event, a watercarrier, who had distended his leather bag (*masak*) with air offered it to His Majesty, who by means of the bag swam the river.[4]
>
> 'According to the most authentic accounts, 8,000 Mughals exclusive

1 'Both armies lay three months inactive at a time when Humayun ought to have brought on action at all hazards being every day insulted and harassed by the enemy's light troops.'—*Ibid.*, p. 85.

2 'Sher Khan, some days afterwards, sent the queen to Rohtas under charge of Husain Khan Nirak, and providing the families of the other Mughals with carriages and their necessary expenses, sent them on towards Agra.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 376.

3 Note the difference in the previous account of Abbas Khan and this of Jauhar, regarding the part played by Humayun in this engagement.

4 'On reaching his capital, Humayun allowed the man who had saved his life to sit on the throne for half a day, and permitted him to reward his own relatives during that time with princely presents.'—Ferishta : Briggs, II, p. 88.

of Hindus, were drowned, during the flight, among whom was the prince Muhammad Zaman Mirza."[1]

(x) After this victory, Sher Khan assumed the title and insignia of royalty, at the desire of his nobles. Sher Khan said, "The kingly name is a very exalted thing, and is not devoid of trouble ; but since the noble minds of my friends have decided to make me King, I agree." He seated himself on the throne, unfolded the umbrella over his head, and assumed the name of Sher Shah, and struck coin, and caused the *khutba* to be read in his own name : and he took also the additional title of Shah Alam.[2] The coronation, according to Qanungo, took place at Gaur, about the beginning of December, 1539.[3]

(xi) Meanwhile Humayun reached Agra. 'Mirza Kamran had received no intelligence before the Emperor arrived. The latter repaired at once to the pavilion of his brothers, and on seeing each other, the eyes of the brothers filled with tears. Hindal Mirza (who had come from Alwar) received pardon for his offences, and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons also came in and joined them. Consultations were held. Mirza Kamran was desirous of returning to Lahore, and showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to all his extraordinary propositions. Khwaja Kalan Beg exerted himself to bring about the return of Mirza Kamran. The negotiations went on for six months. Meanwhile, Mirza Kamran had been attacked with severe sickness, and some designing persons had instilled into his mind that his illness was the result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's directions. So, ill as he was, he started for Lahore, having sent Khwaja Kalan Beg in advance. He promised to leave a considerable portion of his army to assist his brother at Agra ; but in spite of this promise, he carried all off with him, excepting only 2,000 men whom he left at Agra under the command of Sikandar."[4]

(xii) Sher Shah himself pursued the Emperor Humayun and got possession of the whole country, as far as Kalpi and Kanauj. He sent Isa Khan towards Gujarat and Mandu and to the chiefs of these parts he wrote saying, "I am about to send a son of mine into your neighbourhood. When the Emperor Humayun moves towards Kanauj, do you accompany my son, and seize and lay waste the country about Agra and Delhi,

'News arrived that the Emperor Humayun purposed marching towards Kanauj. Sher Shah despatched his son Kutb Khan to Mandu, in order that he might, in concert with the chiefs of those parts, alarm and ravage the country about Agra and Delhi.

'When the Emperor Humayun heard that Sher Shah had sent his son towards Chanderi, that he might raise disturbances in those parts, he sent both his brothers, Mirza Hindal and Mirza Askari, with other nobles in that direction. When the Malwa chiefs heard that the two brothers of the Emperor were coming to oppose Kutb Khan, they gave him no assistance. Kutb Khan went from Chanderi to the city of Chondha (Kalpi),[5] and engaging the Mughals at Chondha, was slain. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Askari having gained this victory, returned to the Emperor.

1 *Ibid.* ; also E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 203.
2 His coins bear the title of 'Sultan-ul Adil.'—Thomas, *op. cit.*, p. 395.
3 Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 208.
4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 204.
5 Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

'When Sher Shah heard this, he was extremely grieved and enraged. The Mughals gained excessive confidence from this victory, and large forces having come also from their own country, the Emperor Humayun arrayed his army and came to Kanauj (*Zilkada*, 946 A.H., April, 1540). Sher Shah also fortified himself on the opposite side.'

(E) BATTLE OF KANAUJ OR BILGRAM[1]

(xiii) "On the 10th *Muharram*, 947 A.H., both armies drew out their forces....When Sher Shah had drawn up his army....he said to the Afghans : "I have used my best exertions to collect you together, I have done my best in training you, and have kept you in anticipation of a day like this. This is the day of trial ; whoever of you shows himself to excel in valour on the field of battle, him will I promote above his fellows." The Afghans replied, "The mighty King has much protected and favoured us. This is the time for us to serve him and show our devotion."

Sher Shah ordered each chief to return to his own followers and to remain with them ; and he himself went through the army and set it in proper array.

Quite in contrast to this was the ineptitude on the side of Humayun. Mirza Haider, Babur's cousin, who was himself one of the commanding officers on the occasion, vividly describes the condition of the Mughal army and the course and result of the battle thus :

> 'The Imperial army reached the banks of the Ganges in the best way that it could. There it encamped and lay for about a month, the Emperor being on one side of the river, and Sher Shan on the other, facing each other. The armies may have amounted to more than 2,00,000 men. Muhammed Sultun Mirza, who had several times revolted against Humayun, but being unsuccessful, had sought forgiveness and had been pardoned, now having colluded with Sher Shah, deserted.
>
> 'A new way was thus opened. Everybody began to desert and the most surprising part of it was, that many of those who deserted did not go over to Sher Shah, and could expect no favour from him. A heated feeling ran through the army, and the cry was, "Let us go and rest in our own homes." A number also of Kamran's auxiliary forces deserted and fled to Lahore. . . .
>
> 'As the army had taken to desert, it was judged better to risk a battle, than to see it go to ruin without fighting. If the result was unfavourable, in that case, we could not at least be accused of having abandoned the Empire without striking a blow. We, therefore, crossed the river. Both armies entrenched themselves. Everyday skirmishes occurred between the adventurous swaggering spirits of both sides. These proceedings were put an end to by the monsoon rains, which came on and flooded the ground rendering it unfit for camp. To move was indispensable. Opinions were expressed that another such deluge would sink the whole army in the abyss of despair, and it was decided to move to a rising ground, which the inundation could not reach, and which lay in front of the enemy. I went to reconnoitre, and found a place suitable for the purpose. . . .
>
> 'Between me and the river there was a force of 27 *Amirs*, all of whom carried the *tugh* banner[2]....On the day of battle, when Sher Shah,

1 See Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-49.

2 *Tugh* was the standard surmounted by the flowing tail of a mountain cow, an object of great ambition, and granted only to the heroes.—Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 541.

having formed his divisions, marched out. of all these 27 *tugh* banners not one was to be seen, for the great nobles had hidden them in the apprehension that the enemy might advance towards them. The soldiership and bravery of these *Amirs* may be conceived from this exhibition of courage. Sher Shah came out in five divisions of 1000 men each, and in advance of him were 3000 men. I estimated the whole as being less than 15,000, but I calculated the Chaghatai force as about 4,00,000, all mounted on tipchak horses, and clad in iron armour. They surged like the waves of the sea, but the courage of the *Amirs* and officers of the army was such as I have described.'

'On the right, Sher Shah advanced in battle array ; but before an arrow was discharged, the camp-followers fled like chaff before the wind and breaking the line, they all pressed towards the centre.

'The Chaghatais were defeated in this battle-field ; where not a man, either friend or foe, was wounded ; not a gun was fired ; and the chariots were useless.'

'But the Emperor Humayun himself,' says Abbas Khan, 'remained firm like a mountain in his position on the battle-field, and displayed such valour and gallantry as is beyond all description. But when he saw supernatural beings fighting against him, he acknowledged the work of God, abandoned the battle to these unearthly warriors, and turned the bridle of his purpose towards his capital of Agra. He received no wound himself, and escaped safe and sound out of that blood-thirsty whirlpool.[1] The greater part of his army was driven into the river Ganges.[2]

'The Emperor fled to Agra : and when the enemy approached that city, he made no delay but went to Lahore.[3]

(xiv) Sher Shah having sent two of his best officers to besiege Gwalior and Sambhal, and 'speedily settled the country about Kanauj, betook himself in the direction of Agra. When Sher Shah approached Agra, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lahore. Sher Shah was greatly displeased at this, ...and on his arrival at Agra remained there, for some days himself, but sent Khawas Khan and Barmaizid Gur in the direction of Lahore, with a large Afghan force to pursue the Emperor. . . .But the Emporor and Mirza Kamran quitted Lahore, which was shortly afterwards occupied by Sher Shah, who, however, made no halt there. On the third march beyond Lahore, he heard that Mirza Kamran had gone by way of the Judh hills to Kabul, and that the Emperor Humayun was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multan and Bhakkar, The king went to Khushab and thence despatched Khawas Khan. . . .and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multan. He instructed them not to engage the Emperor, but to drive him beyond the borders of the Kingdom, and then to return.'

1 Humayun crossed the river on the back of an elephant ; but the opposite bank was so steep that he could not find a place to ascend. 'At length,' says Jauhar, some of the colour-men, who were on the look out for him, tied their turbans together, and throwing an end of the cloth to him, he with some difficulty climbed up. They then brought him a horse, on which he mounted and proceeded towards Agra.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 144).

2 "Most writers," says Elphinstone, "ascribe Humayun's defeat to teachery, and say that Sher Shah attacked him during an armistice, or even after a peace had been signed. But Abul Fazl asserts, with great justice to Sher Shah, that he delayed Humayun's retreat by amusing him with negotiations, but never professed to suspend his hostility, and was entirely indebted to his military skill for the success of his stratagem " (*Hist. of India*, p. 450 n.). Cf. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59.

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 205.

The Futile Conclave

Here we must slightly retrace our steps to recount Humayun's last pathetic efforts to win the co-operation of his ungrateful brothers. 'At the beginning of *Rabi-ul-awwal* all the Chaghatai Sultans and Amirs were assembled in Lahore; but Mirza Muhammad Sultan and his sons, who had come to Lahore, fled from thence to Multan. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir found it expedient to go towards Bhakkar and Thatha, and Mirza Kamran determined to go to Kabul as soon as the party was broken up.

> 'It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there was no possibility of bringing his brothers and *Amirs* to any common agreement, and he was very despondent.' Ferishta says, 'Humayun used every possible argument with his brothers to effect a coalition of interests against Sher Shah telling them that their intestine feud must end in their losing that mighty Empire which had cost their father so much pains to acquire; that their conduct would involve the house of Timur in one common ruin; and that no remedy existed but to reunite against the common enemy, and afterwards to divide the Empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with the King's brothers, who, blinded by ambition, determined rather to lose all than to be content with a part.[1]

'Mirza Haidar Beg after much consultation had been sent off with a party who had volunteered for service in Kashmir,[2] and Khwaja Kalan Beg was ordered to follow him. When the Mirza had reached Naushahar, and Kalan Beg had got as far as Sialkot, intelligence reached the Emperor that Sher Shah had crossed the river (Biyah) at Sultanpur, and was only a few *kos* distant. His Majesty then passed over the river of Lahore.

'Mirza Kamran, after proving faithless to the oaths and compacts which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahra.[3] When Khwaja Kalan Beg heard of this, he marched rapidly from Sialkot, and joined the camp of Humayun. At Bahra, Mirza Kamran and Mirza Askari parted from Humayun, and went off accompanied by Khwaja Kalan Beg to Kabul. This was towards the end of October, 1546.

III. Fifteen Years of Exile (1540-55)

Wandering in the Desert

'Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir still remained with Humayun, but after a few stages they also disagreed. For twenty days they disappeared, but falling into difficulties, they once more came back and made their submission. On the banks of the river Sind (Indus) a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. They wandered about from place to place—Rohri, Bhakkar, Patar—and sought refuge in vain from Shah Husain Arghun, ruler of Thatha, with a view to *'attempt the recovery of Gujarat.'*

Grain becoming scarce at Bhakkar, the Emperor marched off to Patar, where Mirza Hindal was staying, for he had heard that Mirza Hindal

1 Briggs, II, pp. 86-87. For an analysis of the cause of Humayun's failure to maintain his sovereignty, see Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 253-56.

2 When Mirza Haidar reached Kashmir, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and waited upon him, and through them Kashmir fell into his hands, without striking a blow. On the 22nd *Rajab*, he became ruler of Kashmir.—E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 206.

3 Abul Fazl says, he sent an envoy to Sher Shah, intriguing for the Punjab.—*Akbar-Nama*, I, p. 205.

intended to go to Kandahar. It was here, in the camp of Hindal at Patar, that Humayun fell in love with Maryam-i-Makani Hamida Banu Begam (who soon became mother of Akbar), in the summer of 1541. Nizam-ud-din says, he 'spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Hindal.' The Emperor forbade Hindal to go to Kandahar, but he did not obey. When Humayun was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers.

Then the conquest of Thatha was thought of. 'When the Emperor marched for Thatha, a large body of soldiers parted from him and stayed at Bhakkar. Then he made a vain attempt to capture the fort of Shiwan, and retired to Bhakkar. Mirza Yadgar Nasir proved treacherous and helped the enemy to harass Humayun but Humayun, once more forgave him, and spoke not a word of all that had passed.' But, 'he once more exhibited his animosity to the Emperor, and never again saught a reconciliation.' The men of Humayun's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, who 'in the depths of his infamy, now prepared to turn his arms against Humayun himself.'

In this extremity he resolved upon marching to Maldeo 'one of the faithful zamindars of Hindustan, who at that time surpassed all the *zamindars* of Hindustan in power and in the number of his forces.' This Maldeo had sent letters to Bhakkar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindustan. Humayun, accordingly marched towards Maldeo's country by way of Jesalmir. The ruler of this latter place, Rai Lon Karan, 'shamefully took an unmanly course.' He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march; but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humayun had a great many men wounded. Then he marched with all possible speed, till he reached the country of Maldeo, and sent on Atka Khan to Maldeo at Jodhpur while he himself halted for a few days at some distance.

> "When Maldeo was informed of the Emperor's weakness he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Shah. For Sher Shah had sent an ambassador to Maldeo, holding out great expectations; and the latter, in the extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Humayun a prisoner if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nagor and its dependencies had fallen into the power of Sher Shah, and consequently he was afraid lest Sher Shah should be annoyed, and send a large army into his territory against Humayun. But luckily, one of the Emperor's librarians, who at the time of his defeat had fled to Maldeo, now wrote to Humayun informing him that Maldeo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. So Humayun marched off at once to Amarkot.
>
> "At length with extreme toil, they reached Amarkot, which is 100 *kos* distant from Thatha. The Rana of Amarkot was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatsoever the Emperor had in his treasury, he distributed among his soldiers. Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th *Rajab*, 949 A.H., (15th October, 1542), and the Emperor under spiritual guidance gave to the child the name of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar."

About July 1543,[1] 'his Majesty' seeing that it was not advisable to remain longer in this country, determined upon going to Kandahar. At this time Bairam Khan, who later became famous as Akbar's guardian, rejoined him ; he had sought refuge in Gujarat after Humayun's defeat at Kanauj, and after some adventures found the way back to his master.[2] But Humayun's enemies still dogged his footsteps. Shah Husain of Thatha informed Mirzas Askari and Kamran about his movements, and those ungrateful wretches 'wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner.' Humayun only said : "What is the worth of Kandahar and Kabul that I should strive with my faithless brother ?"

Leaving the young Prince Akbar, who was only a year old, at Kandahar, in the charge of a small party,[3] Humayun accompanied by Bairam Khan and a few others, 'set off even without determining the route.'

In Persia

'The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these parts unsafe for His Majesty ; so he proceeded onwards towards Khorasan and Iraq.

Upon entering Sistan, Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, governor of that province under Shah Tahmasp, received him with great kindness. Thence, he proceeded to Herat, 'because he had heard great praise of the city,' and was equally well received. 'He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting Shah Tahmasp. All the palaces and gardens of Herat are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshed and Tus.'

Under the orders of the Shah, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. At length he reached Pulak Surlik and had an interview with Shah Tahmasp, who entertained him and showed every honour and distinction, worthy of both host and guest. He obtained from the Shah a force of 14,000 men, with whom he marched towards Kandahar. In return Humayun promised to establish the *Shia* faith in his dominions, when he re-acquired them, and to hand over Kandahar to the Persians.[4]

1 "Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Sind, of which 18 months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country ; 6 months were spent in his journeys to the eastward of the Indus, and a year in his residence at Jun (a branch of the Indus, halfway between Thatha and Amarkot) and his journey to Kandahar." (Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 455).

2 Erskine, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-59 ; E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 215.

3 Askari carried off the Prince (and gave him into the charge of Sultan Begam, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness (during the year 1544).—*Ibid.*, p. 216.

4 Shah Tahmasp was the son of Shah Ismael who had rendered assistance to Babur on very similar terms. Shah Ismael had established the *Shia* faith as the religion of Persia, and Tahmasp too was an equally ardent apostle of the sect. When Humayun showed some disinclination to accept the terms, Shah Tahmasp appears to have sent him a large supply of fuel, with the message that it should serve as his funeral pyre if he failed to become a *Shia*. Humayun was also presented with three papers, any one of which he was asked to sign. The *gazi* who brought these to him said that it was his duty as well as interest to comply with the demand, which he had no means of effectually resisting.

"The memoir-writer does not mention, and may not have known the contents of the papers ; but it seems clear that they must have contained a profession of the *Shia* religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as, an engagement to cede the frontier province or kingdom of Kandahar That Humayun himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shaikh Safi at Ardebil, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Sunni."—Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 463-65 ; see also Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

Reconquest Commenced

At this time, Kamran was in possession of Kabul, Hindal of Ghazni, and Askari of Kandahar. Kamran had also taken Badakhshan, or South Bacteria, from Suleiman Mirza who had been placed there by Babur ; North Bacteria, including Balkh, was in the hands of the Uzbegs. Sher Shah was still alive, and therefore, there was little to be hoped from an invasion of Hindustan.[1]

(i) 'When they reached the fort of Garmsir, they took possession of the Garmsir territories. On arriving at Kandahar, a large body of men sallied out of the fort, and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The siege of Kandahar went on for three months.'

Bairam Khan was sent to Kabul on an embassy to Kamran Mirza. There he had interviews with Kamran, Hindal, and others. Kamran sent his envoy 'to settle terms of peace, if possible.' But Mirza Askari was still intent upon fighting and holding out.

The Persian forces were tired at the long duration of the siege of Kandahar and had even thoughts of returning. But when many of the great Begs rallied round the Emperor, Askari lost heart and proposed to surrender. 'The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms.'

'It had been agreed with the Persians that as soon as Kandahar was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory. . . .Mirza Askari having found an opportunity, made his escape ; but a party being sent in pursuit, he was caught and brought back. His Majesty then placed him in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes now met in council, and resolved that under the necessities of the case, the fort of Kandahar must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the reconquest of Kabul and Badakhshan.

'They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Humayun mounted his horse and went into the city....The Chaghatais to their great satisfaction thus obtained possession of Kandahar' (September, 1545).

"The cession of Kandahar to the Persians was the price of the assistance of the Shah," observes Elphinstone, "and by availing himself of that assistance....he ratified the engagement anew; and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery."[2]

(ii) After this, Humayun marched to effect the conquest of Kabul, and left Bairam Khan in charge of Kandahar.

'Mirza Yadgar Nasir and Mirza Hindal, having devised a scheme together, deserted Kamran. After being much harassed by the Hazara tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proceeded with him to Kabul. . . .Mirza Kamran who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting ; but every night parties of men deserted his army and joined Humayun. Mirza Kamran, being alarmed, sent a party of Sheikhs to wait upon the Emperor and ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him, on condition of his coming in and making his submission. Kamran did not agree to this, but fled and shut himself up in the citadel of Kabul. All his forces came over to the side of the Emperor. On the same night Kamran fled to Ghazni. The Emperor sent Mirza Hindal in pursuit.

1 Elphinstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 466.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 468.

'The Emperor then entered Kabul (15th November, 1545), and at night the citizens, in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begam brought the young Prince Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the reunion. The victory was accomplished on the 10th *Ramzan*, 953 A.H., when the Prince was 4 years 2 months and 5 days old. The remainder of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kabul.'

(iii) In the following year, Humayun marched to Badakhshan, for Mirza Suleiman had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. Mirza Suleiman was defeated and put to flight.

When Humayun was away in Badakhshan, Kamran, by a surprise attack, took possession of Kabul and Ghazni. Hearing of this, the Emperor turned towards Kabul, having put Suleiman again in charge of Badakhshan and Kunduz. Kamran had taken possession of Prince Akbar and in the fight that ensued, he made good use of this possession. 'With dastardly feeling,' writes our historian, 'he ordered that His Highness the young Prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shots of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Maham Anka took the child in her bosom, put herself forward, and held him towards the enemy (i.e., the garrison) and God Almighty preserved him.'[1] Kamran's spirit fell, and from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Reinforcements came from Badakhshan and Kandahar.

Mirza Kamran now sued for peace, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his personal submission. But he was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. After some scrapes and adventures he sought refuge in Badakhshan. In vain he tried to get help from the Uzbegs, and when he failed in this, being very much downcast, affected repentance and expressed his desire to go to Mecca. The Emperor once more pardoned him (April, 1547). 'When they met, he displayed the greatest kindness to Kamran, who again received the ensigns of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days, he gave the country of Kolab as an *ikta* to Kamran.

(iv) In June 1548, Humayun left Kabul, with the intention of proceeding against Balkh, and summoned Kamran and Askari. Though Hindal joined him Kamran and Askari once more showed hostility, and did not come to pay their homage. . . .

'In consequence of Kamran's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kabul while the Emperor was engaged in Balkh. Humayun declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balkh had been undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence; so the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Kamran's remaining absent. . . .The expedition proved a failure' (1549-50).

Humayun reached Kabul in safety and remained there for the rest of the year. Kamran once again captured Kabul. Hindal remained with

1 Abul Fazl relates in the *Akbar-Nama* that the Prince was actually exposed. But Bayazid, who was present, though he minutely describes other atrocities in his *Memoirs*, does not mention this; while Jauhar in his private 'Memoirs of Humayun,' states that she only threatened to expose him, on which Humayun ordered the firing to cease.—Malleson, *op. cit.*, p. 56 n.

the Emperor, and Askari fell into his hands. Ultimately, Askari died 'in the country of Rum' between Damascus and Mecca, in 1558.[1]

Kamran had married a daughter of Shah Husain Arghun of Sindh. When Humayun dislodged him again, he sought help from his father-in-law, and made a fresh attempt on Kabul. In the course of this fight Hindal met his death—19th Nov., 1551.[2] Finally, Kamran sought refuge with Sultan Salim Shah Sur in Hindustan ; but disgusted with the treatment he received there, he fled to the hills of Sialkot. Here he fell into the hands of Sultan Ahmad Gakkar, who sent him as a captive to Humayun. 'The Emperor in his natural humanity was ready to overlook the offences of Kamran, but the officers and chiefs of the Chaghatai clans, who had suffered many things owing to Kamran's hostility, having agreed together, went to Humayun, and stated that the security of the Chaghatai clans and people depended on the destruction of Kamran Mirza, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Humayun had no escape but by consenting that he should be blinded.'[3]

Ali Dost Barbegi, Saiyid Muhammad Bikna and Ghulam Ali *Shash-angasht* (the six-fingered) deprived Mirza Kamran of his sight with a lancet. Afterwards, the miserable prince obtained permission to go to Mecca, and 'being furnished with all that he could require for the journey, he set out.' He died in the holy city four years later, on 5th Oct, 1557.[4]

IV. Restoration and Death (1555-56)

'After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of (Sultan) Salim Khan (Sur), and of the dissensions among the Afghans.[5] In November 1554, the Emperor began his march. When the army encamped at Peshawar, Bairam Khan, according to orders, came up from Kandahar, and the royal standards passed the river Indus on the last day of that year. The governor of New Rohtas, although that fort had been strengthened, made no resistance, and fled. . . .Humayun continued his march towards Lahore, and when the Afghans of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Lahore without opposition (24th February, 1555), and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jalandhar and Sirhind. The districts of the Punjab, Sirhind and Hissar, all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chaghatai forces. A body of Afghans, assembled at Dipalpur, were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

Sikandar Afghan, who held possession of Delhi, sent 30,000 men under Tatar Khan and Haibat Khan to attack the advance forces in Sirhind. The Chaghatai forces concentrated at Jalandhar and for all the

1 *Tabakat-i-Akbari* ; E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 234. Malleson says that he was exiled in Mecca in 1551, where he died in 1559. (*Akbar*, p. 59.)

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 234 ; Ferishta, Briggs, II, p. 169. 'Out of affection to the memory of Hindal Mirza, who had expiated for his former disobedience by his blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Razia Sultan, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred on them, at the same time, all the wealth of Hindal and appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to the Government of Ghazni.'

3 Cf. Ferishta, Briggs, II, p. 170.

4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 235.

5 At the death of Salim Shah, the Sur Empire broke up into several parts : Sikandar Sur, to whose share the Punjab had fallen, had since attacked Ibrahim, the usurper of Delhi and Agra, and had driven him from his territories ; while Adil Shah, the real sovereign, was carrying on operations against both.—Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

numbers of the enemy and their own paucity, they were ready to fight. They advanced and crossed the Sutlej. . . .As the sun went down, a great battle began.

The Battle of Machwara

'The Afghans began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark, the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afghans being greatly annoyed by the fire (*atashi*) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the villages of Hindustan are thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle, the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons heartily by the light of the burning village. The enemy in the glare of the fire, presented a fine mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer, took to flight.

'A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Lahore, the Emperor, was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Punjab, Sirhind, and Hissar-Firoza were now in his possession, and some of the dependencies of Delhi also were in the hands of the Mughals.

'The Chaghatai generals strengthened the fortifications of Sirhind and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Humayun for reinforcements. Thereupon he sent Prince Akbar towards Sirhind, and as he approached, the generals came out to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who were four times more numerous than the Mughals.'

The Battle of Sirhind

'For some days daring spirits in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length the vanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division under Bairam Khan (*Khan-Khanan*) on the one side, and on the other, a third division under Iskandar Khan. . . .attacked the enemy. In the engagement all the nobles exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afghans, 1,00,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage, and (Sultan) Sikandar fled.

'The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death : and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphant to wait upon the emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victor was ascribed to Prince Akbar and this was circulated in all directions.'

'This victory,' says Ferishta, *'decided the fate of the Empire ; and the kingdom of Delhi fell forever from the hands of the Afghans.'*[1]

Sikandar Khan Uzbeg was then sent on to Delhi, and the royal camp was moved to Samana. A body of Afghans in Delhi made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Uzbeg entered and occupied the city. Mir Abul Ma'ali was sent to Lahore to keep in check (Sultan) Sikandar, who had fled into the Siwalik mountains. 'In the month of *Ramzan* (23rd July, 1555) the Emperor entered Delhi, and once more the *khutba* was read, and the coins were stamped with his name in the territories of Hindustan. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was made the ruler of the province. The remainder of this year was spent in ease and enjoyment.'

'But now, the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th *Rabi-ul-awwal*, at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the top of the library, and

[1] Briggs, II, p. 176.

Death of Humayun

there stood for a short time. As he was descending, the *muezzin* cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again, his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked, and the Emperor was taken up senseless, and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spake. The Court physicians exerted all their powers but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Sheikh Juli was sent to the Punjab to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th *Rabi-ul-awwal*, 963 A.H. (24th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for paradise. The date of his death is given in the line : *Humayun badshah az bam uftad.*'

By a strange presentiment as it were, some time before his death, Humayun used to repeat with deep emotion, and tears gushing from his eyes, the following mystical verses, which he had heard from a supernatural voice[1] :

"O Lord, of Thine infinite goodness make me Thine own ;
Make me a partner of the knowledge of Thy attributes ;
I am broken-hearted from the cares and sorrows of life ;
O call to Thee Thy poor madman (lover).
O grant me my release !"

Character and Achievements

Contemporary Estimates

Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, whose narrative we have mainly followed for the life of Humayun, concludes his account of him with the following estimate of Humayun's character : 'He reigned for more than 25 years, and he was 51 years of age.[2] His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of his time. All the wealth of Hindustan would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his reception, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mirza Kamran and the Chaghatai nobles, when they were taken prisoner and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions (*wazu*), and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mir Abul Hai, the *salar* or Chief Judge, by the name of *Abdal*. But when he had gone through his ablutions he apologized, and said that as *Hai* was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and conceivable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him !' (Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabakat-i-Akbari* ; E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 240).

1 'I lately rose,' writes Humayun, 'after midnight to say the stated prayers, and afterwards retired again to rest ; when just before dawn, as I was lying, my eyes shut but my heart awake, I heard a supernatural voice clearly repeat these verses.' (Erskine, *op. cit.*, p. 535.)

2 Humayun was 48 and not 51 years of age at the time of his death. "Although more than 25 years had elapsed since the death of Babur, in 1530, the effective reign of Humayun, including both his first and second periods of rule, had subsisted for only about ten years." (Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 327.)

Among the contemporary estimates of Humayun, that of his uncle Mirza Haidar will be always considered the most valuable for its intimacy as well as truthfulness. For, 'no one of my brothers or Sultans of the time, who had been in the Emperor's service,' he writes, 'had ever been honoured in such a way as I, Muhammad Haidar Kurkan, was, who being the approved friend of such a Prince as the Emperor, was not only called "brother" but was chosen as *"dost"*.'

> "Humayun Padshah was the eldest, greatest and most renowned of Babur's sons. I have seen few persons possessed of so much natural talent and excellence as he ; but in consequence of frequent intercourse with the sensual and profligate men who served him, he had contracted some bad habits ; among these was his addiction to opium. All the evils that have been set down to the Emperor, and become the common talk of the people, are attributable to this vice. Nevertheless he was endowed with excellent qualities, being brave in battle, gay in feast, and very generous. In short, he was a dignified stately sovereign, who observed much state and pomp. When I entered his service at Agra, it was after his defeats, and people said that, compared with what had been, there was nothing left of his pomp and magnificence. Yet, when his army was arrayed for the Ganges campaign (in which the whole direction devolved on me), there were still 17,000 menials in his retinue, from which circumstance an estimate may be formed of the rest of his establishment." (Lane-Poole, *Med. India from Contem. Sources*, p. 50.)

Ferishta says, 'Humayun was of elegant stature, and of a bronze complexion. The mildness and benevolence of Humayun's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great intrepidity, and possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the science of geography, and delighted in the company of learned men. He was regular in his devotions and ablutions and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony.'—(Briggs, II, p. 178). "Humayun was a prince as remarkable for his wit as for the urbanity of his manners ; and for the most part disposed to spend his time in social intercourse and pleasure. He devoted himself, however, to the sciences of astronomy and geography ; and not only wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements, but had terrestrial and celestial globes constructed for his use." (*Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.)

Some Modern Estimates

"Like Babur his education and taste were entirely Persian, ...but while Timur and Babur were strong individualists and men of action, never allowing themselves to be turned from any set purpose, either from the preaching of a *mulla* or the prognostications of a soothsayer, Humayun was but a weak dilettante who sought the advice of the court astrologers in all state affairs.[1] . . .In spite of these precautions the stars in their courses fought against Humayun. . . .His shallowness and defects of character

1 'He caused seven halls of audience to be built, in which he received persons according to their rank. The first, called the *Palace of the Moon*, was set apart for ambassadors, messengers and travellers. In the second, called the *Palace of Venus*, civil officers and persons of that description, were received ; and there were five other palaces for the remaining five planets. In each of these buildings he gave public audience, according to the planet of the day. The furniture and paintings of each, as also the dresses of the household attendants, bore some symbol emblematic of the planet. In each of these palaces he transacted business for one day in the week.' (Ferishta ; Briggs, II, p. 71.)

were covered by the saving grace of cheerfulness. Like most of the great Mughals, he was for his intimate friends, a prince of good fellows. He was never wanting in personal courage, but the restoration of the Mughal dynasty was more due to the steadfast loyalty of his comrades and to the weakness of Sher Shah's descendants, than to his own military capacity. The contrast between Sher Shah and Humayun could not be better illustrated than it is in the two great monuments which perpetuate their memory. Humayun's mausoleum at Delhi portrays in its polished elegance the facile *chermeur* and rather superficial dilettante of the Persian school, whose best title to fame is that he was the father of Akbar ; Sher Shah's at Sahseram, the stern strong man, egotist and empire-builder who trampled all his enemies under foot, and ruled Hindustan with a rod of iron.' (E. B. Havell, *Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 428-29, 448-49.)

"Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy ; and though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition ; yet as he had been brought up under Babur, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretentions, though he never turned them to the best account... He was not naturally either cunning or cruel ; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloody than Charles II." (Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 451, 471.)

"His character attracts but never dominates. In private life he might have been a delightful companion and a staunch friend ; his virtues were Christian, and his whole life was that of a gentleman. But as a king he was a failure. His name means 'fortunate', and never was an unlucky sovereign more miscalled. . . .His end was of a piece with his character. If there was a possibility of falling, Humayun was not the man to miss it. He tumbled through life, and he tumbled out of it." (Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 219, 237.)

"Humayun, although a cultivated gentleman, not lacking in ability, was deficient in the energetic promptitude of his versatile father. His addiction to opium probably explains his failures to a considerable extent." Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 325-26).

"Brave genial, witty, a charming companion, highly educated, generous and merciful, Humayun was even less qualified than his father to found a dynasty on principles which should endure. Allied to his many virtues were many compromising defects. He was volatile, thoughtless, and unsteady. He was swayed by no strong sense of duty. His generosity was apt to degenerate into prodigality ; his attachments into weakness. He was unable to concentrate his energies for a time in any serious direction, whilst for comprehensive legislation he had neither the genius nor the inclination. He was thus eminently unfitted to consolidate the conquest his father had bequeathed to him." (Malleson, *Akbar*, p. 40.)

"The real character of Humayun may be better gleaned from the events of his reign than from the representations of his historians. . . .He was a man of great quickness of parts, but volatile, thoughtless and unsteady. Personally of distinguished bravery, he was occasionally successful in war, without possessing the higher talents of a general. In the earlier part of his reign, seconded by the veteran officers and well-trained army which his father had left him, he overran, first the kingdoms of Malwa and Gujarat, and next those of Bihar and Bengal, very important and glorious acquisitions ; but destitute of those powers of combination which

are necessary for consolidating and retaining a conquest, as bravery and a well-disciplined army are for making it, he was compelled to abandon them all ; and the greater part of his reign presented a series of reverses, rebellions, and anarchy—the fruit of his lack of political firmness and determination.

"His disposition was naturally generous, friendly and affectionate ; his manners polite, frank, and winning. He seems to have been considerate to his servants, and popular in his intercourse with the lower classes . . . .but down to the day of his death he was the prey of his flatterers and favourites. From his father he inherited the fondness of literature and the arts, and he delighted in the society of literary and scientific men. He was not only an admirer of poetry, but himself a writer of verses. He is also said to have made considerable progress in mathematics and astronomy. He liberally patronized such as were eminent in these sciences, and promoted several of them to offices of trust. At the time of his death, he was about to construct an observatory, and had collected the necessary instruments for that purpose. A floating palace, several stories in height, with a garden and a *bazar* or market, which is constructed at Agra, on ships linked together and connected by platforms, and floated down the Jumna, has been celebrated ; this and several other of his contrivances evinced his fondness for the mechanical arts. . . .But though Humayun was brave and good-tempered, liberal and fond of learning, his virtues all bordered on neighhouring defects, and produced little fruit. There seems to have been a frivolity in his mind that neutralized his good qualities ; and a fatality seemed to attend on his merits. (Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 530-31, 534-35.)[1]

Humayun's Plan for the Government of the Empire

"From the time when Humayun arrived in Delhi, he devoted himself to a general superintendence of the affairs of his kingdom, and to watching the progress of his armies which he had sent in various directions to reduce provinces. He saw clearly that there were great defects in the system of government of the Empire, and set himself to devising means of improving it. The plan which he projected was to separate the Empire into several great divisions, each of them to have a local capital, and a board of administration for directing local affairs. Delhi, Agra, Kanauj, Jaunpur, Mandu, and Lahore were among the capitals fixed upon. To each of them was to be assigned a considerable military force, under an able general, so as to render it independent of assistance from the others ; while the Emperor was to give unity to the whole, by visiting them in turn with an army of about 12,000 horses, which were to be under his own immediate command, and at all times ready to move in any direction. This plan, however, he never had time, had he even possessed sufficient steadiness, to carry into execution." (Erskine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 526-27.)

Government Departments

"Another of the arrangements of this King was, that he divided all the affairs of Government into four Departments, after the number of the four elements, viz., *Atashi, Hawai, Abi* and *Khaki ;* and for the conduct of the business of these Departments he appointed four ministers. The Department to which belonged the artillery and the making of arms, weapons of war, and various sorts of engines and other such things in which assistance was taken of fire, was called *Atashi ;* and the superintendence of this

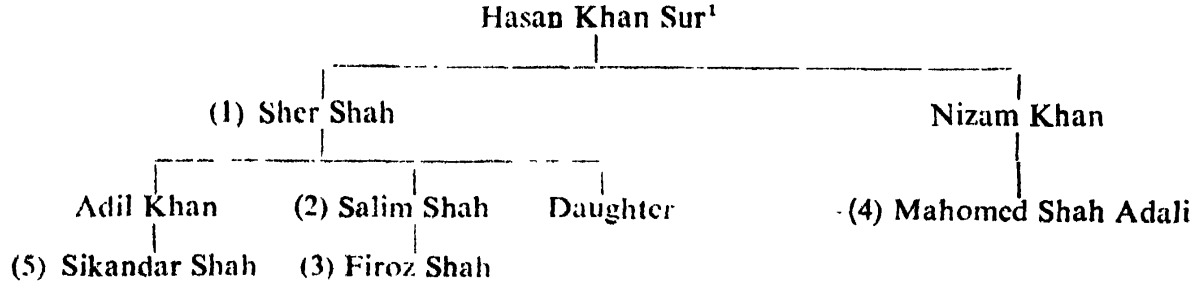
1 Also read S. M. Jaffar, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-49.

Department was placed under Khwaja Amid-ul-Mulk, and the fire of his care inflamed the ovens of the hearts of those who were employed on those works. The duties connected with the ward-robe, kitchen, stable, and other great and important offices belonged to the *Hawai* Department, and the care of them was entrusted to Khwaja Lutfulla. The *Sharbai-khana, Suji-khana*, the digging of canals, and all the works which related to water and rivers, were comprised in the *Abi* Department, and its superintendent was Khwaja Hasan. Agriculture, erection of buildings, resumption of *Khalisa* lands, and some household affairs formed a Department which was called *Khaki*, and this was placed under the management of Khwaja Jalal-ud-din Mirza Beg. The supervision of all the four Departments was entrusted to the best of nobles, the most learned man, Amir Wais Muhammad.

Apportionment of time

"According to this classification, the wise King also divided the days of the week, and appinted one day to each of the three classes. Thus, Saturdays and Thursdays were fixed for pious men, and visits were received on these days from literary and religious persons. On these two days the tree of hope of this estimable body of the people produced the fruit of prosperity by their obtaining audience in the paradise-resembling Court. The reason why these two days were appointed for this class was that Saturday is ascribed to Saturn, who is the protector of good and religious men and persons of old respectable families ; and Thursday is appropriated to Jupiter, who is the preserver of the *Saiyids*, the learned men, and the strict followers of the Muhammadan law. Sundays and Tuesdays were fixed for the State officers ; and all the Government business and duties connected with the management of the country were discharged on these days. The King, destroyer of enemies, sat in the public Court, and consequently all the nobles and plebiens were able to obtain the honour of seeing him. The advantage in appointing these two days for opening the Court, and attending to the state affairs was, that Sunday belongs to the Sun, to whom, according to the will of God, is attached the fate of all rulers and kings ; and Tuesday is the day of Mars, who is the patron of warriors and brave men. Hence, it is evident that to adorn the throne of sovereignty in the public Court-Hall by his royal sessions on these two days, and to devote himself to the discharge of the government duties, was very proper."

SHER SHAH AND HIS SUCCESSORS



1 From Briggs' Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 98 opp.

CHAPTER 4

The Sur Interregnum

"This Afghan is not to be disconcerted by trifles ; he may come to be a great man yet....Keep an eye on Sher Khan. He is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead."

—BABUR

"Alas, that I should have attained power, only at the close of the day."

—SHER SHAH

IT was the rare good fortune of the house of Timur that they were able at last to regain their heritage of conquest, strengthened by the work of the Afghan Sher Shah, an administrator of marked originality, who, all unwittingly, built for the Mughals that structure of the administrative machinery which, while it was necessary for securing the triumph of the new ideal of kingship they represented, they had been entirely unable to construct for themselves."[1]

In this brief statement, Rushbrooke Williams has admirably summed up the place of the Sur Interregnum in the history of the Mughal Empire. Moreover, as the events of Humayun's first reign were enextricably connected with the fortunes of Sher Shah, his restoration and recovery of the Empire were bound up with the misfortunes of Sher Shah's descendants. The sad contrast between Babur's brilliance and Humayun's political incapacity also finds a sharp echo in the Afghan episode, both pointing to the same moral for us, viz., the fatal incapacity of monarchical, like other, genius to transmit itself unimpaired.

We have already followed a substantial part of Sher Shah's career in his triumphant duel with Humayun. Here must be attempted a more comprehensive study of his life and character.

A. Early Life

1. Ancestry

'Sher Shah was born in the reign of Sultan Bahlol (1450-88), and they named him Farid,' writes Abbas Sarwani in his *Tarikh-i Sher Shahi*.[2]

1 Rushbrooke Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

2 Abbas Khan, at the commencement of his work, states, 'I derive my information from trustworthy Afghans, skilled in the science of History and rhetoric, who accompanied the King from the beginning of his fortunes to the end of his reign, and were

It was in the 'City of Victory' Hissar-Firoza (Delhi District) founded by Firoz Shah Tughlak. The year, according to Qanungo, may have been 1486 A.D.[1]

'The grandfather of Sher Shah, by name Ibrahim Khan Sur, with his son Hasan Khan, the father of Sher Shah, came to Hindustan from Afghanistan[2]. . . . They settled in the *pargana* of Bajwara. Later, Jamal Khan Sarankhani of Hissar-Firoza bestowed on Ibrahim 'several villages in *pargana* Narnaul for the maintenance of forty horsemen.' Hasan Khan entered the service of Umar Khan, *Khan-i-azam*, who was 'counsellor and courtier of Sultan Bahlol. Umar Khan gave 'several villages in the *pargana* of Shahabad as a *jagir* to Hasan Khan.' After Ibrahim's death Hasan Khan also received his father's *jagir* with several villages in addition to it.'

When Jamal Khan was sent to the *subah* of Jaunpur by Sikandar Lodi (who had succeeded Bahlol), he took with him Sher Shah's father, being 'much pleased with Hasan Khan's good service,' and 'gave him in *jagir* the *parganas* of Sasaram, Hajipur, and Tanda, near Benares, to maintain 500 horses.'

2. Boyhood's Promise (1501)

'Hasan Khan had eight sons. Farid Khan and Nizam Khan were born of one Afghan mother ;' the rest were born of slave-girls. 'Angry words often passed between Hasan and Farid.' The latter, 'annoyed with his father, went to Jamal Khan at Jaunpur,' where he 'employed himself studying Arabic and the biographies of most of the kings of ancient times. He had got by heart the *Sikandar-Nama*, the *Gulistan*, and *Bostan*, etc., and was also reading the works of the philosophers.' Subsequently, whenever, during his reign, learned men came to ask for a maintenance (*madad ma'ash*), he used to ask them about the *Hashia-i-Hindia*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.

'It happened after some years,[3] that Hasan Khan came to Jamal Khan when all his kinsmen in Jaunpur reproached him for having sent Farid away ; and they remarked that *Farid Khan, young as he was, gave promise of future greatness* ; that he bore the marks of excellence on his forehead, and that in all the tribe of Sur there was none who possessed learning, talent, wisdom, and prudence like him ; and he had qualified himself so well, that if Hasan Khan would entrust him with the charge of a *pargana*, he could discharge it excellently well, and perform all his duties.'

3. Young Jagirdar (1511)

When father and son were reconciled, Farid was given charge of the two *parganas* of Sasaram and Khawaspur (in the present District of Shahabad).[4] Even so earrly as this (1511), the future Sher Shah gave unmistakable evidence of his executive abilities and genius.

employed in his confidential service. I have written also what I have well assertained from others. Whatever was opposed to the information thus acquired, and could not stand the touchstone of truth, I have rejected.' (E. & D. *op. cit.*, IV, p. 305.)

1 Qanungo, *op. cit* , p 3.

2 'From a place which is called in the Afghan tongue "Sherghari", but in the Multan tongue "Rohris" It is a ridge, a spur of the Suleiman Mountains, about 6 or 7 *kos* in length, situated on the banks of Gumal.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 308).

3 Farid lived at Jaunpur upto his twenty-fifth year, from 1501 to 1511. (Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 8.)

4 It was a frontier march on the southern side of Bihar. To the south lay the outskirts of the Rohtas hills, then inhabited by non-Aryan semi-independent peoples. Further south were the possessions of the independent Hindu Raja of Rohtas ; on the east was the Sone river. To the west was the *pargana of Chaund*, which belonged to Muhammad Khan Sur, the future enemy of Farid.—*Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

"I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the district," he said to his father, *"and that depends on a just administration."*

Abbas Khan further tells us, when he got his *jagirs*, he said: "Let all the headmen (*muqaddaman*) and the cultivators (*muzzaian*) on whose Labour the prosperity of the district depends, and all the village accounts (*patwaris*) attend my presence." When they came, he summoned also the soldiery, and thus addrested them:

"My father (*abu*) has committed to me the power of appointing and dismissing you. I have set my heart on improving the prosperity of the district, in which object also your own interests are concerned; and by this means I hope to establish my reputation."

When he had finished exhorting the soldiery, he turned to the peasantry and said: "This day I give you your choice as to your mode of payment. Do whatever is most advantageous to your own interests in every possible way."

Some of the headmen asked for written agreements for a fixed money rent; others preferred payment in kind (*kismat-i-ghalla*). Accordingly he gave leases and took agreements, and fixed the payments for measuring the fields (*jaribana*), and the fees for the tax collectors and measurers (*muhassilana*); and he said to the *chaudharis* and headmen: *"I know well that the cultivation depends on the humble peasants; for if they be ill off they will produce nothing, but if prosperous they will produce much.* I know the oppressions and exactions of which you have been guilty towards the cultivators; and for this reason I have fixed the payments for measurements and the tax-gatherers' fees—that if you exact from the cultivators more on this account than is fixed, it may not be credited to you in making up your accounts. Be it known to you, that I will take the accounts of the fees in my own presence. Whatever dues are rightly taken I will sanction, and compel the cultivator to pay them; and I will also collect the Government dues for the autumn harvest in the autumn, and for the spring harvest in the spring; for balances of Government dues are the ruin of a *pargana*, and the cause of quarrels between the cultivators and the Government officers. *It is right for a ruler to show leniency to the cultivators at the time of measurement, and to have a regard for the actual produce; but when the time of payment comes he should show no leniency but collect the revenue with all strictness.* If he perceives the cultivators are evading payment, he should so chastise them as to be an example to others not to act in the same way."

He then said to the peasantry, "Whatever matter you have to represent, bring it always yourselves to me. *I will suffer no one to oppress you."* Having thus addressed them he dismissed them with honorary dresses, to carry on their cultivation.

After dismissing the cultivators, he said to his father's officers, *"The cultivators are the source of prosperity.* I have encouraged them and sent them away, *and shall always watch over their conditions, that no man may oppress and injure them: for if a ruler cannot protect the humble peasantry from the lawless, it is tyranny to exact revenue from them.* There are certain *zamindars* who have been behaving contumaciously in these *parganas*, who have not presented themselves at the governor's court (*mahakma-i-hakim*), do not pay their full revenue, and harass the villagers in their neighbourhood—how shall I overcome and destroy them?" They replied, "Most of the troops are with Mian

Hasan ; wait a few days and they will return." Farid said, "I cannot have patience while they refuse to come to me, and continue to oppress and injure the people of God ; do you consider what I can contrive against these rebels, and how I may chastise them."

'He ordered his father's nobles to saddle 200 horses, and to see how many soldiers there were in the *pargana*, and he sent for all the Afghans and men of his tribe who were without *jagirs*, and said to them, "I will give you subsistence and clothing till Mian Hasan returns. Whatever goods and money you may get from the plunder of these rebels is yours, nor will I ever require it of you ; and whoever among you may distinguish himself, for him I will procure a good *jagir* from Mian Hasan. I will myself give you horses to ride on." When they had heard this they were much pleased, and said they would not fail in doing their duty under his auspices. He put the men who had engaged to serve him in good humour by all sorts of favours, and by gifts of clothes, etc., and presented them also with a little money. . . .

'Early in the morning, Farid Khan mounted and attacked the criminal *zamindars*, and put all the rebels to death, and making all their women and children prisoners, ordered his men to sell them as slaves ; and brought other people to the village and settled them there. When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.

'If any soldier or peasant had a complaint, Farid would examine it in person, and carefully investigate the cause, nor did he ever give way to carelessness or sloth.

'In a very short time, both *parganas* became prosperous, and the soldiery and peasantry were alike contented. When Mian Hasan heard of this he was much pleased ; and in all companies used to make mention of the prosperity of his *parganas*, the gallantry of his son, and the subjection of the *zamindars*.'

4. Farid becomes 'Sher Khan' (1519-26)

In spite of all this, however, Farid once again lost favour with his whimsical father, and for a time sought refuge at the court of Ibrahim Lodi at Agra, under the patronage of Daulat Khan. When that prince died on the gory field of Panipat (April, 1526), the young adventurer went to Bahar Khan, son of Darya Khan, who had assumed the title of Sultan Muhammed.[1] 'Employing himself day and night in his business, Farid gained Bahar Khan's favour, and became one of his most intimate friends. In consequence of his excellent arrangements, he became celebrated throughout the country of Bihar.'

One day he went out hunting with Bahar Khan, and a tiger (*sher*) having been started, Farid Khan slew it. On account of this gallant encounter Bahar Khan gave him the title of 'Sher Khan, the Tiger Chief.'

Sher Khan after this, getting help from Sultan Junaid Barlas, the Governor of Jaunpur, sought preferment under Babur at Agra.[2] There,

1 According to Qanungo, Farid governed his paternal estates for 7 or 8 years, from 1511 to 1518 or 1519. He went to Bahar Khan about 1522. (*Sher Shah*, pp. 24, 31-32). Dr. Banerji has pointed out that some of Dr. Qanungo's 'dates and events' have been corrected by Dr. P. Saran in the B. & O. R. S. J. for March, 1934.

2 "Just after the battle of Panipat the ambitious Afghan chiefs, unsuccessful at home against rivals of their own race, resorted to Babur in the hope of overcoming their

being admitted to the court, he remained for some time among the Mughals, was present at the siege of Chanderi, 'acquainted himself with their military arrangements, their modes of governing, and the character of their nobles.' "*If luck aided me,*" he is reported to have said among the Afghans, "*and fortune stood my friend, I could easily oust the Mughals from Hindustan.*" The Emperor Babur, with his keen insight into human character, observed to Khalifa, his minister, "Keep an eye on Sher Khan, he is a clever man, and the marks of royalty are visible on his forehead. I have seen many Afghan nobles, greater men than he, but they never made any impression on me ; but as soon as I saw this man, it entered into my mind that he ought to be arrested, for I find in him the qualities of greatness and marks of mightiness."

5. Sher Khan and the Mughals (1527-28)

B. Conquest of Empire

Sher Khan was too circumspect a man to miss the significance of this observation. So he quitted Babur's camp at the earliest opportunity.[1] "I have no longer any confidence in the Mughals, nor they in me," he declared, "I must go to Sultan Muhammad Khan."[2] When Sultan Muhammad died, Sher Khan became the Deputy to his son Jalal Khan, in the Government of Bihar and its dependencies, about October, 1529.

1. The First Step (1529)

The following year 1530, Sher Khan *captured the important fortress of Chunar. This may be considered the starting-point of his career of aggression.* The manner in which he came by it is thus described by Abbas Sarwani[3] :

'Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had entrusted the fort of Chunar to Taj Khan Sarang Khani, and the royal treasures were deposited in the fort. Now this Taj Khan was altogether a slave to his love for his wife Lad Malika, who was a woman of great sagacity and wisdom. One night, Taj Khan's eldest son (by another wife) wounded Lad Malika with a sabre, but not severely. Her servants complained to Taj Khan, who drew his sword, and ran out to kill his son. He, perceiving that his father was about to kill him for the sake of his wife, struck his father with his sabre, and escaped out of the house. Taj Khan died of the wound.'

Sher Khan, after this incident, cleverly ingratiated himself with Lad Malika and married her.[4] By this means he not only got possession of the fort, but 'she gave him a present consisting of 150 of the exceedingly valuable jewels, and 7 *mans* of pearls, and 150 *mans* of gold, and many other articles and ornaments.'

Subsequent to this, Sher Khan also got into his power and possession

domestic enemies with the help of the Mughals and gaining high positions for themselves." (Qanungo, *loc. cit.*, p. 34).

1 He was there at most for 15 months, from April, 1527 to June 1528, when he got back his *parganas* as a result of Babur's eastern campaign of 934 A. H. (*Ibid.*, pp. 44, 52-53).

2 Qanungo says, "Sher Khan joined not Sultan Muhammad Lohani (as Abbas Sarwani, Nizamuddin, Ferishta, etc., say), but Sultan Mahmud Lodi "—(*Ibid.*, pp. 58-59).

3 'I, the author of this history of Sher Khan, Abbas Khan Bin Sheikh Ali Sarwani have heard from my kindred and connexions who were great nobles and companions of Sher Khan that he got possession of the fort of Chunar in the following manner.' For fuller details of the incident See E. & D., *op cit.*, IV, pp. 343-46.

4 "The whole story," says Qanungo, "is unskilfully got up with the object of convincing us that Sher Khan obtained Chunar by legitimate means, from its virtual mistress Lad Malika." (*Sher Shah*, p. 71.)

the *parganas* near the fort of Chunar; and further strengthened his resources by inheriting 60 *mans* of gold from Guhar Husain, the widow of Nasir Khan.

2. First Encounter with Humayun (1531)

When Humayun had overcome Sultan Mahmud Lodi, and put the greater number of his followers to death, at the battle of Dauroh, he sent Hindu Beg to take Chunar from Sher Khan, but the latter refused to give it up. Jauhar says, 'When the victorious army of the Mughals reached Chunar, Jalal Khan, son of Sher Khan, and several other nobles were within the fortress; the fortress was besieged for four months. When Sher Khan saw that the fort would fall today or tomorrow, he made his submission and sent his own son, Kutb Khan, to the presence of His Majesty (Humayun) and secured peace."[1] Thus, he put off Humayun for the time being with clever but insincere professions of loyalty. Humayun withdrew and turned towards Gujarat, with a false sense of security in the eastern provinces.

"Never were the eastern provinces rendered so submissive to the throne of Delhi after the death of Sultan Sikandar (1517) as now," writes Qanungo. "The indomitable Afghan leaders, Baban and Bayazid, were killed; the country on the northern bank of the Ganges from the Gumti to the Gandak (boundary of the kingdom of Bengal) was as tranquil as ever. On the southern bank of the Ganges the pretensions of Sher Khan were subdued, and he was forced to yield obedience and send his son to the imperial service. But the serpent was scotched, not killed; and this foreboded future trouble. When Humayun was reposing in the bed of fancied security, it recovered from the shock and gathered fresh strength. The seed of lifelong enmity was sown between the two men."[2]

3. Bihar and Bengal

To resume Abbas Khan's narrative, "Sher Khan took advantage of this opportunity, and did not leave one enemy of his remaining throughout the kingdom of Bihar. He also began to patronize all Afghans. Many of them who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared *he would kill every Afghan who refused to be a soldier.* He was also very careful of his Afghans in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. When the Afghans heard that Sher Khan was eagerly desirous of patronizing their race, they entered into his service from all directions."

Sultan Bahadur (of Gujarat) being defeated by Humayun, went towards Surat, and all the Afghans who were in his service, whether chiefs or common soldiers, came to Sher Khan.[3]

When Nasir Khan (Nusrat Shah) ruler of Bengal died, the nobles of Bengal made Sultan Mahmud his successor[4]; but he was not able to manage the kingdom, and it fell into disorder. Mahmud Shah, nevertheless, conceived the design of conquering Bihar from the Afghans, and

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.
2 Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
3 "When the sun of Bahadur Shah's fortune sank down in the Arabian Sea, that of Sher Khan arose almost simultaneously out of the Bay of Bengal, and shone resplendently in the eastern horizon."—*Ibid.*, p. 128.
4 This is a remarkable confirmation of Babur's observation regarding the tradition in Bengal (see E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 260-61). Nusrat Shah died about December, 1532, and was immediately succeeded by his son, Ala-ud-din Firoz Shah, who was murdered by Mahmud Shah soon after, in May, 1533.—Qanungo, *loc. cit.*, p. 83.

accordingly despatched Kutb Khan with a large force for that purpose. Sher Khan earnestly and repeatedly remonstrated ; but Kutb Khan gave no heed to his remonstrances. Sher Khan consequently told his Afghans, "With the Mughals on one side, and the army of Bengal on the other, we have no recourse save in our own bravery." The Afghans replied, "Be of good cheer, for we will fight to the utmost ; we will never yield the field until we either conquer or die."

Sher Khan having prepared for a sturdy resistance, met the enemy. A severe action ensued in which the Bengal army was defeated. . . . Of the treasure, horses, elephants, etc., which fell into his hands, Sher Khan did not give any part to the Lohanis,[1] and so he became a man of wealth. This kindled the jealousy of the Lohanis who thereafter became the enemies of Sher Khan. They tried to bring about his fall in several ways, not excluding murder. When they were foiled in their attempts, they won over Jalal Khan (Sher Khan's nominal sovereign) to their side, and even intrigued with their enemy the King of Bengal.

As soon as Sher Khan heard that Jalal Khan had gone over to the King of Bengal, he was much pleased, and said : "Now the kingdom of Bihar had fallen into my hands. I felt certain that the army of the King of Bengal would assuredly come to attempt the conquest of Bihar, and as enmity existed between the Lohanis and myself, I feared lest the enemy should be victorious, for, *the surest means of defeat are divisions in your own army.* Now that the Lohanis are gone to Bengal, there are no quarrels in my army ; and if there be no divisions among the Afghans, how the Bengal army compare with them in the day of battle ? Even the Mughals cannot equal them. Please God, when I have dispersed the Bengal army, you will soon see, if I survive, how I will expel the Mughals from Hindustan."

Events showed that these calculations of Sher Khan were not wrong. 'After this Sher Khan began to strengthen himself, and enlist more men. Wherever there were any Afghans he sent for them, and gave them any money they asked.' Having collected a very large force, and made every preparation, and having gained the goodwill of his army, he placed the country of Bihar in his rear, and proceeded against the King of Bengal. "*This campaign,*" says Qanungo, "*was destined to end in one of the most decisive battles of the medieval history of India. It was a turning-point in the career of Sher Shah.*"[2] The following account of the engagement is given by Abbas Khan.

Battle of Surajgarh[3] : 1534

When one watch of the night was yet remaining, Sher Khan arrayed his forces, and brought them out of their entrenchments ; and after the morning prayers, he himself came out, and said to his chiefs, "In the enemy's army there are many elephants and guns,

1 The Lohanis as a tribe were the rivals of the Surs. Sher Khan himself stated : "The Lohanis are a much stronger and more powerful tribe than the Surs ; and the custom of the Afghan is, that if any man has four kinsmen more than another, he thinks little of killing or dishonouring his neighbour."—E. & D. *op. cit.*, IV, p. 335.

2 Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

3 The site of this battle was somewhere on the banks of the Kiul river, east of Bihar town. Abul Fazl says that Sher Khan fought the battle at *Surajgarh*, on the boundary between the territories of the ruler of Bengal, and won a victory. Hemmed in between the Ganges on the north and the Kharagpur hills on the south, the narrow plain of Surajgarh (about 5 miles in width) was indeed the most suitable place for making such a stand. Owing to its strategic situation, it has been the scene of many a decisive battle.—*Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

and a great force of infantry ; we must fight them in such a manner that they shall not be able to preserve their original order. The Bengal cavalry should be drawn away from their guns and infantry, and the horses intermingled with the elephants so that their array may be disordered. I have thought of a stratagem by which to defeat the Bengalis. I will draw up the greater part of my forces behind the cover of that height which we see, but will retain for the attack a small number of experienced and veteran horses. Now, they will fight exactly in the same manner as they did on the former occasion, without any expectation of defeat. I will bring up my selected division, who after discharging one flight of arrows on the Bengali army, shall retreat.

"The enemy is presumptuous on account of his superior force. He will think the Afghans are beginning to fly ; and becoming eager he will leave his artillery and foot in the rear, and press on with all expedition himself, and disorder aud confusion will find their way into his order of battle. I will then bring out my force which had been concealed behind the eminence, who will attack the enemy. The Bengali cavalry, deprived of the support of their artillery and infantry, are by themselves unable to cope with the Afghan horses. I hope by the favour of God that their force will be routed and put to flight."[1]

The result was just what Sher Khan had so shrewdly anticipated. 'The whole of the treasure, elephants, and train of artillery fell into the hands of Sher Khan, who was thus supplied with munitions of war, and became master of the kingdom of Bihar, and much other territory besides. *Since God, the most holy and omnipotent, had preordained from all eternity to give the kingdom of Hind to Sher Khan, and that people of the Lord should live in ease and comfort under the shadow of his justice, and that he should be a zealous and just ruler, his wealth daily increased, and the whole country gradually came into his possession.*'

In the beginning of May, 1535, Sher Khan again turned upon Mahmud Shah, and began a war of conquest of his territories on the frontier of Bihar. "This came as a complete surprise to the incapable voluptuary who disgraced the throne of mighty rulers like Hussain Shah and Nusrat Shah. Sher Khan's plan of campaign was one of slow, methodical conquest and annexation. His object was to wrest all the territories from Mahmud Shah on this side of Teliagarhi."[2] Mahmud Shah, like Ethelred the Unready, bought him off for the time being with an indemnity of 13,00,000 gold pieces, even against the advice of his Portuguese allies. Encouraged by this, Sher Khan once more led a powerful army into Bengal in 1537. From the Portuguese historians we

1 Cf. William the Conqueror's tactics at the battle of Senlac.

2 Sher Shah was never scrupulous in the means he adopted to equip himself for the desired end of conquest, e.g., he took from Bibi Fath Malika, the helpless widow of Bayazid's brother Mustafa, who had sought his refuge and protection, 300 *mans* of gold to equip his army, and gave her only two *parganas* for her support and some ready money for her immediate expenses. For details see E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 352-55. "This is an indefensible act of spoliation of a helpless woman," says Qanungo, "and deserves unqualified condemnation. Even the plea of necessity, which is so often put forward to whitewash such acts, cannot be pleaded in favour of Sher Khan ; because the money was not utilized in self-defence, and the case was not one of saving himself from impending ruin and annihilation. The huge armament was being equipped solely for the purpose of carrying out ambitious designs of aggression upon his neighbours. This act is one of those few which have left indelible blots upon his character." (*Sher Shah*, p. 111.)

learn that Sher Khan sent his lieutenants to occupy outlying districts like Chittagong, while he himself invested Gaur, the capital of Bengal.

These activities of Sher Khan invited Humayun's attention towards him. Abul Fazl says, "Meanwhile news came of the emergence of Sher Khan and of his commotions in the eastern provinces. . . . Orders were issued to make preparations for an expedition to Bengal. It was decided that Sher Khan should be put down and the territories of Bengal should be subdued."[1]

4. Defeat of Humayun (1539-40)

We have already followed the course of subsequent events. Sher Khan defeated Humayun at Chausa, in 1539, and assumed the title of Sher Shah; *at the battle of Bilgram, in 1540 Humayun was finally routed and expelled out of the Empire.* Here it is necessary to take note of only one incident belonging to the period, which, like the Fath Malika story, throws light upon the mechiavellian character of Sher Shah. It is the manner in which he took possession of the great fort of Rohtas.

> "Sher Khan was in difficulties owing to the capture of Chunar by Humayun. There existed a friendly connexion between Sher Khan and the Raja of the fort of Rohtas; and Churaman, the Raja's *naib*, was on particular terms of intimate friendship and alliance with Sher Khan. This Churaman was a Brahman and had formerly shown kindness to the family of Sher Khan's brother Nizam, and procured them shelter in the fort of Rohtas. . . .On the present occasion Sher Khan wrote that he was in great straits, and that if the Raja would give him the loan of the fort for a short time, he would be obliged to him all his days, and that when all danger was past, he would again restore the fort. . . .Sher Khan also gave to Churaman a bribe of 6 *mans* of gold, and said, 'Persuade in any way you can the Raja to give me the loan of his fort for a few days for my family; but if he will not give it, then I will go and make my peace with the Emperor Humayun, and will revenge myself on everything belonging to the Raja.'. . . .When the Raja finally consented, Sher Khan treacherously ordered his own men, if the guards did not obey the order to leave the fort, to eject them by force. . . . Sher Khan placed his own guards and sentries in every part of the fort, and drove the Raja away from the fort. In the manner thus described he got possession of the fort of Rohtas. 'The commonly received report that Sher Khan put Afghans into *dolis* and sent them into the fort as women, is altogether erroneous and false,' writes Abbas Sarwani; 'for I, the writer of this history,. . . . have inquired of several chiefs and nobles who were with Sher Khan in the affairs'."[2]

The strategy, whatever the details thereof, was probably justified by the importance of the place. For after taking possession of the fort Sher Khan observed, *"The fort of Chunar is not a fort in comparison with this; as that has gone out of my possession, this has come into it. I was not so pleased at the conquest of Gaur as I am in getting possession of Rohtas."*[3]

1 *Akbar-Nama*, I, p. 326.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 361 n. 'The rejection of the *doli* story,' says Qanungo, 'does not in any way acquit Sher Khan of the charge of the treachery. . . . Sher Khan's present act was certainly not a fair return for the Raja's good services.' (*Sher Shah*, pp. 149-50).

3 Rohtasgarh is situated on the upper course of the river Sone in an extremely hilly and inaccessible region. Its position on the map is 83° long, and 24° lat. 'It is possibly the largest and strongest hill-fort in India,' observes Qanungo. Ferishta

Sher Khan was the first Muslim conqueror of this fort ; he not only secured in it a safe retreat for the Afghan families but also came into possession of the vast treasures which had been accumulated there for ages by Hindu kings. Prof. Qanungo thinks it must have come into Sher Khan's possession in March, 1538.[1]

An admirable summary of Sher Khan's relations with Humayun—though only from the Afghan point of view—up to the battle of Chausa, is contained in his address to his army just before that engagement. Assembling all his chiefs, he said :

> "I have promised peace to the Emperor Humayun ; but I have considered that all the good service I have rendered has produced no good fruit ; and after all my loyalty to him. . . ., he demanded from me the fort of Chunar. When I refused to yield it, he sent a force to take it ; and when that failed, he came himself to seize it by force, but abandoned his intentions when he heard that Mirza Muhammad Zaman had escaped from prison, and had raised a sedition in the country. Moreover, Sultan Bahadur, King of Gujarat, was coming to invade the country of Delhi and so he was compelled to return. I sent my son Kutb Khan with him throughout the Gujarat campaign, accompanied by 500 valiant horsemen skilled in the use of the sabre. Though I could have taken possession of the country of Jaunpur, etc., yet I did not commit any act of hostility, for the Emperor is mighty ; and though I had the power, I would not do any disloyal and evil act, that the Emperor might perceive I was his faithful servant, and desist from seeking to injure me. When he returned from Gujarat, he got his army in readiness, and without regarding my loyalty, did his best to expel me ; but as my fortune was great, he did not achieve his desire. I made every submission, but it was all profitless. When in violation of all his promises, he attacked Bengal, I lost all hope in his goodness, and apprehending evil from him, was compelled to declare hostilities against him, and I expelled his governors and spoiled his country as far as Sambhal, and have not left a single Mughal in those parts. Now with what hope can I conclude this peace with him ? He makes peace and manifests a friendly disposition towards me, because his army is in want of horses and cattle and every equipment, and because his brothers have rebelled against him. He is but playing with me, end eventually will not abide by this peace ; but having appeased the rebellion of his brothers on his arrival at Agra, and refurnished his army, he will not fail to uproot and destroy me. *I have often experienced that the Afghans are braver in battle than the Mughals, who got the country from the dissensions of the Afghans.* If my brothers advise me, I will break off the peace and will try my fortune."

Events, as we have seen, stood by Sher Shah's fortune. *Chausa and Bilgram gave the Empire of Humayun to his Afghan rival. Babur's wise declaration came true : 'The world is his who exerts himself.'* We must now follow the rest of Sher Shah's brilliant career.

(i) *Pursuit of Humayun.* 'Sher Shah being at his ease regarding the Mughals, wrote to Suja'at Khan, whom he had left as *faujdar*, in the

says, 'Although the author has seen many hill-forts in India he has seen none to compare with that of Rohtas.' (*Ibid* , p. 151.)

1 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

country of Bihar and Rohtas, to besiege the fort of Gwalior. As soon as he received the *farman*, Suja'at Khan went and besieged Gwalior. From Kanauj Sher Shah despatched Barmazid Gur[1] with a large force in advance, but directed him not to hazard an engagement with the Emperor Humayun, and he also sent another force under Nasir Khan towards Sambhal. Having speedily settled the country about Kanauj he betook himself in the direction of Agra.

5. After Kanauj or Bilgram (1540-42)

'When Sher Shah approached Agra, the Emperor, unable to remain there, fled towards Lahore. Sher Shah was greatly displeased at this, and reproached Barmazid very much, and on his arrival at Agra remained there for some days himself, but sent Khawas Khan and Barmazid Gur in the direction of Lahore, with a large force to pursue the Emperor.[2]

'On arriving at Delhi, the principal men and inhabitants of the city of Sambhal came and complained that Nasir Khan had oppressed and tyrannized over them in various ways.' Sher Shah, therefore, despatched Isa Khan, as a person endowed both with valour and justice, and placed Nasir Khan under him. After this, Sher Shah breathed a sigh of relief, and said, "I am now at my ease regarding the whole country from Delhi to Lucknow."

'Entrusting Mewat to Haji Khan, he then proceeded towards Lahore. ....On the third march beyond Lohore, he heard that Mirza Kamran had gone by way of the Judh hills to Kabul, and that the Emperor Humayun was marching along the banks of the Indus to Multan and Bhakkar. The King (Sher Shah) went to Khushab, and thence despatched Khawas Khan. . . .and the greater part of the army, in pursuit of the Emperor, towards Multan. He instructed them not to engage the Emperor but to drive him beyond the borders of the kingdom, and then to return.

'The Mughal division which had quitted the Emperor, and was marching towards Kabul, encountered Khawas Khan and not being strong enough to fight, fled, leaving their drums and standards behind, which fell into Khawas Khan's hands, and the Afghan army returning from that place rejoined Sher Shah.'

(ii) *Baloch and Gakkar.* Sher Shah delayed sometime at Khushab. While there Ismail Khan, Fath Khan, and Ghazi Khan Balochi came and waited on him....Sher Shah confirmed Ismail Khan in the country of Sind. The chiefs of every tribe and family of Roh came to wait on him ; and Sher Shah wisely left these Baloch chiefs undisturbed in their possessions.

'Then he marched with all his forces and retinue, through all the hills of Padman and Garjhak, in order that he might choose a fitting site and build a fort there to keep down the Gakkars, in which he might leave a garrison on the Kabul road, when he himself returned. Having selected

1 "Properly, Brahmajit Gaur." Qanungo observes, "Hindus were allowed to hold positions of some importance in the army. One of Sher Shah's best generals was Brahmajit Gaur," mentioned by Jauhar and Abbas Sarwani. "Rajah Ram Shah of Gwalior was another." (*Ibid.*, pp. 369-70.)

2 According to Gulbadan Begam—During the three months that the Emperor was at Lahore, word was brought day after day. "Sher Khan has advanced 4 miles, 6 miles," till he was near Sirhind. . . The Emperor sent him a Turkoman named Muzaffar Beg, with Kazi Abdullah to Sher Khan, to say, "I have left you the whole of Hindustan. Leave Lahore alone, and let Sirhind, where you are, be a boundary between you and me." But that unjust man, fearless of God, did not consent, and answered, "I have left you Kabul, you should go there." (Cited by Qanungo.)

Rohtas,[1] he built there the fort which now exists, and laid waste the country of the Gakkars.

(iii) *Bengal.* "In the midst of this, news came from Bengal that Khizr Khan, the Governor of Bengal, had assumed the dignity of a king and defied his authority. So he set out himself for Bengal." There, "instead of placing the whole province under one military governor, as had hitherto been the custom, Sher Shah created several smaller governorships. The governors placed over these divisions were equal in status, and wholly independent of one another in the administration of their respective areas. They were directly appointed by him and were responsible to him alone. By this single stroke of policy, he struck at the very root of the evil of chronic rebellion."[2] He remained in Bengal for about seven months, from June 1541 to January 1542. Then he returned to Agra.

(iv) *Malwa.* In April 1542, Sher Shah marched towards the country of Mandu by way of Gwalior, in order to take on the rulers of Mandu his revenge for their backwardness in assisting Kutb Khan.[3] At this time there were princes in the Kingdom of Mandu who ruled independently. Mallu Khan who had assumed the title of king and the name of Kadir Shah, held possession and rule of the city of Shadmabad, that is to say, the fort of Mandu, and of Ujjain, Sarangpur, and the fort of Rantambhor.

'When Sher Shah reached Sarangpur, Mallu Khan came and submitted. He was much impressed with the rigour, discipline and exertions of Sher Shah's army, and said to the Afghans, "You submit yourselves to wonderful labours and exertions; night and day you have no rest; ease and comfort are things forbidden to you." The Afghans replied, "Such is our master's custom. It behoves a soldier, whatever service his chief may order, or whatever labour or exertion he may require, not to consider it a hardship. *Ease is for women, it is shameful to honourable men.*"

'Sher Shah assigned the country of Mandu to Suja'at Khan . . . . and then returned to Agra, via Dhar and Rantambhor.'

(v) *Raisin.* From Agra he went towards Bihar and Bengal, where he suffered an attack of fever and ague. After recovery he once again returned to Agra. When he arrived there, in all the pride of his state, he set off for the country of Mandu, in the year A.H. 950 (1548 A.D.), and took the fort of *Raisin.*"[4] This expedition, according to Abbas Khan,

1 Burns considered it one of the greatest bulwarks between Tartary and India. The imperfectly subdued Gakkars 'made a vow among themselves that no one should serve as day-labourer in the construction of the fort. If any one act to the contrary, he must be destroyed. . . .Todar Mal (who later became so very famous in the reign of Akbar) complained of it to Sher Shah, who wrote in reply, that they should go on with the building though they paid for the stone its weight in copper. The fort was completed though the expenses were enormous. Sher Shah called it 'Little Rohtas.' The *Tarikh-i-Daudi* calls it 'New Rohtas', and adds, that it 'costed 8 *krors*, 5 thousand and $2^1/_2$ *dams*, which means *Bahlolis*—all which is written over the gate of the fort.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 419; also Qanungo, *op. cit.*, 405-06.)

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43

3 Apart from this, Qanungo gives two more political motives: (i) to come into direct touch with the kingdoms of Gujarat and Mewar, through which the Mughals might break into Malwa; (ii) to forestall the design of Maldeo in Malwa and crush Maldeo's prospective allies before they could cause serious trouble. (*Ibid.* pp. 252-53.)

4 The fort of Raisin (long 77° 50'; lat. 23°.19') stands on the highest hill of a detached ridge of the Vindhya Mountains, stretching north and south for about $7^1/_2$ miles, along the upper course of the river Betwa. On the N. and S two mountain streams cut off this ridge from contiguous hills, and thus add to the strength of its defence. On the east it presents a formidable front of unbroken rock-wall, 1722 to 1760 ft. in height. (*Ibid.*, p. 284.)

had been provoked by the oppression of Musalman families by its Raja Puran Mal. But Prof. Qanungo definitely says, "It was not undertaken out of a religious motive to punish Puran Mal for enslaving the families of the Muslims of Chanderi, as the bigoted Muslim historians fondly believed . . . . No incentive of fanaticism was necessary, as the political object was a sufficient stimulant to move Sher Shah against Raisin . . . . One single fort unsubdued might overturn an empire, as Sher Shah could realize by contemplating the fate of Humayun. So he determined to safeguard himself against unknown dangers by rooting out Rajput influence in Malwa."[1]

Whatever might have been the motive and incentive for the attack, Puran Mal and his companions, Abbas Khan proceeds to tell us, 'like hogs at bay, failed not to exhibit valour and gallantry ; but in the twinkling of an eye all were slain. Such of their wives and families as were not slain were captured.[2] . . . . He made over the fort of Raisin to Munshi Shahbaz Khan Sarwani, and returned himself towards Agra, and remained at the capital during the rainy season."[3]

(vi) *Multan and Sindh.* About the same time at the fall of Raisin, Sindh and Multan were conquered by Sher Shah's general, Haibat Khan Niazi. The turbulent Balochis were ever a source of danger to Multan. The conquest of these parts was of utmost importance for Sher Shah. More than anything else it closed the routes to Qandahar, via, Siwi, against Humayun, by strengthening Sakkar and Bhakkar to which he gave the name of Shergarh. The conquest was completed by November, 1543.

(vii) *Rajputana.* 'After the conclusion of the rains, Sher Shah ordered that his conquering forces, beyond all calculation or enumeration,[4] should under the shadow of his victorious standards, march towards the country of Nagor, Ajmir and Jodhpur, which belonged to Maldeo[5] the Raja with whom Humayun had sought shelter in vain.

> 'When he arrived at Fatehpur Sikri, he ordered that each division of the army should march together in order of battle, and should throw up an earthern entrenchment at every halting ground. On the way they encamped one day on a plain of sand, and in spite of every labour, they could not on account of the sand, make an entrenchment. Mahmud Khan, grandson of Sher Shah, said : "Let my Lord order that sacks should be filled with stand, and that they should make the entrenchment with the bags." Sher Shah was greatly delighted, and ordered that they should do likewise. When

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 288-89.
2 For a full account of this incident see E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 397-403 ; also Qanungo, *op. cit.*, pp. 284-99.
3 This time, about 7 or 8 months (July 1543 to Feb. 1544 according to Qanungo) he utilized for building projects, administrative work, but chiefly military equipment on a large scale for his coming campaign in Rajputana. (*Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.)
4 'Sher Shah had so great an army, in this campaign,' says Abbas Khan, 'that the best calculators, in spite of all reflection and thought and calculation, were at a loss to number and reckon them, and they often ascended the tops of eminences that the length and breadth of the army might appear to them ; but so exceeding was its magnitude, that its whole length and breadth were never visible together and we asked old men of great age, whether they had ever seen or heard of so great an army, but they replied they had not.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 404.
5 Maldeo ascended the throne of Marwar in 1532. At his accession it was a small impoverished state of only second-rate importance. Within five or six years, however, by his shrewd policy and incessant activity, he reconquered the whole of Marwar proper from his powerful but disobedient vassals, annexed Bikanir, and considerably aggrandized himself at the expense of Jesalmir, Mewar, and Amber. (Qanungo, *op. cit.*, 263-79.)

he approached the enemy, Sher Shah contrived a stratagem ; and having written letters in the name of Maldeo's nobles to this effect, viz., "Let not the King permit any anxiety or doubt to find its way to his heart. During the battle we will seize Maldeo and bring him to you" ; and having inclosed these letters in a *kharita* or silken bag, he gave it to a certain person, and directed him to go near to the tent of the *vakil* of Maldeo, and remain there ; and when he was out, to drop the *kharita* on his way, and conceal himself.

Sher Shah's agent did as he was ordered ; and when the *vakil* of Maldeo saw the *kharita* lying, he picked it up, and sent the letters to Maldeo. When the latter learned their contents, he was much alarmed, and fled without fighting. Although his nobles took oaths of fidelity, he did not heed them. Some of the chieftains, such as Jaya Chand and Goha, and others, came and attacked Sher Shah, and displayed exceeding valour. Part of the army was routed, and a certain Afghan came to Sher Shah, and advised him in his native tongue saying, "Mount, for the infidels are routing your army." Sher Shah was performing his morning devotions, and reading the *Musta' abi-i' ashr*. He gave no reply to the Afghan. By a sign he ordered his horse, and mounted, when news of victory was brought to the effect that Khawas Khan had slain Jaya Chand and Goha with all their forces. When Sher Shah learnt of the valour and gallantry of these men, he exclaimed, "*I had nearly lost the kingdom of Delhi, for a handful of bhajra* (millet seed)."

This occurred about March, 1544. 'He left Khawas Khan and Isa Khan Niazi and some other chiefs in the country of Nagor, and himself withdrew. Khawas Khan founded a city in his own name, near the fort of Jodhpur, and brought into his power and possession the whole country of Nagor and Ajmir, the fort of Jodhpur, and the district of Marwar. Maldeo went to the fort of Siwana, on the borders of Gujarat.' Sher Shah, to ally misgivings, paid a flying visit to his capital, and rejoined his camp at Ajmir, about the middle of June, 1544.

Next he turned to Chitor. Mewar at this time was utterly prostrate ; she seemed to have no more blood left to shed in defence of her capital. It was one of the darkest periods in the history of Rajputana. The bastard Banabir, whom the disaffected nobles of Mewar had raised to the throne, had murdered the dethroned Bikramjit and would have done the same with the infant Udai Singh, but for his nurse Panna's noble sacrifice. The boy had been installed only two years before Sher Shah invaded. No wonder that 'when he was yet 12 *kos* from the fort of Chitor, the Raja who was its ruler sent him the keys. When Sher Shah came to Chitor he left in it the younger brother of Khawas Khan, Mian Ahmed Sarwani, and Hasan Khan Khilji. Sher Shah himself marched towards Kachwara, and thence to Kalinjar.

'The Raja of Kalinjar, Kirat Singh, did not come out to meet him. So he (Sher Shah) ordered the fort to be invested, and threw up mounds against it, and in a short time the mounds rose so high that they over-topped the fort. The men who were in the streets and houses were exposed, and the Afghans shot them with their arrows and muskets from off the mounds. The cause of this tedious mode of capturing the fort was this : Among the women of Raja Kirat Singh was a Patar slave-girl, i.e., a dancing-girl. The King had heard exceeding praise of her, and he considered how to get possession of her, for he feared lest, if he stormed the fort, the Raja, Kirat Singh, would certainly make a *Jauhar*, and would burn the girl.'

"The fortress of Kalinjar was besieged about the beginning of November, 1544 A.D. The natural strength of the fort was such as to baffle any attempt to storm it. The hill on which the fort stands has an elevation of 1230 ft., above the sea, and is isolated from the adjacent range by a chasm or ravine about 1,200 yds. wide. The sides rise rather steeply from the plain, and in the upper part have a nearly perpendicular face of 150 ft. or 180 ft. in height, and in most places inacessible. The fortifications are massively constructed of large blocks of stone laid generally without cement and about 35 ft. thick."

'On Friday, the 9th *Rabi-ul-awwal*, 952 A.H., when one watch and two hours of the day were over, Sher Shah called for his breakfast, and ate with his *ulama* and priests, without whom he never breakfasted. In the midst of his breakfast, Sheikh Nizam said, "There is nothing equal to a religious war against the infidels. If you be slain, you become a martyr ; if you live, you become a *ghazi*." When Sher Shah had finished eating his breakfast, he ordered Darya Khan to bring loaded shells, and went up to the top of a mound, and with his own hand shot off many arrows, and said, "Darya Khan comes not ; he delays very long." But when the shells were at last brought, Sher Shah came down from the mound and stood where they were placed. While the men were employed in discharging them, by the will of God Almighty, one shell full of gun-powder struck on the gate of the fort and broke, and came and fell where a great number of other shells were placed. Those which were loaded all began to explode. Sheikh Halil, Sheikh Nizam, and other learned men, and most of the others escaped and were not burnt; but they brought out Sher Shah partially burnt. A young princess who was standing by the rockets was burnt to death.

'When Sher Shah was carried into his tent, all his nobles assembled in *darbar ;* and he sent for Isa Khan Hajib and Masnad Khan Kalkapur, the son-in-law of Isa Khan and the paternal uncle of the author (Abbas Khan), to come into his tent, and ordered them to take the fort while he was yet alive. When Isa Khan came out and told the chiefs that it was Sher Shah's order that they should attack on every side and capture the fort, men came and swarmed out instantly on every side like ants and locusts ; and by the time of afternoon prayers captured the fort, putting everyone to the sword, and sending all the infidels to hell. About the hour of evening prayers, the intelligence of the victory reached Sher Shah, and marks of joy and pleasure appeared on his countenance.

> 'On the 10th *Rabi-ul-awwal*, 952 A.H. (22nd May, 1545 A.D.) Sher Shah went from the hostel of this world to rest in the mansion of happiness, and ascended peacefully from the abode of this world to the lofty heavens ; the date was discovered in the words *as atash murd*, he died from fire.'

It is not certain whether Sher Shah's body was buried at Kalinjar, or removed to the grand mausoleum erected by himself at *Sasaram*—the home of his greatness.[1] He had reigned for six months as King of Bengal and Jaunpur, and for five years as the Emperor of Hindustan. He might have been sixty years of age at the time of his death. "Thus, passed away in the mid-career of victory and beneficent activity the great soldier and statesman, with whom there appeared for the persecuted Hindus the dawn of that era of toleration, justice, and equality of political rights, which broadened into dazzling noon on the accession of Akbar."[2]

1 Qanungo, *op. cit.*, p. 343.
2 *Ibid.*

C. Sher Shah's capacity

Introduction

Sher Shah was, according to all estimates, a man of varied talents and extraordinary genius. It would not be unfair to compare him with Henry VII in his dealings with the feudal nobility ; with Frederick William I—Prussia's greatest 'internal king'—in the care he bestowed upon both military organization and civil administration ; with Kautilya and Machiavelli in his practical outlook and political principles ; and Asoka in his benevolent intentions and solicitude for the welfare of all classes of his subjects. In fact, he was a combination of Babur and Frederick the Great of Prussia. Erskine says : "Sher Shah was one of the most extraordinary men whose name appears in the history of India. His character has been represented in very different lights by different authors. As he was long the grand enemy of the house of Timur, whom for a time he drove out of India, by their partisans he has been drawn in very unfavourable colours.[1] But the evidence of less prejudiced writers, and of facts, must restore to him the high praise and honourable distinction that, with all the imperfections of his character, are justly his due."[2]

(*a*) *Personal character.* Sher Shah's life, whose principal events we have briefly narrated, is the best commentary on his character that any one can offer. Apart from his undoubted genius, the outstanding quality that explains his success is his capacity for incessant activity. "For," said he, "it behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their dignity and loftness of their rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty."[3] The incentive to this was, no doubt, his great ambition ; but it was an ambition conceived by his national patriotism engendered by his early studies and experience. When his father's unfair treatment drove him to Jaunpur, he utilized the time in studying history, philosophy, and the biographies of ancient kings. 'Subsequently,' Abbas Khan informs us, 'whenever during his reign, learned men came to ask him for a maintenance, he used to ask them about the *Hashia-i-Hindia*, and he still retained his liking for books of history and the lives of ancient kings.' When he was appointed to the administration of his father's *jagirs*, he carried with him a high but modest sense of duty.

1 E g , Abul Fazl affects to deride his institutions, which he represents as a revival of those of Ala-ud-din ; nevertheless, most of them remained after the downfall of his dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author, along with many others of former sovereigns, as original conceptions of his master Akbar.—Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 457-58.

2 Erskine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 110-11.

3 The *Waki'at-i-Mushtaki* gives the following account of the daily routine of Sher Shah's busy life :

'Sher Shah was occupied night and day with the business of his kingdom, and never allowed himself to be idle. At the end of night he arose, performed his ablutions, and said his prayers Afterwards he called in his officers and managers to report all the occurrences of the day. For four hours he listened to the reading of reports on the affairs of the country or on the business of the Government establishments. The orders which he gave were reduced to writing, and were issued and acted upon ; there was no need of further discussion. Thus he remained engaged till morning arrived. When it was time for prayers, he performed his devotions in a large congregation, and went through all the forms of prayer. Afterwards he received his nobles and soldiers, and made inquiries as to the horses brought to receive their brands. Then he went out and made a personal inspection of his forces, and settled the allowances of each individual by word of mouth until all was arranged. He then attended to many other affairs and audited accounts. Petitions were received from every quarter, and replies were sent ; he himself dictated them in Persian, and the scribes committed them to writing. Every person who came to wait upon him was received in the palace.' (E. & D. *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 550-51.)

"To please you I accept the management of the two districts. I will not fail to do my duty to the best of my power. . , .I shall devote myself to increase the prosperity of the districts, and that depends on a just administration ; for it has been said by the learned. . . ." His tenure as *jagirdar*, short though it was, revealed his practical genius, as well as his great love for the welfare of the people entrusted to his care—particularly the peasants. He always liked the company of the religious and the learned. Abbas Khan tells us, he never breakfasted except in the company of the *ulama*. But in moments of action, he was his own best counsel. After the Raisin expedition, he consulted his nobles of note, and the wise among his countiers, and they said, 'It is incumbent on the powerful and fortunate to root out this innovating (*Shia*) schism from the Dekhin'; but Sher Shah replied, "What you have said is most right and proper, but it has come into my mind. . . .until I have cleansed the country from the contamination of the unbelievers (Hindus), I will not go into any other country. First I will root out that accursed infidel Maldeo. . . ." 'The chiefs and nobles assented, and so it was settled.' But Sher Shah's whole administration is a refutation of the implication of religious bigotry against the Hindus, contained in this representation of him by our historian. The expedition against Maldeo was undoubtedly political : it was to give the Rajput a taste of his power, and to prevent any possibility of his harbouring the Mughal, as Maldeo had been inclined to do.

Instances may be multiplied to illustrate the other aspects of Sher Sh ah's character. His unique sense of justice, for instance, was a part of the man himself that determined the character of his administration. But this will be illustrated later. He was above all, and essentially, a man of destiny who had faith in himself and faith in God who seemed to have marked him out for the success he achieved. After the final discomfiture and dispersal of the enemy, he returned to the Imperial tents, dismounted in the hall of audience, and humbly prostrated himself in prayer to the Giver of all Victory.

(*b*) *Military Genius.* Genius has been defined as a happy mixture of luck, audacity, and infinite capacity to take pains. However this may be, it is particularly true with regard to military achievement. Successful generalship, as Humayun's failures had amply demonstrated, required many other qualities besides personal courage. Above everything else it requires shrewd insight into human nature, resourcefulness, and a clear grasp of the real in a very mundane sense. The uniform success of Sher Shah showed the presence in him of all these ingredients. By way of illustration, we might recall here a few instances.

(i) The resolute manner in which he brought under control the recalcitrant *zamindars* on his father's estates was the first evidence he gave of his consummate ability to restore order in those troubled times. 'There were some *zamindars* who had committed all sorts of offences, such as theft and highway robbery, and refusing to pay revenue, never came to the governor's presence, but were insolent from confidence in their numbers. Although these were often warned, they took no heed. Farid collected his forces, and commanded that every one of his villagers who had a horse should come riding upon it, and that he who had not a horse should come on foot. And he took with him half his own soldiers, and the other half he employed in collecting revenue and other local duties.

'Although the rebels humbled themselves in every way, and offered to pay a large sum of money, yet Farid Khan would not accept the money, but said to his men : "This is the way of these rebels ; first they fight

and oppose their ruler ; it they find him weak, they persist in their rebelliousness ; but if they see that he is strong, they come to him deceitfully, and humble themselves, and agree to pay a sum of money, and so they persuade their ruler to leave them alone ; but as soon as they find an opportunity, they return to their evil ways."

'When the other rebels heard of the death, imprisonment, and ruin of these, they listened to wisdom, repented of their contumacy, and abstained from theft and robbery.'

(ii) A second instance where Sher Shah showed his abilities as a general was when he fought the forces of Bengal. Ibrahim Khan, the Bengali general, commanded vastly superior numbers and possessed, besides many elephants, a park of artillery. But, Sher Khan who was a better commander made up for all these by his skill and resourcefulness. After a few days' skirmishing, he called together his men and said : "I have for some time abstained from meeting the Bengalis in the open field, and have kept myself sheltered under entrenchments lest our men should be discouraged by the large numbers of the enemy. Now I am convinced that the Bengalis are much inferior to the Afghans in war. . . .I will now engage in open battle, for without a general engagement we cannot destroy and disperse our enemies. Praise be to God, whenever such an engagement occurs between Afghans and Bengalis, the Afghans must prevail. It is impossible that the Bengalis can stand against them. At present this is my purpose. Tomorrow morning, if you concur with me, hoping in the mercy of the protector, and on this text—'By God's command the lesser number overcomes the greater'— I will engage the enemy in open battle, for it behoves us not to delay or be backward in this matter, as reinforcements will soon reach them." The Afghans replied : "That which your noble mind has determined is extremly right."

The strategy by which he won the battle has already been described; it was similar to that employed by William the Conqueror in the battle of Senlac, and the result identical.

(iii) The manoeuvres by which Sher Shah encompassed the ruin of Humayun were masterpieces of military strategy. For details the reader is referred to the descriptions of the battles of Chausa and Bilgram, given elsewhere in this book. Although there was a uniformity in the tactics employed by Sher Shah on both the occasions, Humayun was too dull to profit by experience.

(iv) To economize in his men, and not to waste them in avoidable encounters was with Sher Shah a constant principle. This often led him to attain his ends through means too open to moral censure. The acquisition of Chunar, Rohtas, and Raisin are examples of treacherous conduct —though not infrequent in that Machiavellian age—which cast a deep shadow on Sher Shah's otherwise fair reputation. His ruse of the forged letters in the case of Maldeo is of a piece with this unscrupulous behaviour, that sometimes passes in the name of political adroitness. Nevertheless, these actions seem to have originated chiefly from Sher Shah's extreme reluctance to shed the blood of his own men needlessly. No wonder, therefore, that his men put their utmost trust in him. He inspired confidence in his soldiers by repeatedly telling them that 'the Mughals are not superior to the Afghans in battle or single combat ; but the Afghans have let the Empire of Hind slip from their hands on account of their internal dissensions.[1] His successive triumphs must have convinced them that he was right. He made it appear to the Afghans that his was a national cause ; and those whom he could not otherwise induce, he

compelled by conscription. 'Many of them,' Abbas Khan says, 'who had assumed the garb of religious mendicants, on account of their misfortunes, he relieved and enlisted as soldiers ; and some who refused to enlist, and preferred a life of mendicancy, he put to death, and declared he would kill every Afghan who refused to be a soldier. He was very careful of his Afghans in action, that their lives might not be uselessly sacrificed. When the Afghans heard that Sher Khan was eagerly patronizing their race, they entered into his service from all directions.'

Prof. Qanungo writes : "He was one of the most humane conquerors . . . .In spite of his severity, no general was more beloved of his soldiers. His personal magnetism was great, which animated his soldiers and made them cheerfully perform their onerous duties. After a hard day's march the soldiers were not allowed to rest before throwing up redoubts round their encampment. They implicitly submitted to all hardships, not as the slaves of an Oriental despot but as the comrades of an adored commander. . . . .Originality and boldness of plan, rapidity of movement, and an eye for strategic situations characterized Sher Shah's campaigns. He was averse to unnecessary bloodshed and cruelty, and had no passion for fight. He had, above all, a heart which soldiers and statesmen often lack. He could feel for the misfortune of his enemy : we are told that tears burst out of his eyes when the Mughal queen with a multitude of ladies came out of the camp and stood suppliant before him (after Humayun's defeat at Chausa)."[1]

(*c*) *Administrative Ability.* Prof. Qanungo has described Sher Shah as "the greatest administrative and military genius among the Afghans."[2] A careful examination of the administrative system that he established within his dominions and its abiding effects, in an otherwise chaotic age, would go to show that there is little exaggeration in the use of this superlative. Those who plead want of time in the case of Babur will find in Sher Shah's constructive achievement a convincing refutation of their apology for Babur's lack of administrative genius. Abul Fazl's observation that he introduced some of the many plans of Ala-ud-din Khilji of which he had heard as they are detailed in the *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, does scant justice to Sher Shah's political originality.[3] But more than any detail of civil or military organization which he might have borrowed from earlier kings, the spirit that informed his marvellous regime forms the basis of his enduring fame. Crooke's estimate in this respect is therefore nearer the mark : "He was the first Musalman ruler," he says, "who studied the good of his people. He had the genius to see that the government must be popularized, that the king must govern for the benefit of his subjects, that the Hindus must be conciliated by a policy of justice and toleration, that the land revenue must be settled on an equitable basis, that material development of the country must be encouraged. . . .All this and more Akbar strove to do later on. . .Sher Shah relaxed the oppressive Muhammadan law code and provided for the administration of justice. That he introduced such extensive reforms in his short reign of five years is a wonderful proof of his executive ability. 'No government, not even the British, has shown so much wisdom as this Pathan,' as Keene says."[4]

1 Qanungo, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-14.
2 *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. iii. Also read Jaffar, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-66 ; and *C.H.I.*, IV, pp. 55-57.
3 "Unlike his predecessors, Sher Shah gradually built up from below a solid structure of Government, whose base was co-extensive with the area of his Empire."—Qanungo, *op. cit* , p. 351.
4 *Memories of the Races of the N.W. Province*, II, p. 97 ; cited by Qanungo.

For an elaborate treatment of Sher Shah's administration the reader is directed to Prof. Qanungo's exhaustive study (*Sher Shah*, Chapter xii, pp. 346-406). Here we subjoin an abstract of the concluding portion of the *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi* of Abbas Khan Sarwani, with critical observations wherever necessary :

Prologue

'When fortune gave into the hands of Sher Shah the bridle of power, he made certain laws, both from his own ideas and by extracting them from the works of the learned, and the kingdom of Hind fell under his dominion for securing relief from tyranny, and for the repression of crime and villainy; for maintaining the prosperity of his realms, the safety of the highways, and the comfort of merchants and troops. "Crime and violence," he said, "prevent the development of prosperity. It behoves kings to be grateful for the favour that the Lord has made His people subject to them, and, therefore, not to disobey the commandments of God.

Personal Attention

'Sher Shah attended to every business concerning the administration of the kingdom and the revenues, whether great or small, in his own person. So he divided both day and night into portions for each separate business and suffered no idleness to find its way to him. "For," said he, "it behoves the great to be always active, and they should not consider, on account of the greatness of their own dignity and loftiness of their own rank, the affairs and business of the kingdom, small or petty, and must place no undue reliance on their ministers. . . . .The corruption of ministers of contemporary princes was the means of my acquiring the worldly kingdom I possess. A king should not have corrupt *vakils* or *wazirs* ; for a receiver of bribes is dependent on the giver of bribes ; and one who is dependent is unfit for the office of *wazir*, for he is an interested personage ; and to an interested person loyalty and truth in the administration of the kingdom are lost."

Administration of Justice

'Sher Shah was adorned with the jewel of justice, and he oftentimes remarked : "*Justice is the most excellent of religious rites, and it is approved alike by the kings of infidels and of the faithful.*"

'When the young shoot of Sher Shah's prosperity came into bearing, he always ascertained the exact truth regarding the oppressed, and the suitors for justice ; and he never favoured the oppressors, although they might be his near relations, his dear sons,[1] his renown-

1 Erskine gives the following anecdote to illustrate Sher Shah's impartial administration of justice, irrespective of personalities :

'One day his eldest son Adel Khan, riding on an elephant through the streets of Agra, in passing a house, the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of a shop-keeper, undressed and bathing. Struck with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a *bida* (*pan*), and passed on. The woman, being thus treated as a wanton, feeling her honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her intention. He went straight to the levee of Sher Shah, and among other suitors, preferred his complaint. The King, having investigated the circumstances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced ; and that the shop-keeper, mounted on an elephant, should in his turn throw *bida* to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. *Such*, he said, *was the law of their religion, and, in administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant* : that it should not be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The com-

ed nobles, or of his own tribe[1] ; and he never showed any delay or lenity in punishing oppressors. He appointed courts of justice in every place.[2]

'He strictly impressed on the *amils* and governors, that if a theft or robbery occurred within their limits, and the perpetrators were not discovered, then they should arrest the *muqaddams* of the surrounding villages, and compel them to make it good ; but if the *muqaddams* produced the offenders or pointed out their haunts, the thieves and highway robbers themselves were punished with the penalties laid down in the holy law. And if murders should occur, and the murderers were not discovered, the *amils* were enjoind to seize the *muqaddams*, as detailed above, and imprison them and give them a period within which to declare the murderers. If they produced the murderer, or pointed out where he lived, they were to let the *muqaddam* go, and put the murderer to death ; but if the *muqaddams* of a village where the murder had occurred could not do this they were themselves put to death ; for it has been generally ascertained that theft and highway robberies can only take place by the connivance of these headmen. . . .If a *muqaddam* harbours thieves and robbers unknown to the governor, it is fit he should be punished, or even be put to death, that it may be warning to others to abstain from similar acts.'

Collection of Revenue The rules for the collection of revenue from the people and for the prosperity of the kingdom, were after this wise :

'There was in every *pargana*, one *amir*, one God-fearing *siqdar*, one treasurer, one *karkun* to write Hindi, and one to write Persian[3] ; and he ordered his governors to measure the land every harvest, to collect the revenue according to the measurement, and in proportion to the produce, giving one share to the cultivator, and half share to the *muqaddam* ; and fixing the assessment with regard to the kind of grain, in order that the *muqaddams* and the *chaudharis* and *amils* should not oppress the cultivators, who are the support of the prosperity of the kingdom.'

'Before his time it was not the custom to measure the land, but

plainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now that he had gained his right, his character was restored and he was satisfied ; and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended.'—Erskine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 444-45.

1 See E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 425-32.

2 Criminal justice was administered by the *Chief Siqdar* and revenue disputes settled by the *Chief Munsif*. No historian tells us, says Qanungo, anything about the appointment of the *mir-i-adals* or the *qazis* for trying civil cases requiring the knowledge of Muslim canon law. In an anecdote of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (MS. p. 204), we find the only allusion to *mir-i-adal* and *qazi*. This was undoubtedly a continuation of an old institution, developed by Sultan Sikandar Lodi.—*Sher Shah*, p. 399.

3 The *pargana* was the administrative unit—the smallest that he could find without destroying the autonomous village communities. (The use of this term is a bit confusing, it has been used in Abbas Khan's narrative, as we have seen, to signify a district. At other places, it is also used for a village.)

Amir, *amin* and *amil*—are all used for the same official. He was a civil officer whose duties were the assessment and collection of revenue, and to act as an umpire, between the State and the individual.

The *Siqdar* was a soldier, and military or police officer. He was to execute *farmans*, to assist the *amins* in revenue collection, if necessary, and to maintain the King's peace generally.

For fuller details see *Ibid.*, pp. 352-53.

there was a *qanungo* for every *pargana*, from whom was ascertained the present, past, and probable future state of the *pargana*.[1]

'In every *sarkar* he appointed a chief (*Siqdar-i-siqdaran*) and a *Chief Munsif* (*Munsif-i-munsifan*), that they might watch over the conduct of both *amils* and the people; that the *amils* should not oppress or injure the people, or embezzle the King's revenue; and if any quarrel arose among the *amils*, regarding the boundaries of the *parganas*, they were to settle that no confusion might find its way amongst the King's affairs.

'If the people, from any lawlessness or rebellious spirit, created a disturbance regarding the collection of the revenue, they were so to eradicate and destroy them with punishment and chastisement that their wickedness and rebellion should not be spread to others.'[2]

Transfer of Officers

Every year, or second year, he changed his *amils*, and sent new ones, for he said, "I have examined much, and accurately ascertained that there is no such income and advantage in other employments as the government of a district. Therefore, I send my good old experienced loyal servants to take charge of districts, that the salaries, profits, and advantages, may accrue to them in preference to others; and after two years I change them, and send other servants like them, that they also may prosper, and that under my rule all my old servants may enjoy these profits and advantages, and that the gate of comfort and ease may be opened to them."

As with the civil so with the military, he observed this rule of

1 The earlier Muslim rulers of Delhi considered themselves as proprietors of the soil, and as such, entitled to the whole produce of the land, leaving only just enough for the maintenance of the peasant. There was no fixity of the State demand; the revenue was generally assessed in the gross by guess or computation. Ala-ud-din Khilji first devised the scheme of *Jarib* (survey and assessment). He demanded 'half of the produce of the land without any diminution. (E. & D., *op. cit.*, III, p. 182.) The licence of the Muslim soldiery and the exaction of the Hindu *Muqaddams*, were the bane of the peasants. The fief-holders and the soldier-lords wielded almost absolute political authority over their tenants.

Under Sher Shah, lands were surveyed under a uniform system of mensuration. He ordered the use of the *gaz-Sikandari* (32 digits). The land was measured by rope—for which later on Akbar substituted the bamboo—into *bigha*. The terms *bigha* and *jarib* were interchangeable; one *jarib* or *bigha* consisted of 3,600 sq. *gaz*. (*Ain*, II, p. 62.) The holding of every *rayat* was separately measured and $^1/_4$ of the expected produce was assessed as the government revenue. As the custom under previous Sultans, the cultivator was given the choice of payment either in kind or cash, preference being given to the latter. A *kabuliyat* or agreement, containing a short account of the *rayat's* holding, and the amount to be paid by him to government, was taken by the *amin* from every individual *rayat*, duly signed and attested; and he gave in return a *patta* or title-deed to the *rayat*, with a record of the State demand.

"Sher Shah regarded the interests of the ruler and the *rayat*, as identical. 'If a little favour is shown to the *rayat*, the ruler benefits by it.' His general instruction to the revenue officers was—'Be lenient at the time of assessment, but show no mercy at the time of collection.' His revenue system, popularly known as *Todar Mal's bandobast*, obtained in Northern India throughout the Mughal period, and in all its essential features has survived in British India under the name of the *rayatwari settlement*, admired so enthusiastically by the Anglo-Indian Administrators."—Qanungo, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-79.

2 The duties of the *Chief Siqdar* resembled those of the *Faujdar* under the Mughals, and discharged functions as under Sikandar Lodi. Though a military noble, with a police force of 2,000 to 5,000 troops under him, he was essentially a civil officer like a modern magistrate.

The word *munsif* means 'doer of justice'; the *Chief Munsif* seems to have also acted as a circuit-judge for trying civil suits, and redressing the grievances of the peasants and *muqaddams* at the hands of *pargana* officials. (*Ibid.*, pp. 354-57.)

equidistribution of profits and of labour. Abbas Khan writes : 'And in every place where it served his interests, he kept garrisons. After a time he used to send for the forces which had enjoyed ease and comfort on their *jagirs*, and to send away in their stead the chiefs who had undergone labour and hardships with the victorious army.'

Military Organization

'His whole army was beyond all limit or numbering, and it increased everyday. The rule regarding the army for guarding the kingdom from the disturbances of rebels, and to keep down and repress contumacious and rebellious *zamindars*, so that no one should think the kingdom undefended, and therefore attempt to conquer it, was as follows :

'Sher Shah always kept 1,50,000 horses, and 25,000 footmen, either armed with match-locks or bows, present with him, and on some expeditions took even more with him. There were also 5,000 elephants in his elephant-sheds. And in every place where it served his interests he kept garrisons ; e.g., in the fort of Gwalior he kept a force to which were attached 1,000 match-lock men. In Bayana he kept a division, besides a garrison of 500 match-locks ; in Rantambhor another division besides 1,600 match-lock men ; in the fort of Chitor, 3,000 match-lock men ; in the fort of Shadmabad or Mandu was stationed Suja'at Khan with 10,000 horses and 7,000 match-locks. He had his *jagirs* in Hindia and Malwa. In the fort of Raisin a force was stationed together with 1,000 artillery men ; and in the fort of Chunar, another force also with 1,000 match-lock men ; and in the fort of Rohtas, near Bihar, he kept Ikhtiyar Khan Panni, with 10,000 match-lock men ; and Sher Shah kept treasures without number of reckoning in that fort. . . .(Similarly, at Nagor, Jodhpur, Ajmer, Lucknow, Kalpi, etc.). The kingdom of Bengal he divided into parts, and made Kazi Fazilat *Amir* of that whole kingdom.'

Prof. Qanungo observes that to Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji belongs the credit of organizing the Indian army on a new model. He created an army recruited directly by the central government, paid in cash from the State treasury, officered by nobles of the Sultan's own choice, while corruption was checked by the *dagh* (branding) system. The armies of the Lodis were of the clannish feudal type, consisting of the quotas of various tribal chiefs enjoying *jagirs* for service. Sher Shah revived the system of Ala-ud-din Khilji and transformed the army into a truly Imperial institution. The soldier obeyed his immediate commanding officer, not as his personal chief, but as the Emperor's servant. The Emperor combined in himself the functions of the Commander-in-Chief and the Pay-Master-General.[1]. . . .In order to take away from the military character of the administration, Sher Shah took care that in normal times of peace, the military should remain in the background, only as the support of the civil authortiy.[2]

Branding of Horses

Among the rules which Sher Shah promulgated, is the branding of horses. And he said he ordered it on this account that the rights of the chiefs and soldiers might be distinct, and that the chiefs might not be able to defraud the soldiers of their rights ; and that everyone should maintain soldiers according to his

1 Qanungo, *op. cit.*, pp. 361-63.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 353.

rank (*mansab*) and not vary his numbers. "For," said he, "in the time of Sultan Ibrahim, and afterwards, I observed that many base nobles were guilty of fraud and falsehood, who at the time their monthly salary was assigned to them, had a number of soldiers but when they had got possession of their *jagirs*, they dismissed the greater number of their men without payment, and only kept a few men for indispensable duties, and did not even pay them in full. Nor did they regard the injury to their master's interests, of the ingratitude of their own conduct; and when their lord ordered a review or assembly of their forces, they brought strange men and horses, and mustered them, but the money they put into their own treasuries. In time of war they would be defeated from paucity of numbers; but they kept the money, and when their master's affairs became critical and disordered, they, equipping themselves with this very money, took service elsewhere; so, from the ruin of their master's fortunes, they suffered no loss. When I had the good fortune to gain power, I was on my guard against the deceit and fraud of both soldiers and chiefs, and ordered the horses to be branded, in order to block up the road against these tricks and frauds, so that the chiefs could not entertain strangers to fill up their ranks." Sher Shah's custom was this that he would not pay their salary unless the horses were branded, and he carried it to such an extent that he would not give anything to the sweepers and women-servants about the palace without a brand, and they wrote out descriptive rolls of the men and horses and brought them before him, and he himself compared the rolls when he fixed the monthly salaries and then he had the horses branded in his presence.

Roads and Sarais

For the convenience in travelling of poor travellers on every road at a distance of two *kos*, he made a *sarai*: and one road with *sarais* he made from the fort which he built in the Punjab, to the city of Sunargaon, which is situated in the kingdom of Bengal, on the shore of the ocean. Another road he made from the city of Agra to Jodhpur and Chitor, and one road with *sarais* from the city of Lahore to Multan. Altogether he built 1,700 *sarais* on various roads; and in every *sarai* he built separate lodgings, both for Hindus and for Musalmans, and at the gate of every *sarai* he placed pots full of water, that anyone might drink; and in every *sarai* he settled Brahmans for the entertainment of Hindus, to provide hot and cold water, and beds and food, and grain for all their horses; and it was a rule in these *sarais*, that whoever entered them received provision suitable to his rank, and food and litter for his cattle from Government.

Villages were established all round the *sarais*. In the middle of every *sarai* was a well and a *masjid* of burnt brick; and he placed an *imam* and a *muazzim* in every *masjid*, together with a custodian (*shahna*), and several watchmen; and all these were maintained from the land near the *sarai*.

On both sides of the highway Sher Shah planted fruit-bearing trees, such as also gave much shade, that in the hot wind travellers might go along under the trees; and if they should stop by the way, might rest and take repose. If they put at a *sarai*, they bound their horses under the trees.[1]

1 "These roads and *sarais*," observes Qanungo, "were as it were the arteries of the Empire. They were halting stations for the constantly moving officials; some of them developed into centres of busy market-towns, where the peasants could profitably sell their agricultural produce and get in return little commodities of comfort..

"The *sarais* of Sher Shah were also the stations of *Dak-chauki*. He kept his finger on the pulse of the Empire by means of this institution . . This was the origin of the News Department under the *Daroga-i-dak-chauki* appointed by the Mughals. It was first introduced by Sultan Ala-ud-din Khilji. (By means of this) daily reports of

Spies and Informers

'At every *sarai* were placed two horses for the news reporters. So there were 3,400 horses, in all the *sarais* together, always ready to bring intelligence everyday from every quarter. For the enforcement of the regulations which he had established for the protection of the people, Sher Shah sent trusted spies with every force of his nobles, in order that, inquiring and secretly ascertaining all circumstances relating to the nobles, their soldiers, and the people, they might relate them to him ; for the courtiers and ministers, for purposes of their own, do not report to the King the whole state of the kingdom, lest any disorder or deficiency which may have found its way into the courts of justice should be corrected.'

Merchants and Travellers

In the days of Sher Shah and of Islam Shah, the *muqaddams* used to protect the limits of their own villages lest any thief or robber or enemy might injure a traveller, and so be the means of his destruction and death. And he directed his governors and *amils* to compel the people to treat merchants and travellers well in every way, and not injure them at all ; and if a merchant should die by the way, not to stretch out the hand of oppression and violence on his goods as if they were unowned ; for Sheikh Nizami (may God be merciful to him !) has said : "If a merchant should die in your country, it is perfidy to lay hands on his property."

'Throughout his whole kingdom Sher Shah levied customs on merchandise only in two places, viz., when it came from Bengal, customs were levied at Gharri (Sikri gali) ; and when it came from the direction of Khorasan, the customs were levied on the borders of the kingdom ; and again a second duty was levied at the place of sale. No one dared to levy other customs, either on the road or on the ferries, in town or village.[1] Sher Shah, moreover, forbade his officials to purchase anything in the *bazars* except at the usual *bazar* rates and prices.'

Protection of Cultivators

One of the regulations Sher Shah made was this : That his victorious standards should cause no injury to the cultivation of the people and when he marched he personally examined into the state of the cultivation, and stationed horsemen round to prevent people from trespassing on anyone's field. If he saw any man injuring a field, he would cut off his ears with his own hands, and hanging the corn (which he had plucked off) round his neck, would have him to be paraded through the camp. And if from the narrowness of the road, any cultivation was unavoidably destroyed, he would send *amirs*, with surveyor, to measure the cultivation so destroyed, and give compensation in money to the cultivators. If he entered an enemy's country, he did not enslave or plunder the peasantry of that country, nor destroy their cultivation. "For," said he, "the cultivators are blameless, they submit to those in power, and if I oppress them they will abandon their villages, and the country will be ruined and deserted, and it will be a long time before it again becomes prosperous."

Charities

'His kitchen was very extensive, for several thousand horsemen and private followers fed there ; and there was a general order, that if any soldier or religious personage, or any cultivator, should be in need of food, he should feed at the King's kitchen, and should not be allowed to famish.' The daily

prices and occurrences in the *parganas* of his dominion reached him everyday." (*Ibid.*, pp. 391-95.)

1 "Sher Shah's reconstruction of the tariff system revived the dwindling commerce of Northern India." (*Ibid.*, p. 386.)

cost of these meals was 500 gold pieces (*asharfis*). Sher Shah often said: "It is incumbent upon kings to give grants to *imams*; for the prosperity of and populousness of the cities of Hind are dependent on the *imams* and holy men; and the teachers and travellers, and the necessitous who cannot come to the King, will praise him, being supported by those who have grants; and the convenience of travellers and the poor is thereby secured, as well as the extension of learning, of skill and religion, for whoever wishes that God Almighty should make him great, should feed the *ulama* and pious persons, that he may obtain honour in this world and felicity in the next."

Buildings

"Sher Shah left the indelible impress of his personality," writes Qanungo, "not only upon the useful but also on the ornamental side of the imperial edifice. His noble tomb at Sasaram still brings home to the mind of the beholder the grandeur of the Empire—severe yet graceful; externally Muslim, but Hindu inside."[1] V. A. Smith observes: "The mausoleum of Sher Shah at Sasaram, built on a lofty plinth, in the midst of a lake is one of the best designed and most beautiful buildings in India unequalled among the earlier buildings in the northern provinces for grandeur and dignity. Cunningham was half inclined to prefer it even to the Taj. The dome, although not equal in size to the Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur, is 13 ft. wider than that of the Agra monument. Externally the architecture is wholly Muhammadan, but Hindu corbelling and horizontal architraves are used in all the inner door-ways, as at Jaunpur. The style may be described as intermediate between the austerity of the Tughlak buildings and the feminine grace of Shah Jahan's masterpiece."[2] Havell saw in it the personality and character of Sher Shah. "Though forbidden by his creed to make himself a graven image, the Musalman monarch took so much interest in the planning of his last resting-place, that unconsciously he gave it the impress of his own character, the builders formed it after his own image. . . ."[3]

"If my life lasts long enough," said Sher Shah, "I will build a fort in every *sarkar*, on a suitable spot, which may in times of trouble become a refuge for the oppressed and a check to the contumacious; and I am making all the earthen-work *sarais* of brick that they may also serve for the protection and safety of the highway." So he built the fort of Rohtas, on the road to Khorasan to hold in check Kashmir and the country of the Gakkars, about 60 *kos* from Lahore, and fortified and strengthened it exceedingly. There was never seen a place so fortified, and immense sums were expended upon the work. He called that fort *little Rohtas*.

'The former capital city of Delhi was at a distance from the Jumna, and Sher Shah destroyed and rebuilt it, by the bank of the Jumna, and ordered two forts to be built in the city, with the strength of a mountain, and loftier in height: the smaller fort for the governor's residence; the other, the wall round the entire city, to protect it; and in the governor's fort he built a *jama masjid* of stone, in the ornamenting of which much gold, *lapis lazuli* and other precious articles were expended. But the fortifications round the city were not completed when Sher Shah died.

'He destroyed also the old city of Kanauj, the former capital of the kings of India, and built a fort of burnt brick there; and on the spot where he had gained his victory, he built a city, and called it *Sher Sur*.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 399.
2 *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, pp. 405-06.
3 *History of Aryan Rule in India*, p. 444.

I can find no satisfactory reason for the destruction of the old city, and the act was very unpopular,' writes Abbas Sarwani.

Epilogue

'From the day that Sher Shah was established on the throne, no man dared to breathe in opposition to him : nor did any one raise the standard of contumacy or rebellion against him ; nor was any heart-tormenting thorn produced in the garden of his kingdom, nor was there any of his nobles or soldiery, or thief or a robber, who dared to direct the eye of dishonesty to the property of another ; nor did any theft or robbery even occur within his dominions. Travellers and wayfarers during the time of Sher Shah's reign were relieved from the trouble of keeping watch ; nor did they fear to halt even in the midst of a desert ; and the *zamindars*, for fear lest any mischief should occur to the travellers, and that they should suffer, or be arrested on account of it, kept watch over them. And in the time of Sher Shah's rule, a decrepit old woman might place a basketful of gold ornaments on her head and go on a journey, and no thief or robber would come near her, for fear of the punishment which Sher Shah inflicted. Such a shadow spread over the world, that a decrepit person feared not a Rustom. During his time all quarrelling, disputing, fighting, and turmoil, which is the nature of the Afghans, was altogether quieted and put a stop to, throughout the countries of Roh and of Hindustan. Sher Shah, in his wisdom and experience, was a second Haider. In a very short period, he gained the dominion of the country, and provided for the safety of the highways, the administration of the Government, and the happiness of the soldiery and people. God is a discerner of righteousness !'

So closes Abbas Khan Sarwani's account of Sher Shah. It is well to close our study of the great Afghan with a few modern estimates of him.

Some Modern Estimates

E. B. Havell

"Sher Shah showed brilliant capacity as an organizer, both in military and civil affairs. By dint of indefatigable industry and personal attention to the smallest details of administration, he restored law and order throughout Hindustan in the short space of five years. And no doubt the long-suffering, law-abiding ryot was grateful to the iron-handed Afghan for an interval of comparative peace, and for protection against indiscriminate plunder, though he might sometimes sigh for the golden days when even Sudras were Aryan free-men, and the laws of the village Assemblies were respected even by the King of kings and Supreme Lord of the Five Indies." (*Aryan Rule in India,* pp. 441-42.)

William Erskine

"He rose to the throne by his own talents, and showed himself worthy of the high elevation which he attained. In intelligence, in sound sense and experience, in his civil and financial arrangements, and in military skill, he is acknowledged to have been by far the most eminent of his nation, whoever ruled in India . . . Sher Shah had more of the spirit of the legislator and guardian of his people than any prince before Akbar."—(*History of India,* pp. 441, 443.)

Mountstuart Elphinstone

"Sher Shah appears to have been a prince of consummate prudence and ability. His ambition was always too strong for his principles,. . . .but towards his subjects, his measures were as benevolent in their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign, and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and

he introduced many improvements in his civil government." (*The History of India*, p. 357.)

H. G. Keene

"His brief career was devoted to the establishment of the unity which he had long ago perceived to be the great need of his country. Though a devout Muslim, he never oppressed his Hindu subjects. His progressess were the cause of good to his people instead of being—as is too often the case in India—the occasions of devastation. . . .It is a welcome task to take note of such things as a break in the long annals of rapine and slaughter, and we can do so without hesitation ; for the acts of Sher Shah are attested by his enemies, writing when he was dead, and when his dynasty had passed away for ever." (*History of India*, I, pp. 98-99, Rev. ed.)

V. A. Smith

"Sher Shah was something more than the capable leader of a horde of fierce Afghans. He had a nice taste in architecture, manifested especially in the noble mausoleum at Sasseram (Sahasram) in Bihar which he prepared for himself. . . .He also displayed an aptitude for civil government and instituted reforms, which were based to some extent on the institutions of Ala-ud-din Khilji and were developed by Akbar. . . .He reformed the coinage, issuing an abundance of silver money, excellent in both fineness and execution. That is a good record for a stormy reign of five years. If Sher Shah had been spared he would have established his dynasty, and the 'Great Mughals' would not have appeared on the stage of history." (*The Oxford History of India*, pp. 327-29.)

H. L. O. Garret

"Few men have crowded more into the short space of five years than this able and conscientious man." (Edwardes and Garret, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 18.)

Iswari Prasad

"In spite of the limitations which hampered a sixteenth century king in India, he brought to bear upon his task the intelligence, the ability, the devotion of the enlightened despots of the eighteenth century in Europe." (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 334.)

Kalikacharan Qanungo

"The accession of Sher Shah marked the beginning of that era of liberal Islam which lasted till the reaction of Aurangzeb's reign. . . .Sher Shah may justly dispute with Akbar the claim of being the first who attempted to build up an Indian nation. . . .The work of Sher Shah's administrative genius did not perish with his dynasty, but lasted throughout the Mughal period with some inevitable changes due to the greater expansion of the empire. It forms the substratum of our present administrative system. The modern magistrate and collector of British India is the official successor of the *Shiqdar-i-shiqdaran* of Sher Shah, and the *tahsildar* that of the *amil* or *amin*. . . .The revenue and currency systems which prevailed in India with very little modification down to the middle of the XIX century were not the achievements of Akbar but of Sher Shah." (*Sher Shah*, pp. 347, 360, 415, 420.)

Sher Shah's Coinage

"Sher Shah's reign constituted an important test point in the annals of Indian coinage, not only its specific mint reforms, but also as correcting the progressive deteriorations of the previous kings, and as introducing these many reforms which the

1 . . . Sri Ram Sharma, 'The Administrative System of Sher Shah', *I.H.Q.*, XII, 4 (1936).

succeeding Mughals claimed as their own." (Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 403.)

"Sher Shah is entitled to the honour of establishing the reformed system of currency which lasted throughout the Mughal period, was maintained by the East India Company down to 1835, and is the basis of the existing British currency. He finally abolished the inconvenient billon coinage of mixed metal, and struck well-executed pieces in gold, silver, and copper, to a fixed standard of both weight and fineness. His silver rupees, which weigh 180 grains, and contain 175 grains of pure silver, being thus practically equal in value to the modern rupee, often have the king's name in Nagari characters in addition to the usual Arabic inscriptions." (V. A. Smith, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, ii, pp. 145-56.)

"His coins also illustrate the rapidity with which he conquered the countries settled under his rule. The land survey, construction of roads and establishment of mint towns seem to follow almost in the wake of his conquering armies." (Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, p. 838.)

D. Sher Shah's Successors

Introduction

The genealogy at the commencement of this chapter gives the names and order of succession of the principal successors of Sher Shah; but apart from the first, namely Salim or Islam Shah, hardly any interest attaches to the rest. For they were mere rivals fighting over the already broken bits of Sher Shah's kingdom. They have little bearing on the history of the Mughal Empire except as revealing in detail the nature of the situation that enabled Humayun to recover his lost patrimony. Few text-books, dealing with the period, mention even their names. But, the Sur Interregnum, although a mere episode in the history of the Mughals in India, still has a value for us as containing in a nutshell, as it were, the same lesson that is more elaborately illustrated by our principal theme. As Keene wrote, "It is the misfortune of absolute monarchy that the best rulers can never ensure a worthy successor." Sher Shah's sovereignty was assumed by persons who were labouring under the usual trials of princes born for power which they had done nothing to acquire. Sher Shah himself, as we have seen, more than once attributed the loss of Afghan dominion to their dissensions. When the strong hand restraining them was removed, the old contentiousness of the Afghan nobility sprang up again. The whole period of Salim's reign was consumed in intrigues and fruitless quarrels; and on his death, in November 1524, his son was murdered and a scene of confusion ensued. "The native Muslims fell into such a state of quarrelsome imbecility that the chief command fell into the hands of a Hindu chandler named Hemu."[1]

(A) SALIM SHAH AND FIROZ SHAH

1. Salim Shah Sur

Abdulla, author of *Tarikh-i-Daudi*, writes: 'It is related in the *Akbar Shahi*, that when Sher Shah rendered up his life to the angel of death in Kalinjar. . . . .the nobles perceived that as Adil Khan (Sher Shah's eldest son) would be unable to arrive with speed (from Rantambhor), and as the State required a head, they despatched a person to summon Jalal Khan who was nearer (in the town of Rewan, in the province of Bhata). He reached Kalinjar in five days, and by the assistance of Isa Hajjab and other grandees was

1 Keene, *op. cit.*, I, p. 99.

raised to the throne near the fort of Kalinjar, on the 15th of the month of *Rabi-ul-awwal*, 952 A.H., (25th May, 1545 A.D.) He assumed the title of Islam Shah, and this verse was engraved on his seal :

"The world through the favour of the Almighty, has been rendered happy
Since Islam Shah, the son of Sher Shah Sur, has become king."[1]

'After ascending the throne,' continues Abdulla, 'and inquiring concerning the ordinances of Sher Shah, he left some as they were, and changed others to suit his own ideas.' "He was an improver like his father," observes Elphinstone, "but rather in public works than in laws."[2] Other writers look upon his regulations as "silly and nonsensical, devised chiefly with the object of reversing his father's policy, and establishing a name for himself as a legislator. Islam Shah was desirous of showing the world that he also had 'his own thunder'."[3] But a statement of these reforms and enactments will speak for itself. Badauni, whose account is given below, says, 'These rules were in force till the end of the reign of Salim Shah, and the compiler of this history (*Tarikh-i-Badauni*) witnessed the scene above described, when he was of tender age, that is, in the year 955 A.H., when he accompanied his maternal grandfather (may God extend His grace to him !) to the camp of Farid Taran, commander of 5,000 horse which was then pitched in the district of Bajwara, a dependency of Bayana.'

Salim Shah's Regulations

'Salim Shah in the beginning of his reign issued arders that as the *sarais* of Sher Shah were two miles distant from one another, one of similar form should be built between them for the convenience of the public ; and that a mosque and a reservoir should be attached to them, and that vessels of water and of victuals, cooked and uncooked, should be always kept in readiness for the entertainment of Hindu, as well as Muhammadan travellers. In one of his orders he directed that all the *madad-ma'sh* and *alms* tenures in Hindustan which Sher Shah had granted, and all the *sarais* which he had built and the gardens he had laid out, should not be alienated, and that no change should be made in their limits.

'It was enacted that red tents should be in the exclusive use of the sovereign. He resumed and placed under immediate management of the State, the lands enjoyed by the troops, and established pecuniary payments in lieu, according to the rates fixed by Sher Shah.

'Circular orders were issued through the proper channels to every district, touching on matters religious, political, and fiscal, in all their most minute bearings, and containing rules and regulations, which concerned not anly the army, but cultivators, merchants, and persons of other professions, and which were to serve as guides to the officials of the State, *whether they were in accordance with the Muhammadan law or not*; a measure which obviated the necessity of referring any of these matters to *Kazis* and *Muftis.'*

Character of Administration

The real character of Salim Shah's administration is perhaps best represented by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi*. 'Islam Shah,' writes Abdulla, 'resembled his father in his pomp and splendour, and in his desire for

1 His fort at Delhi is still called *Salimgarh* ; but on his coins he is *Islam Shah*. Ferishta writes, 'Jalal Khan.. ascended the throne,.... taking the title of *Islam* Shah, which by false pronunciation is called *Salim* Shah, by which name he is more generally known.'—Briggs, II, pp. 126-27 : E. & D,, *op. cit.*, V, pp. 478-79, n. 1.

2 Elphinstone, *op cit.*, p. 459.

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, p. 480 n. 2. According to Sir Wolseley Haig, Islam Shah had all the faults of the Afghans, from which Sher Shah was free. See *C.H.I.*, IV, p. 63.

dominion and conquest. He possessed great power, ability and good fortune, and he had an immense number of horses and elephants and a numerous artillery, together with a multitude of horses and foot soldiers beyond all calculation. On the day of his accession to the throne, he ordered two months' pay to be distributed in ready money to the army ; one month of this he gave them as a present ; the other as subsistence money.[1] Moreover, he resumed all the *jagirs* in the provinces of his government, and allowed their holders a stipend in money from his treasury instead. To those who had received stipends during the reign of Sher Shah, he gave lands and *parganas*. During the time of Sher Shah, a place had always been established in the royal camp for the distribution of alms to the poor. Instead of this, Islam Shah directed that arrangements for the giving of alms should be made at each of the *sarais*, and that indigent travellers should be supplied with whatever they needed, and that mendicants should receive a daily pittance, in order that they might be contented and at peace. He had, whilst prince, 6,000 horsemen with him, and he now promoted all of them : he made privates officers. and officers nobles. These regulations of Islam Shah caused those of Sher Shah to fall into disuse. Many of Sher Shah's principal nobles were disgusted at what they regarded as acts tending to dishonour them, and became ill-disposed towards Islam Shah. He, in his turn, was likewise suspicious of these grandees and thus *the relations which existed between the great chiefs and the King were changed in their nature.*[2]

Revolts and Disturbances

Islam Shah was a monarch of treacherous and vindictive disposition. When he secured power in his own hands, he dissimulated loyalty to his elder brother, Adil Khan, who had been nominated Sher Shah's heir-apparent. "Because I was near and you were distant," he wrote to Adil Khan "to prevent disorder in the State, I have taken charge of the army until your arrival. I have nothing to do but obey you, and attend to your orders." (How like Aurangzib later on !) His real object was to get rid of his brother during the perfidious interview for which he soon summoned him.

> Adil Khan proceeded to meet his brother after being doubly assured as to his safety. Islam Shah, intending treachery towards his brother, had given directions that only two or three persons were to be allowed to enter the fort with Adil Rhan. When they arrived at the gate of the fort of Agra, Islam Shah's men forbade their entry ; to this Adil Khan's people paid no attention, and a great number of them went in with 'Adil Khan !' Ahmad Yadgar says, 'five or six thousand of Adil Khan's men, armed with swords, forced their way into the fort, in defiance of all attempts to exclude them.[3]
>
> Adil Khan was a man who loved ease and comfort. He was aware of the credit and cunning of Islam Shah. So he preferred to retire to the *jagir* of Bayana, which was assigned to him. Even there he was not allowed to be at peace. Islam Shah made an attempt to secure his person. 'The latter however,' says Ferishta, having timely information of the design, fled to Mewat where Khawas Khan then resided, and acquainted that chief with tears in his eyes, of his brother's baseness. Khawas Khan, whose honour was concerned, roused with indignation, seized Ghazi Mahally (Islam Shah's agent),

1 This was more than counter-balanced by long arrears of pay later on, e.g., see *Ibid.*, p. 489.
2 *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 479-80.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 481-82.

and went into open rebellion. Khawas Khan's character was so high, that by writing letters to the nobles of the court, he gained many partisans, and accompanied by the prince Adil Khan, he marched towards Agra. . . .(But) although his troops behaved with great bravery, he was overthrown by Salim Shah. After the action, the prince Adil Khan fled, in the first instance, to Patna ; but, soon after disappearing, was never again heard of ; the insurgent chiefs were obliged to retreat among the Kumaon hills, but only for a time.[1]

After these events, Islam Shah became mistrustful of all his nobles, and took measures to overthrow them. He put some of them in prison and deprived others of all their possessions. He also placed his own nephew, Mahmud Khan, the son of Adil Khan, under surveillance, and ruined, first Kutb Khan Sur, then Barmazid Sur, Jalal Khan Sur, and Zain Khan Niazi He slew Jalal Khan Sur, as well as his brother by binding them to the feet of an elephant, after which he caused the aforesaid nobles to be placed on the elephant, and paraded through the camp. The hearts of the nobles of Sher Shah were filled with terror and consternation. After this he put many others to death, amongst whom was Khawas Khan, who bore the title of Masnad Ali, who was impaled on some frivolous pretext. He continued for a long time to distress the whole of his subjects, and to make God's servants miserable ; but towards the end of his reign he behaved towards the people with liberality and generosity.'[2]

Conclusion

What has been said should suffice to illustrate the character of Salim Shah's reign. There were other rebellions and disturbances, principally of the Niazis under Azam Humayun, and the Gakkars under Sultan Adam Gakkar (who delivered Kamran into the hands of Humayun). To the last, Salim Shah was engaged in reducing these disorders. In the course of these troubled years, more than one attempt was made on his life. 'Certain nobles desired to place Mubariz Khan (who possessed the title of Adali) on the throne."[3] As the rebellious Niazis declared : "*No one obtains a kingdom by inheritance : it belongs to whoever can gain it by the sword.*"[4] Islam Shah was informed of the treason of these people, and immediately endeavoured to assemble them in one place, and then punish them. The Chiefs being warned of his intention, met together, and entered into an agreement not to present themselves at the *darbar* all at once, but to go one by one. Islam Shah was day and night thinking and planning how he might best put them to death. But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels, and he was suddenly taken ill and confined to bed in the fort of Gwalior (which had been long his favourite residence) . . . .He summoned (his wife) Bibi Bai, and said, "I have the reins still in my hands, and have as yet lost nothing. If you desire your son to reign after me, tell me to do it, and I will cause your brother Mubariz Khan to be removed." On this Bibi Bai began to weep. Islam Shah said, "You know best !" And then suddenly as he was speaking he gave up the ghost in the twinkling of an eye, and departed to the next world in the year 961 A.H. (November, 1554). Many of the troops who were not aware of the King's illness, on receiving the unexpected intelligence of his decease, were much perturbed and distressed, as it threw their affairs into

1 Briggs, II, pp. 129-31.
2 E. & D. *op. cit.*, IV, p. 485.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 496.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 487.

confusion. His body was taken from Gwalior, and deposited at Sasaram, near that of his father.[1]

2. Firoz Shah Sur

Ferishta narrates the sequel thus : 'Salim Shah was succeeded by his son, Prince Firoz, then twelve years of age, who was placed on the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Sur at Gwalior. He had not reigned three days, when Mubariz Khan, the son of Nizam Khan Sur (Sher Shah's brother—see Genealogy), at once the nephew of the late Sher Shah, and brother-in-law of Salim Shah, assassinated the young Prince, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Mahmud Shah Adil. . . .On the third day after the death of Salim Shah, Mubariz Khan, having entered the female appartments, slew with his own hand the unhappy Prince, whom he dragged from the arms of his mother, Bibi Bai, his own sister.' When her husband had always insisted upon getting rid of her brother Mubariz Khan being too dangerous for the Prince, she had always replied, "My brother is too fond of dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the load of anxiety which belongs to a King."[2] But the decrees of Providence do not change to suit human wishes and counsels !

The Mahdi Episode

Among the forces that created disturbance in the reign of Islam Shah, one deserves special and separate treatment ; it is with regard to a peculiar religious movement led by one Sheikh Alai. Its doctrines as well as the religious aspects of the reigns of the first two Surs will be recalled with interest when we consider the subject of Akbar's religious reforms. 'Among the most extraordinary events of this reign,' writes Ferishta, 'is the insurrection produced by Sheikh Alai.' The story is as follows :

'The father of Sheikh Alai was Sheikh Hasan, who professed himself to be a holy man in the town of Bayana ; but he adopted opposite tenets to those of Sheikh Salim of Sikri. Sheikh Hasan dying was succeeded by his eldest son, Sheikh Alai, a person as remarkable for his ambition as for his learning. He imbibed the Mahdi or Mahdavi doctrines of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, and with a considerable number of adherents, abandoning all worldly pursuits, gave himself up wholly to devotion, under the firm conviction of predestination. He preached daily with such persuasive eloquence, that many persons, becoming riveted to the spot, would not quit him, and abandoning their families became converts to his doctrines, and ranged themselves among the disciples of Saiyid Muhammad Jaunpuri, the founder of the sect ; so that in some instances, men employed in agriculture or trade made vows to devote one-tenth of their receipts to charity and to religious purposes. Several instances happened where fathers abandoned their children, sons their fathers, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, and devoted themselves to worship and retirement from the world, it being a principle among the sect to divide in common among their brethren all they possessed or received in charity. In cases where the members of the sect got nothing for two or three days, they have been known to fast, resigning themselves entirely to their fate without complaint. It was their practice to go armed, and in every instance where they saw any person doing what they considered contrary to the holy law, they warned him to abstain ; but if he

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 504-05.
2 Briggs, II, pp. 141-42.

persisted, they used to attack and put him or them to death. Many of the magistrates. themselves being *Mahdavis*, connived at these proceedings, and those who even did not approve, were afraid to check and to punish them."[1]

When Sheikh Alai went to Khawaspur, which is in the Jodhpur territory, Khawas Khan came to meet him, and joined him. 'When Islam Shah heard of these events he summoned him (Alai) to his presence. The Sheikh perceived that the King was attended by a select party of his nobles ; nevertheless, he did not behave as it is becoming to do in the presence of royalty. He merely made the customary salutation, at which the King was displeased. The courtiers were very wrath at his conduct. Mulla Abdulla Sultanpuri. who was entitled Makhdum-ul-Mulk, opposed the doctrines of Sheikh Alai, and decreed that he should be imprisoned. Islam Shah assembled a great number of the learned, and directed them to enquire into the matter. Sheikh Alai's great eloquence enabled him to overcome all his opponents in argument. Islam Shah said, "O Sheikh, forsake this mode of procedure in order that I may appoint you Censor of Morals (*Muhtasib*) of all my dominions. Up to the present time, you have taken upon yourself to forbid without my authority ; henceforth you will do so with my consent. Sheikh Alai would not agree to this. When he was sent to Hindia. Bihar Khan Sarwani joined him with all his troops. Islam Shah again summoned the Sheikh from Hindia. and this time ordered a larger assembly of Mullas than the former to meet and investigate his doctrines. Makhdum-ul-Mulk said, "This man desires to rule the country. he wishes to attain the rank of *Mahdi*, and the *Mahdi* is to rule the whole world. The entire army of His Majesty has taken part with him ; it is very likely that in a short time this country will be much injured." Islam Shah, for the second time, sent Sheikh Alai into Bihar. There Sheikh Alai fell ill. When they brought him before Islam Shah he was too weak to speak. Islam Shah whispered in his ear, and advised him to confess that he was not the *Mahdi*, in order that he might be pardoned ; but Sheikh Alai would not listen to what the King said. His Majesty losing all hopes of persuading him, ordered him to be scourged, and he rendered up his soul to the angel of death at the third blow, in the year 956 A.H. (1549 A.D.) It is commonly reported that Sheikh Alai repeated a stanza in the presence of Islam Shah, and said, "If you desire to comprehend my motives for these actions. meditate on this verse of Sheikh Auhad-ud-din Kirmani :

'I have one soul and a thousand bodies.
But both soul and bodies belong entirely to me.
It is strange I have made myself another'."[2]

"The doctrine of the expected *Mahdi*, is based on certain alleged prophecies of the Prophet regarding the advent of a *mujaddid*, or restorer of the faith. The movement seems to have had its origin in Badakhshan, beyond Afghanistan. and to have spread from there over Persia and India. The doctrine was closely connected with the completion of the first thousand years of the Muslim era, so that in the last century preceding the close of the first millennium, the learned everywhere in India were discussing the question. Finally, the movement took on a definite form through the teaching of one Mir Saiyid Muhammad of Jaunpur, in the latter part of the 15th century A.D.

1 Briggs, II, pp. 138-39.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 502-04.

"The *Mahdi* movements have been characterized by features that are significant. They have been led by men of education, who have possessed great oratorial power as preachers, and could draw multitudes to them. Secondly, they assumed a definitely hostile attitude towards the learned men who held office at the Emperor's court. Thirdly, they undertook to be reformer of Islam, being *mujaddids*."[1]

(B) THREE KINGS

1. Mahmud Shah Adali

Mubariz, after the murder of his nephew, ascended the throne of Sher Shah and assumed the title of Mahmud Shah Adil. But his character soon changed his self-styled epithet of *Adil* (the just), into first, *Adali* (the foolish) and then into *Andhali* (the blind). Elphinstone remarks : "His character was not such as to efface the memory of his crime ; he was grossly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as despicable from his capacity as he was odious for his vices."[2] One illustration from Ferishta may be here cited : 'Having often heard much in praise of the munificence of former kings, particularly of Mahomed Tughlak, and mistaking prodigality for liberality, he opened the treasury, and lavished riches on all ranks without distinction. As he rode out he discharged amongst the multitude golden-headed arrows, which sold for ten or twelve rupees each. This wanton extravagance soon left him without any of the treasure of his predecessors."[3] When he had nothing of his own to give, he resumed the government and *jagirs* of his nobles, and bestowed them on his favourites ;[4] 'among whom, one Hemu, a Hindu shop-keeper, whom his predecessor, Salim Shah, had made superintendent of the markets, was entrusted with the whole administration of affairs. The King in the meantime, heedless of what passed, spent his time in excess among the inmates of his harem. This naturally created him enemies among the Afghan chiefs, who, having conspired against his life, revolted from his authority. The King became daily more and more despicable in the eyes of his subjects, while all regularity in the Government ceased.'[5]

2. Ibrahim Khan Sur

Under these chaotic circumstances, the more ambitious among the nobles and princes tried to feather each his own nest. Taj Khan Kirani, for instance, openly declared, "that affairs had taken such an extraordinary turn at Court that he was determined to push his own fortune." His rebellion obliged the King to take the field in person, and go in his pursuit towards Chunar. Taking this opportunity, Ibrahim Khan, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, 'raised a considerable army, and getting possession of the city of Delhi ascended the throne, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. From thence he marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces. . . . Mahmud Shah Adali, finding himself betrayed, fled to Chunar, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim Khan retained possession of the western territory.'[6]

Ibrahim Khan no sooner ascended the throne of Delhi than another competitor arose in the Punjab in the person of the Prince Ahmad Khan,

1 Titus, *Indian Islam*, pp. 106-09.
2 Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 490.
3 Briggs, II, p. 144.
4 Elphinstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 461.
5 Briggs, *loc. cit.*
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

another nephew of the late Sher Shah, whose sister was married to Mahmud Shah Adali. Ahmad Khan, having procured the aid of Haibat Khan and other chiefs, who had been created nobles by the late Salim Shah, assumed the title of Sikandar Shah, and marching with 10 or 12 thousand horses towards Agra, encamped at Kurra, within twenty miles of that city. Ibrahim Khan opposed him with 70,000 horses, but nevertheless was defeated. He then, abandoning his capital, retreated to Sambhal, while Sikandar Khan took possession both of Delhi and Agra. He had not long enjoyed his good fortune, however, when Humayun advanced into the Punjab to recover his dominion, with what consequence we have already witnessed. After his defeat at Sirhind he fled to the Siwalik mountains, whence he was expelled, and sought refuge in Bengal where he assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died.[1]

3. Sikandar Shah Sur

(C) FAILURE OF THE SUR DYNASTY

A last flicker of hope had been roused among the Afghans, when Sikandar, having ascended the throne at Agra, held a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to this effect : "I esteem myself as one of you : having thus far acted for the commonweal, I claim no superiority. Bahlol raised the tribe of Lodi to glory and reputation ; Sher Shah rendered the tribe of Sur illustrious ; and now Humayun the Mughal, heir to his father's conquests, is watching for an opportunity to destroy us all, and re-establish his government. If, therefore, you are sincere, and will set aside private faction and animosities, we may still retain our kingdom : but if you think me incapable of rule, let an abler head and a stronger arm be elected from among you, that I also may swear allegiance to him : I promise most faithfully to support him, and will endeavour to maintain the kingdom in the hands of the Afghans, who have retained it by their valour for so many years." The Afghan chiefs, after this appeal, answered with one accord : "We unanimously acknowledge you, the nephew of our Emperor Sher Shah, our lawful sovereign." Calling then for the *Koran*, 'all swore both to observe allegiance to Sikandar, and to maintain unanimity among themselves.' But in a few days, Ferishta tells us, 'the chiefs began to dispute about governments, honours, and places, and the flames of discord were rekindled, and blazed fiercer than ever, so that every one reproached his neighbour with the perfidy of which each was equally guilty.'[2]

The other members of the Sur family did not fare better than Sikandar. When he was fighting against the Mughals, the other Surs, instead of joining hands with him to repel their common enemy, were fighting among themselves. Ibrahim Khan marched to Kalpi, while at the same time Mahmud Shah Adali detached his *vazir* Hemu, with an army well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chunar, with a view to recover the western Empire. Hemu attacked Ibrahim Shah at Kalpi, and having defeated him, he was compelled to fly to his father (Ghazi Khan) at Bayana, pursued by Hemu who besieged him in that city for three months. Meanwhile, the ruler of Bengal—also a Sur—led his army against Adali and obliged Hemu to return hastily. Emboldened by this, Ibrahim pursued him to Agra ; but being again defeated once more retired to Bayana. After some adventures in Bundelkhand, which had become independent under Baz Bahadur, he fled to Orissa, where he suffered

1 *Ibid.*, p. 153.
2 Briggs, II, p. 153.

an ignominious death during the reign of Akbar. Mahomed Shah Sur of Bengal took refuge in Bundelkhand, but being pursued by Hemu was soon slain. Mahmud Shah Adali, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chunar, to assemble more troops in order to carry on the war against Humayun ; but he was soon after informed of that monarch's death, which induced him to detach Hemu, with 50,000 horses, and 500 elephants towards Agra, not daring to leave Chunar himself, on account of the faction which prevailed among his countrymen the Afghans.'[1] The rest of the story belongs naturally to the reign of Akbar. After the defeat and death of Hemu, Mahmud Shah's fortunes declined rapidly. Khizr Khan, the next ruler of Bengal, avenged himself for his father's death, by wresting a great part of the eastern provinces out of the hands of Adali whom he eventually defeated and slew.

This sudden and sharp denouement of the promising and glorious epoch, opened by the dramatic successes of Sher Shah, appears to have been equally marked by a sad and devastating famine. Badauni gives the following description of the plight of the people who had already suffered enough from the chaotic conditions incidental to constant warfare : 'At this time a dreadful famine raged in the eastern provinces, especially in Agra, Bayana, and Delhi, so that one *seer* of grain (*jwari*) rose to 2½ *tankas*, and even at that price could not be obtained. Many of the faithful closed their doors, and died by tens and twenties, and even in greater numbers, and found neither coffin nor grave. Hindus perished in the same numbers. The common people fed upon the seeds of the thorny *acacia*, upon dry herbage of the forest, and on the hides of the cattle which the wealthy slaughtered and sold. After a few days, swellings rose on their hands and feet, so that they died, and the date is represented by the words *khashm-i-izad*—"wrath of God". The author with his own eyes witnessed the fact that men ate their own kind, and the appearance of the famished sufferers was so hideous that one could scarcely look upon them. What with scarcity of rain, the famine and the desolation, and what with uninterrupted warfare for two years, the whole country was a desert, and no husbandman remained to till the ground. Insurgents also plundered the cities.'[2]

GENEALOGY

Mah Begam ← HUMAYUN → *Hamida Begam*

Muhammad Hakim — Jalal-ud-din Muhammad AKBAR

Salima Begam (2) — *Daulat Shah* (3) — *Jodha Bai* (1)

Murad — Daniyal — Salim (Jahangir)

Note. Akbar had other wives and children, but they are not relevant here.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 148-51.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 490-91.

CHAPTER 5

Restoration of Empire

"Akbar has always appeared to me among sovereigns what Shakespeare was among poets."

—SIR WILLIAM SLEEMAN

"The competent scholar who will undertake the exhaustive treatment of the life and reign of Akbar will be in possession of perhaps the finest great historical subject as yet unappropriated."

—V. A. SMITH

1. PRINCIPAL EVENTS (1556-1605)

(A) Birth And Accession

WE have already taken note of the following statement by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad regarding the birth of Akbar :

(i) 'Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor (Humayun), by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time. The child was born on the 5th *Rajab*, 949 H. (15th October, 1542).[1] Tardi Beg Khan conveyed this intelligence to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amarkot, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance,. . . .gave to the child the name of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar.'

Humayun, who was a pious man, when he heard of the birth of his son, appears (on the testimony of Jauhar, his personal attendant) to have broken a pod of musk (the only precious thing he could get in his exile in the desert) on a china plate, and 'distributed it among all the principal persons, saying : "This is all the present I can afford to make you on the

1 V. A. Smith gives a slightly different date : "The child having been born on the night of the full moon (*Shaban* 14, A.H. 949), equivalent to Thursday, November 23, 1542, the happy father conferred on the son the name or title Badr-ud-din, meaning 'The Full Moon of Religion,' coupled with Muhammad, the name of the Prophet, and Akbar, signifying 'very great'." (*Akbar*, p. 14). He also makes the following observation with regard to the place of Akbar's birth : "*Umar-kot*, the fort of Umar or Omar a chief of the Sumra tribe. The place, situated in 25° 21′ N. and 69° 46′ E., is now a town with about 5,000 inhabitants, the headquarters of the Thar and Parkar District, Sind. Many Persian and English authors write the name erroneously as Amarkot, with various corruptions as if derived from the Hindi word *amar*, meaning 'immortal', a frequent element in Hindu names." (*Ibid.*, p. 13, n. 2).

birth of my son, whose fame will, I trust, be one day expanded all over the world, as the perfume of the musk now fills this apartment."[1]

(ii) We have also noted how Prince Akbar was left behind in Kandahar, when Humayun left for Persia in quest of fortune ; how he was picked up by his uncle Askari, and brought up for about a year by Sultan Begam, 'who treated him with great tenderness' ; and how, in the course of Humayun's fight with Kamran, the little Prince was threatened to be exposed to the fire of the guns on the battlements of the Kabul fort.

(iii) The next we heard of Prince Akbar was after the death of his uncle Hindal, when Razia Sultana, Hindal's daughter, was given in marriage to him, and Akbar put in charge of Hindal's command and the government of Ghazni.

(iv) Lastly, we noted how he followed his father in his attempted reconquest of Hindustan, in which the great victory at Sirhind was ascribed to the presence of Prince Akbar in their midst. 'Under his (Humayun's) orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar, and this was circulated in all directions.'

(v) After this victory at Sirhind, Sultan Sikandar Sur fled to the Siwalik mountains. Mir Abdul Ma'ali who had been sent in pursuit of him, having failed, Sikandar 'daily grew stronger. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Bairam Khan in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *atalik* or governor, to put an end to Sikandar's operation.'[2]

(vi) When Akbar was engaged in these operations, occurred the sudden illness and death of Humayun. 'Shaikh Juli was sent to the Punjab to summon Prince Akbar. . . .Shaikh Juli. . . .obtained an interview with the Prince Akbar at Kalanor. He communicated the fact of the King's illness : and intelligence of his death soon after arrived. After due observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the suite of the Prince, under the leading of Bairam Khan, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and so, on the 2nd *Rabi-us-sani* he ascended the throne of Empire at Kalanor.'[3] Further on, the same writer (Nizam-ud-din Ahmad) tells us, 'Bairam Khan, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and officers, raised His Highness to the throne in the town of Kalanor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of *Rabi-us-sani* 963 H., (Feb. 14, 1556) with all due state and ceremony, and letters of grace and favour were sent to all parts of Hindustan.'[4] The proclamation of his succession had been made at Delhi three days earlier on February 11 ; and three days after the enthronement at Kalanor a 'coronation *darbar*' was held, of which Ahmad Yadgar gives the following description :

"Bairam Khan gave a great entertainment, and raised a large audience-tent, adorned with embroidered satin, like the flower-beds of a garden in the early Spring of Paradise itself. He spread carpets of various colours,

1 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 239.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 241.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 247. "The formal enthronement took place in a garden at Kalanor (Gurdaspur Dist.). The throne, a plain brick structure, 18 ft. long 3 ft. high, resting on a masonry platform, still exists....The throne platform has been recently enclosed in a plain post-and-chain fence, and a suitable inscription in English and Urdu has been affixed." The ancient kings of Lahore used to be enthroned at Kalanor, and the town was at that time of larger size. Now it has a population of only about 5,000. (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 30).

and on them he placed a golden throne, and caused Prince Akbar Mirza to sit on it ; after which the *darbar* was opened to the public. The nobles of the Chaghatai tribe were made joyful by the gift of expensive dresses of honour, and regal presents, and promises of future favour were likewise made to them. Bairam Khan said, 'This is the commencement of His Majesty's reign'."[1]

(B) Political Situation

"When he went through the ceremony at Kalanor," says Smith, "he could not be said to possess any Kingdom. The small army under the command of Bairam Khan merely had a precarious hold by force on certain districts of the Punjab ; and that army itself was not to be trusted implicitly. Before Akbar could become Padshah in reality as well as in name he had to prove himself better than the rival claimants to the throne, and at least to win back his father's lost dominions."[2]

Among the successors of Sher Shah, Sikandar Sur was yet to be subdued ; Mahmud Shah Adali was still alive, and his Hindu general, Hemu, had become a power to reckon with even more than his nominal master. Bengal had remained independent for more than two centuries mostly under the Afghans. The Rajput clans of Rajasthan, having recovered from the defeat they had sustained at the hands of Babur, were enjoying unchallenged possession of their territory ever since the death of Sher Shah at Kalinjar. Malwa and Gujarat had thrown off the sovereignty of Delhi, even before the flight of Humayun. Gondwana and Central India were in a state of disorderly independence. The Deccan states of Khandesh, Ahmednagar, Berar, Bidar, Golkonda, and Bijapur, were in the toils of their local politics and quarrels with Vijayanagar which was still in the zenith of its power. In the Arabian Sea and on the west coast the Portuguese were growing strong. The state of the Punjab and the north-west was still very unsettled and full of potential and actual danger.

(i) 'Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign,' says Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, 'was the rebellion of Shah Abul Ma'ali. . . . The late King had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride, so that presumptuous ideas got mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions.[3] The Khan-khanan (Bairam Khan) arrested him, and was about to execute him ; but the young Emperor was mercifully disposed and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Saiyid before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Pahlawan Kal-gez (kotwal) and sent him to Lahore. Abu-l Ma'ali escaped from custody,' but after some adventure was recaptured and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bayana.[4]

(ii) Nizam-ud-din further states : 'So long as Sikandar Afghan (Sur)

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 64. Yadgar actually places this incident three days before the battle of Panipat ; but from the nature of the description itself it seems highly improbable that Bairam Khan's proclamation of Akbar could have been deferred so long. Smith places the *darbar* as above stated. (See his *Akbar*, p. 31.) Note also that the Ilahi era or beginning of Akbar's reign dates from *Rabi* ii, 27 (March 11) i e., 25 days after the actual accession. The era was reckoned from the next *nauroz* or Persian New Year's Day, the interval of 25 days being counted part of the 1st regnal year (commencing from Mar. 11, 1556—*Ibid.*, n.)

2 *Ibid.*

3 E.g., he failed to answer the summons to the nobles at the time of the *darbar* above referred to.—See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 248.

was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their forces against Sikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Siwalik mountains, and gained victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor.' Even after this defeat, Sikandar continued to hold on for some time longer, but finally, 'being reduced to great extremities (as the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* adds), sent his son Abdur Rahman from Mankot in the Siwalik hills to Akbar Badshah, representing that he had committed many offences, on account of which he dared not present himself at Court, that he sent the few rarities he had with him as a peace-offering, and requested leave to be allowed to retire to Bengal, and pass the remainder of his life in retirement. Akbar assented to all his solicitations, and gave him leave to depart to Bengal. Sikandar died three years after this surrender.'[1]

(iii) 'When Humayun marched to Hindustan, he (had) consigned the government of Kabul and Gazni to Munim Khan, one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (*atalik*) of his son, Mirza Muhammad Hakim. The city of Kandahar and its dependent territories were the *jagir* of Bairam Khan (*Khan-khanan*). By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshan was consigned to Mirza Suleiman. . . . But when the intelligence of Humayun's death reached him, ambitious designs took hold of him, and he marched against Kabul and laid siege to it, Munim Khan wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor. . . .when the news of the siege of Kabul arrived, an imperative *farman* was issued,. . . .and Mirza Suleiman, seeing that he could effect nothing by hostile means,. . . .informed Munim Khan that, if his name were recited in the *khutba*, he would take his departure. Munim Khan knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mirza Suleiman should be mentioned in the list of the titles (*zatl-i-alkab*) of His Majesty the Emperor. When Mirza Suleiman was informed of this concession, he immediately departed for Badakhshan.'[2]

(iv) 'Tardi Beg Khan, who was one of the most famous of the nobles of Humayun's reign, and held an exalted place in that monarch's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died caused the *khutba* to be read in Delhi in the name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khwaja Sultan Ali, *wazir* and *mir-munshi*, who was also *mir-i-arz* and *mir-i-mal*, kept under control the affairs of Delhi, and of Mewat and other *parganas* which had but lately been brought under royal authority.'[3] But in spite of all these good services, Tardi Beg had soon to pay for his loyalty with his life.

The cricumstances were the advance of Hemu upon Delhi and the defeat and flight of Tardi Beg from the capital. The exact nature of the Khan's delinquency is a subject of controversy. We noted in the last chapter that Mahmud Shah Adali despatched Hemu towards the Punjab upon hearing of the death of Humayun. 'That general, having scored a victory at Gwalior, laid siege to Agra, and having reduced it, proceeded

1 *Ibid.*, IV, p. 508. The final surrender of Sikandar at Mankot did not take place until May, 1557, i.e., about six months after the battle of Panipat (Nov., 1556); the fief that was bestowed on him by Akbar comprised the Districts of Kharid and Bihar. Mankot (now in the Jammu territory of the Kashmir State) was the fort built by Salim Sur as a bulwark against the Gakkars.—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 496, n. 4.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 249-50.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 248-49.

to Delhi. Tardi Beg Khan, the governor, seized with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs in the neighbourhood, to come to his aid. Hemu. . . .charged Tardi Beg Khan with such impetuosity, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Moguls was routed, the flight became general, and the city of Delhi also surrendered. Tardi Beg Khan fled to Sirhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. . . .Bairam Khan. . . .caused Tardi Beg Khan to be seized and beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself. . . . Bairam Khan remarked that lenity at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Moguls, at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power. The King felt obliged to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work (Ferishta) had understood, from the best informed men of the times, that, had Tardi Beg Khan not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mogul army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sher Shah would have been acted over again. But, in consequence of this prompt though severe measure, the Chaghatai officers, each of whom before esteemed himself at least equal to Kaikobad, and Kaikos, now found it necessary to conform to the orders of Bairam Khan, and to submit quietly to his authority.[1]

V. A. Smith observes, "The punishment, although inflicted in an irregular fashion without trial, was necessary and substantially just.[2] It may be reasonably affirmed that failure to punish the dereliction of Tardi Beg from his duty would have cost Akbar both his throne and his life."[3]

(C) Second Battle of Panipat

'Hemu, who had now assumed the title of Raja Vikramajit, in Delhi, having attacked Shasi Khan and other Afghan chiefs to his interest, marched out of the capital to meet the King, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert,' so writes Ferishta.[4] The situation was undoubtedly a serious one. Akbar who, at the time of the capitulation of Delhi, was at Jalandhar, 'finding all his dominions, except the Punjab, wrested from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling diffident of himself, both from youth and inexperience, he conferred on Bairam Khan the title of Khan Baba (signifying 'father', here meaning regent or protector). . . .and also required of Bairam Khan to swear on his part, by the soul of his deceased father Humayun, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to his trust. After this, a council being called by Bairam Khan, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horses, while the royal army could scarcely muster 20,000, it would be prudent to retire to Kabul. Bairam Khan not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle

1 Briggs, II, pp. 186-87.
2 *Oxford History of India*, p. 343.
3 *Akbar*, p. 36.
4 Briggs, II, p. 187. According to Ahmad Yadgar, when Hemu entered Delhi, he raised the Imperial canopy over him and ordered coin to be struck in his name. He appointed governors of his own, and brought the Delhi territory and the neighbouring *parganas* under his control ; and in order to console the King (Adali Shah), he sent an account of the victory in these words : "Your slave, by the royal fortune, has routed the Mughal army, which was firm as an iron wall ; but I hear that Humayun's son commands a numerous force, and is advancing towards Delhi. For this reason, I have kept the horses and elephants of the Mughals, in order that I may be able to face the valiant enemy, and not allow them to reach Deihi." Adali Shah was comforted by these deceitful assertions. (E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 62.)

to the enemy. The voice of Akbar which was in unison with the sentiments of Bairam Khan decided the question.[1]

The Battle

Hemu began the action with his elephants, on the morning of the 2nd of *Muharram*, 964 H. (November 5, 1556), in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, un-accustomed to those animals ; but the Mughals attacked them so furiously, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khan Zaman commanded, that, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, they became quite unruly, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghan ranks into confusion. Hemu mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of 4,000 horses, in the very heart of the Mughal army ; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sank into his *howda* from extreme agony. The greater part of his army feared his wound was mortal and forsook him. Raising himself again,. . . .he continued to fight with unabated courage, endeavouring, with the few men who remained about his person, to force his retreat through the enemy's line . . . . At length. . . .he. . . . was surrounded by body of horses and carried prisoner to Akbar, who was about two or three *kos* in the rear.

Execution of Hemu

'When Hemu was brought into the presence, Bairam Khan recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive, became entitled to the appellation of *Ghazi* while Bairam Khan, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Hemu from his body.[2]

Post-Panipat Events upto 1560

The principal events that happened after the execution of Hemu may be enumerated here for the sake of clearness, thus :

(i) The occupation of Delhi and Agra ;
(ii) The capture of Mewat, and the execution of Hemu's father ;
(iii) The acquisition of Ajmir ;
(iv) The surrender of Gwalior ;
(v) The annexation of Jaunpur ; and
(vi) Attacks on Rantambhor and Malwa.

Elphinstone rightly points out : "The real restoration of the House of Timur may be dated from this period : it had been brought about

1 *Ferishta*, Briggs, II, pp. 185-86.
2 This is Ferishta's account : Briggs II, pp. 188-89. There are different versions of this incident, as well as of the details of the battle. Ahmad Yadgar says, 'The Prince, accordingly, struck him, and divided his head from his unclean body.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 65-66. Smith accepts this version, and observes : "Akbar, a boy of fourteen, cannot be justly blamed for complying with the instructions of Bairam Khan, who had a right to expect obedience ; nor is there any good reason for supposing that at that time the boy was more scrupulous than his officers. The official story,. . . .seems to be the late invention of courtly flatterers,. . . .At the time of the battle of Panipat, Akbar was an unregenerate lad, devoted to amusement, and must not be credited with the feelings of his mature manhood."—*Akbar*, p. 39. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, who was Akbar's Chief Bakshi, however, definitely says, 'Bairam Khan-khanan then put Hemu to death with his own hand.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 253. For a fuller discussion, see *"The Death of Hemu"*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 527. Also *"The Death of Hemu"* by Sukumar Ray, in *Dacca U. Studies*, I, 1st Nov., 1935.

entirely through the exertions of Bairam Khan, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject."[1] At the end of this period we find the great Khan fallen from his high estate, almost suddenly, if not unexpectedly, reminding us of Wolsey's memorable words to Thomas Cromwell on the fickleness of human fortune and the precariousness of royal favour.

The task before Akbar was a three-fold one : (1) to recover the dominions of the Crown ; (2) to establish his authority over his chiefs ; and (3) to restore in the internal administration that order which had been lost in the course of so many revolutions.

"In the first two years of Akbar's reign, his territory was confined to the Punjab and the country round Delhi and Agra. In the third year he acquired Ajmir without a battle ; early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Gwalior ; and, not long before Bairam's fall he had driven the Afghans out of Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Jaunpur."[2]

The Muslim historians follow a merely chronological order, without using discretion even as regards the relative importance of events. We have, therefore, to cull out the most significant facts from this jumble, and rearrange them in an intelligible order. The following narrative is taken principally from the *Tabkat-i-Akbari*, the *Akbar-Nama*, and the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* :

1. Occupation of Delhi and Agra

Next day (after the execution of Hemu) the army marched from Panipat, and without halting anywhere, went straight to Delhi. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month.[3] From here two important expeditions were led : (1) against Mewat, because 'Intelligence was brought in that all the dependants of Hemu, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewat' ; (2) against Sikandar Afghan (Sur), whose reduction has already been described above. The first was led by Pir Muhammad Sarwani. 'He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.' The *Akbar-Nama* gives other details, and says that Hemu's father was given the choice between conversion and death ; when the old man refused to apostatise, 'Pir Muhammad gave an answer with the tongue of his sword.'[4] Mewat was conferred as a *jagir* upon Pir Muhammad, who was a confidential servant of Bairam Khan.[5] On their way back from Alwar or Mewat, 'Haji Khan took possession of Ajmir and Nagor and all those parts. . . .Muhammad Kasim Khan was sent by the Emperor to take charge of Ajmir.'[6]

The expedition against Sikandar, up to a certain stage, was led by Akbar in person. Then, when his mother Mariam Makani and other royal ladies returned from Kabul, 'the Emperor left Bairam Khan in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart receiving great comfort from the reunion.' Towards the end of March, 1558, 'His Majesty arrived at Delhi. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent

1 *History of India*, p. 496.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 500.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 253.
4 *Ibid.*, VI, p. 21.
5 Smith, *Akbar*, p. 40.
6 E. & D., *loc. cit.*, pp. 21-22.

place in his councils. The Khan-khanan, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *diwan-khana*, and transact business under the direction and commands of His Majesty . . . . After the expiration of six months, the Emperor embarked in a boat to Agra, where he arrived on the 17th *Muharram*, 966 H. (30th Oct., 1558), in the third year of the Ilahi.[1] At the time Agra was a town of comparatively small importance.

2. Gwalior and Jaunpur

"In the course of the third and fourth regnal years (1558-60) the gradual consolidation of Akbar's dominion in Hindustan was advanced by the surrender of the strong fortress of Gwalior in Central India, and the annexation of the Jaunpur province in the east. An attempt to take the castle of Rantambhor in Rajputana failed, and preliminary operations for the reduction of Malwa were interrupted by the intrigues and troubles connected with Akbar's assertion of his personal fitness to rule, and the consequent fall of Bairam Khan, the Protector."[2]

'The fort of Gwalior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *Rajas*. After the time of Salim Khan (Islam Shah) the fort had been placed in the charge of Suhail, one of his *ghulams*, by Sultan Mahmud Adali. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Agra, Habib Ali Sultan, Maksud Ali Kor, and Kiya Khan were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days and the garrison being in distress surrendered.' This brief notice of Nizam-ud-din is supplemented with some more details by the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, which adds : 'Akbar when he took up his residence at Agra, gave the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Gwalior as a *jagir* to Kiya Khan. After a time the Khan collected an army and invested Gwalior ; but the fort was so strong that he could make no impression upon it. Suhail was a man of experience, and he saw very clearly that it would be impossible to hold the fort against the growing power of his Imperial neighbour. (So he cleverly sold the fort to Ram Shah of the old ruling family of Gwalior.) Kiya Khan, the *jagirdar*, attacked him, and a battle was fought, in which many on both sides were killed. Ram Shah was defeated, and escaped with difficulty, and went to the Rana of Udaipur.'[3]

Gwalior was captured in the third year of Akbar's reign. The next year, beginning with 10th March, 1559, Khan Zaman was sent to reduce Jaunpur, the capital of the Sharkiya kings, which was now in the possession of the Afghans. He accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he annexed that country (and Benares, according to *Tarikh-i-Alfi*) to the Imperial dominions.[4]

Here a brief allusion must be made to the extinction of the Sur dynasty of Sher Shah. The end of Sikandar Sur has already been referred to. Mahmud Shah Adali, who had established himself at Chunar and despatched Hemu to the west against the Mughals, was the only representative of the house now remaining. His fate is thus described in the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* : 'As for Adali, at the time of Hemu's death he was at Chunar, and at that juncture the son of Mahmud Khan, by name Khizr Khan, ruler of Bengal, who had

1 *Ibid.*, V, pp. 256-57.
2 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 259 and 167-68.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 259-60.

assumed the name of Sultan Bahadur, advanced with a large army to avenge the blood of his father ; and Adali proceeded into Bihar to meet him as far as Mungir . . . . The sun had not yet risen when sultan Bahadur, with his army in array, made an attack upon Adali, and sounded the kettle-drums of war. Adali had only a few men with him, but behaved with considerable gallantry. The action was fought at the stream of Surajgarh, about one *kos* more or less from Mungir, and about 12 *kos* from Patna, and there Adali was defeated and slain, in consequence of the paucity of his numbers, in the year 968 H. (1560 A.D.), after a reign of eight years.'[1]

3. Rantambhor and Malwa

'In this year (1559) Habib Ali Khan was sent against the fort of Rantambhor. During the rule of Sher Khan Afghan this fort was under the charge of Haji Khan, one of his *ghulams*, and this Haji Khan had now sold the fort to Rai Surjan, a relation of Rai Udai Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the *parganas* under his rule, and had enforced his authority. Habib Ali with his army invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood ; the *amirs* then departed to their *jagirs*.

'At this time, while the Court was at Agra, Bahadur Khan, brother of Khan Zaman, marched to effect the conquest of Malwa, which had formerly belonged to the Khilji monarchs, but which had been brought into subjection by Baz Bahadur, son of Suja Khan Afghan. He had reached the town of Siri, when the agitation arose about Bairam Khan, and under the orders of the Khan he returned.'[2]

(E) The Fall of Bairam Khan

Early in 1560, Akbar decided to assume the responsibilities of Government himself. The reasons that led him to do this were various. 'The general management of Imperial affairs,' says Nizam-ud-din, 'was under the direction of Bairam Khan ; but there were envious malignant men, who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour, who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor.'[3] The *Akbar-Nama*, on the other hand, states : 'Bairam's natural character was good and amiable. But through bad company, that worst misfortune of man, his natural good qualities were overclouded, and arrogance was fostered by the flattery.' Abul Fazl also accuses him of conpiracy—'At length Bairam's proceedings went beyond all endurance, and he formed some sinister designs in conspiracy with evil-minded flatterers.'[4] Ferishta clinches the matter by adding, 'In short, so many insinuations were thrown out against Bairam Khan, particularly one of a design in favour of Abul Kasim Mirza, the son of the late Kamran Mirza, that Akbar became alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the Protector's authority.'[5]

Misunderstanding once generated, fed upon distrust, and every trifling accident was perverted in order to widen the breach. "The Persian

1 His son, assuming the name of Sher Shah, made an ineffectual attempt to capture Jaunpur from Khan Zaman, and, as the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* records, 'The son of Adali adopted the life of a recluse after this signal calamity, and no one knew anything further about him.'—E. & D., IV, pp. 508-09.
2 E. & D. *op. cit.*, V, p. 260.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 261.
4 *Ibid.*, VI, pp. 23-24.
5 Briggs, II, pp. 196-97.

histories narrate the circumstances of Bairam Khan's fall at immense length and from different points of view," writes V. A. Smith, but "a concise summary may be sufficient to satisfy the curiosity of the modern reader. When Akbar had entered in his eighteenth year (A.D. 1560) and began to feel himself a man, the trammels of the tutelage in which he was held by his guardian became galling, and he desired to be a king in fact as well as in name. Those natural feelings were stimulated and inflamed by the ladies of his household and various courtiers who for one reason or another had grievances against the Protector.[1] His appointment of Shaikh Gadai as *Sadr-i-Sudur* excited the sectarian animosity of all the Sunnis at court, who complained, and not without reason, that Bairam Khan showed excessive favour to the adherents of his own Shia sect. Many influential people had been offended by the execution of Tardi Beg,[2] and on several occasions Bairam Khan, presuming too much on his position, had behaved with undue arrogance. He was accused, too, of making indiscreet remarks. Morever, Akbar was annoyed by a special personal grievance, inasmuch as he had no privy purse, and his household was poorly paid, while the servants of the Protector grew rich. Bairam Khan, on his side, was inclined to think that his services were indispensable, and was unwilling to surrender the uncontrolled power which he had exercised so long. Gradually it became apparent that either Akbar or Bairam Khan must yield."[3] Matters soon reached a crisis.

"The advisers of Bairam Khan were divided in opinion. Shaikh Gadai, the *Sadr-i-Sudur*, and certain other counsellors advised their patron to seize Akbar's person and fight the matter out. But, Bairam Khan, after some hesitation, honourably refused to stain the record of a lifetime of loyalty by turning traitor, and intimated his intention to submit. Meantime, the courtiers for the most part had deserted the falling minister, and, after the manner of their kind, had turned to worship the rising sun."[4]

Akbar, on the other hand, acted promptly. He sent to Bairam Khan the following missive, through his tutor Mir Abdul Latif :

"As I was assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasures. I have now determined to take the reins of Government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should make the pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable *Jagir* out of the *parganas* of Hindustan will be assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agent."[5]

> Nizam-ud-din narrates the sequel well : 'When Mir Abdul Latif communicated this message to Khan-khanan, he listened attentively, and having parted from the Mir, he left Mewat for Nagor. . . . Upon reaching Nagor, he sent his banner, kettle-drums and all other marks of nobility, to the Emperor by the hands of Husain Kuli Beg

1 The principal centre of all this intrigue at the Court was Maham Anaga, who was Akbar's *atka* or nurse from his cradle. When he grew up, she was head of his harem. According to Abul Fazl, she was the governing spirit and real minister for a time.—See E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 261-64.

2 Tardi Beg and Bairam Khan were old rivals under Humayun ; the former was one of the oldest Chaghatai nobles, and he stood in the way of the able and ambitious Bairam, the Transoxian chiefs looking up to him as much as those from Persia did to Bairam.—Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 497 n.

3 Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

5 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 264.

. . . .The surrender of the banner and the other insignia of nobility gratified the Emperor. . . .'

Pir Muhammad Khan Sarwani, whom the Khan-khanan had banished from the country and sent to Mecca,[1] had waited in Gujarat for the proper season (of sailing). On hearing of the disgrace of the Khan-khanan, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title *Nasir-ul-Mulk*, as well as with a banner and kettle-drums. He was then sent with a force to hasten Khan-khanan's departure for Mecca (or to use Badauni's phrase, 'to pack him off as quickly as possible to Mecca without giving him any time for delay') and accordingly marched after him. . . .

When Bairam Khan learnt that Pir Muhammad had been sent to pursue him, 'this greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some evil-minded persons, having found their opportunity, played upon the feelings of the Khan-khanan, and inciting him to rebellious acts, he went towards the Punjab. . . .On the Emperor being informed of Khan-khanan's advance, he despatched. . . .a body of nobles to the Punjab. . . .so that he was obliged to fight. . . .A sharp action ensued with considerable loss to both sides, and Khan-khanan being defeated, fled towards the Siwalic hills. . . .The Emperor then himself marched to the Punjab. . . .A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hill, and surrounding the place put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultan Hussain Jalair was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khan-khanan, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed, "This life of mine is not worth so much, that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khan instantly sent one of his followers, Jamal Khan, to the Emperor with this message : "I deeply repent my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control ; but if I am favoured with the royal clemency, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will present myself in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor, the recollection of old services rose up in his memory, and he gave orders that the Khan-khanan should be brought into his presence. When the Khan-khanan approached the royal presence, all the *amirs* and *khans* went out, by the Emperop's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark of honour. . . .The Emperor received him with the most princely grace and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards, he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca and the holy places. . . . Khan-khanan, with his people took the road to Gujarat. . . .[2]

Bairam Khan could not, however, pursue his journey to its close, for he was murdered at Patan by an Afghan whose father had been killed at the battle of Machiwara. 'Some scoundrels then plundered the encampment of the deceased,' says Nizam-ud-din. Bairam Khan's body was picked up by some *fakirs* who gave it a burial. His family with great difficulty managed to reach Ahmedabad. His little son, Abdur-rahim, then only four years of age, was brought up at Akbar's Court, and lived to become *Khan-khanan* and one of the greatest nobles of the Empire.

1 For details of the circumstances under which Pir Muhammad was dismissed by Bairam Khan, see *ibid.*, pp. 257-58.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 264-69.

"The story of the transaction leading up to the fall and death of Bairam Khan," observes Smith, "leaves an unpleasant taste. . . . Both Humayun and Akbar owed their recovery of the throne to Bairam Khan, and the obligations of gratitude required that when the time came for Akbar to take the reins into his own hands, the demission of his faithful charioteer should be effected as gently as possible. But the many enemies of Bairam Khan were not in a humour to make his exit easy. If they could have had their way unobstructed, they would certainly have put him to death. The generosity of his reception after the failure of his rebellion, may be fairly attributed to young Akbar himself, who had had little to do with the previous transactions, for which Maham Anaga was responsible, as her panegyrist Abul Fazl affirms."[1]

(F) "The Parda Regime" (1600-1604)

"Akbar shook off the tutelage of Bairam Khan," says Smith, "only to bring himself under the 'monstrous regiment' of unscrupulous women. He had yet another effort to make before he found himself and rose to the height of his essentially noble nature."[2] Akbar was eighteen years of age, and it may not seem unlikely that he came under the influence of the 'veil' even to a considerable extent ; but Smith's insinuation, 'is not to be accepted without careful scrutiny. He himself admits that Akbar's "essentially noble nature" asserted itself, and one who had acted with such determination in overthrowing a giant like Bairam Khan, was not likely to put up, if at all, for long with "petticoat government of the worst kind."

We must now turn to his activities during the first four years after the fall of Bairam Khan (1600-1604). At the end of this period he became completely his own master in every sense of the term.

1. The Conquest of Malwa

The condition of this fertile plateau (north of the Vindhya range, between lat. 23° 30′ and 24° 30′ ; and long. 74° 30′ and 78° 10′) of Malwa was "such as seemed to invite a war of conquest with good prospect of success." Shuja'at or Shujawal Khan, who practically ruled it independently under Adali Shah Sur, had died in the year of Akbar's accession (1556). 'He was succeeded by his son Baz Bahadur,' says the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, 'and when the Afghans were scattered over Hindustan by the conquering Chaghatais, Baz Bahadur established himself as permanent ruler of Malwa. When Bahadur Khan (Khan Zaman's brother) marched against him the affairs of Bairam Khan came to crisis, and the campaign in Malwa was stayed.[3]

'Baz Bahadur was,' according to Nizam-ud-din, 'the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song. He spent much of his time in the society of musicians and singers. . .It now came to his Majesty's knowledge that Baz Bahadur had given himself up to sensuality, and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and the people had been reduced to distress.' 'The honour of the Imperial throne required,' continues the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, 'that this country should be again brought under its control and find peace and security' (ever the plea of aggressive Imperialism !)

'So Adham Khan (Maham Anaga's son), Pir Muhammad Khan

1 Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 48.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 168-69.

(Bairam Khan's enemy), and some other *Amirs*, were nominated to effect the conquest of that country. They actually marched thither, and when they came within ten *kos* of *Sarangpur* (now in the Dewas State, Central India Agency), Baz Bahadur, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a position, which he fortified, two *kos* from the city. . . Adham Khan sent forward an advance force to the entrenchments which Baz Bahadur had thrown up around his army. Baz Bahadur then threw off his apathy, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghan nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight (1561) towards Khandesh and Burhanpur.'—(Faizi). Rup-mati, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry,[1] several other wives and all his treasure fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Baz Bahadur wounded Rup-mati with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers ; and when Adham Khan summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

'Adham Khan wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He retained all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some elephants, under charge of Sadik Khan, to Court. This retention of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed to Malwa in person. On the 21st *Sha'ban*, 968 H., (April 27, 1516), the Emperor left Agra, and marched towards Malwa. . . .Adham Khan now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor,[2] who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself, and then returned to Agra.[3] At that place Pir Muhammad Khan Sarwani and other nobles who had *jagirs* in Malwa, waited upon the Emperor. They were honoured with gifts of robes and horses, and were then sent back to their *jagirs*.'

Akbar was not fully reconciled to Adham Khan. It was only the intercession of the latter's mother, Maham Anaga, that had modified him for the time being. In November, 1561, Shams-ud-din Muhammad Khan Atga, who came from Kabul, was entrusted with the management, as minister, of all affairs, political, financial, and military; and perhaps on his advice, Adham Khan was recalled from Malwa. Maham Anaga was opposed to Atga Khan's high appointment, and she was very much vexed to find Akbar fast slipping out of control. But at the same time, it is strange that Pir Muhammad was allowed to succeed Adham Khan in the charge of Malwa ; for both were equally unworthy. Both had been guilty of excesses in Malwa[4] ; but perhaps the guilt of the former weighed more with the Emperor for his misappropriation and contumacious spirit.

1 The amours of Baz Bahadur and Rup-mati, 'renowned throughout the world for her beauty and charm', are celebrated in many a song and picture.

2 Abul Fazl says that Adham Khan was altogether amazed at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by Maham Anaga to warn her son. He also describes how reluctant Adham Khan was to give up the women and the singing and dancing girls of Baz Bahadur. (*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 178.)

3 Akbar arrived in Agra on June 4, 1561, "after an absence of only thirty-eight days. Akbar who resembled Alexander the Great in his disregard of climatic conditions or physical obstacles, made his rapid journey in the height of the hot season. (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 52.)

4 'On the day of the victory,' according to Badayuni, 'the two captains remaining on the spot, had the captives brought before them, and troop after troop of them put to death, so that their blood flowed river upon river.' Pir Muhammad cracked brutal jests, and when remonstrance was offered, replied : 'In one single night all these captives have been taken, what can be done with them ?'

Pir Muhammad, after his appointment in place of Adham Khan, assembled the forces of Malwa and marched to subdue the countries of Asir and Burhanpur. He laid siege to Bijagarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword. ('He next proceeded against Sultanpur, and annexed it to the Imperial territories.'—*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 212). He then marched against Asir, a well-known place in Khandesh. Crossing the river Narbada, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and came to Burhanpur. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and *saiyids* of the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The governors of Asir and Burhanpur, and Baz Bahadur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Malwa, now concerted together, and assisted by all the *zamindars* of the country, they assembled a force with which they assailed Pir Muhammad Khan (as his men 'were pursuing their straggling march homewards laden with spoil.'—*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 293). Unable to resist, Pir Muhammad fled towards Mandu, and when he came to the Narbada. . .he was thrown off (his horse) into the water and drowned, thus receiving the recompense of his deeds, says the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. (Badauni writes : 'By way of water he went to fire and the sighs of orphans, poor wretches, and captives settled his business.'—Vol. II, p. 51). 'The other nobles, on reaching Malwa, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor. Baz Bahadur pursued them, and brought the whole of Malwa once more into his power. The amirs who had abandoned Malwa and had come to Court without orders, were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

'Abdulla Khan Uzbek now received orders to retrieve this disasterin Malwa, and several other Khans were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H., (1562 A.D.), Abdulla and his auxiliaries entered Malwa, and Baz Bahadur, being unable to withstand him, took to flight, to the hills of Kambalmir.' (*Alfi*). A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Baz Bahadur found protection for some time with Rana Udai Singh, one of the chief Rajas of Marwar, and afterwards he repaired to Gujarat, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune. (According to Badauni, he was imprisoned for some time, but soon after his release, he died ; according to Faizi, he was granted a *mansab* of 2,000.) Abdulla Khan remained at Mandu and the other *amirs* returned to their *jagirs*.'

In July 1564, Abdulla Khan showed signs of rebellion, and Akbar was obliged to march against him in person. Abdulla Khan was soon driven to the confines of Gujarat, whence he made his way to Jaunpur and died there, during the rebellion of Khan Zaman, in 1565. 'The Imperial army then moved, and, on the new moon of *Zil-hijja*, 791 H., reached Mandu. The *zamindars* of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Mir Mubarak Shah, ruler of Khandesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a *farman* was sent to Mian Mubarak Shah directing him to send any one of his daughters who he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor. . .When Mubarak Shah received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, esteeming it a great favour to be allowed to do so. . . .In *Muharram*, 972 H., (August, 1564), the Imperial camp moved from Mandu. . .Karra, Bahadur Khan was appointed governor of Mandu. . .

Proceeding by way of Marwar and Gwalior, the Emperor reached Agra on the 3rd *Rabi-ul-awwal.*

2. Khan Zaman's Contumacy

We have noted how, after the death of Adali, the eastern province of Jaunpur was brought under the Empire, and Khan Zaman was appointed its governor. An attempt by Adali's son to recover the province, we also saw, ended in failure. In July 1561, various actions of Khan Zaman (Ali Kuli Khan) excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year, His Majesty proceeded towards Jaunpur, on a progress of hunting and pleasure. . . .When the Court reached Karra, Ali Kuli Khan and his brother Bahadur Khan came up by forced marches from their *jagir* of Jaunpur, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognized, they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their *jagirs.* On the 17th *Zil-hijja,* of the sixth year of the Ilahi, corresponding with 968 H. (August, 1561) the Court reached Agra.

3. First Rajput Marriage and Alliance

'On the 8th *Jumad-al-awwal,* 969 H. (January, 1562) the Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of Kutb-ul-Auliya Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti (at Ajmir). When he reached the town of Amber, Raja Bihari Mal (Kachwaha) one of the chief Rajas of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagwan Das, to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an honourable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court.[1] From there he proceeded to Ajmir, and he dispensed many gifts and pensions among the inhabitants of that noble city.

4. Capture of Mairtha

'Mirza Sharaf-ud-din Hussain, who held a *jagir* in the territory of Ajmir, came to pay his homage. He was sent with several other *amirs* of that province to effect the conquest of the fort of Mairtha, about 20 *kos* from Ajmir, which was held by Jai Mal, the commandant of Rai Maldeo. His Majesty then started for Agra, and making forced marches he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty *kos,* in a day and night. (The *Tarikh-i-Alfi* gives the more probable time of *three days.*). . .When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort, Jai Mal marched out with his men. But Deodas, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress, and then sallied forth at the head of a party of Rajputs, and passed in front of the royal army. . . .Many of the royal soldiers fell, and nearly 200 Rajputs were slain. . . .The fort of Mairtha was then occupied by the Imperial forces.'

5. The Brave Rani Durgavati of Gondwana

The *Tarikh-i-Alfi* gives the following brief notice of an epic incident, belonging to this period (1654), concerning the conquest of *Garha* in the Jubbulpore District :

'Khwaja Abdul Majid, who had received the title of Asaf Khan,[2]

1 Bihari or Bihar Mal or Bharmal was the Raja of Amber (Jaipur). His daughter became the mother of Akbar's successor Jahangir, and came to be known as Maryam Zamani. This marriage, according to Dr. Beni Prasad, "symbolized the dawn of a new era in Indian politics ; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns ; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced." Raja Man Singh was Bharmal's grandson.

2 This was Asaf Khan I ; later in the reign there were two others with the same title. For his biography, see Blochmann, *Ain,* i, pp. 366-69.

was appointed governor of Karra, and in that province he rendered good service. One of his services was the conquest of *Garha*, a territory abounding in hills and jungles, which had never been conquered by any ruler of Hindustan since the rise of the faith of Islam. At this time it was governed by a woman called *Rani* (*Durgavati*), and all the dogs (!) of that country were very faithful and devoted to her. Asaf Khan had frequently sent emissaries into her country on various pretexts, and when he had learnt all the circumstances and peculiarities of the country, and then position and treasures of the *Rani*, he levied an army to conquer the country. The *Rani* came forth to battle with nearly 500 elephants and 20,000 horses. The armies met and both did their best. An arrow struck the *Rani*, who was in front of her horsemen, and when that noble woman saw that she must be taken prisoner, she seized a dagger from her elephant-driver and plunged it into her stomach, and so died. Asaf Khan gained the victory, and stepped the advance at the taluq of Chauragarh, where the treasures of the rulers of Garha were kept. The son of the *Rani* shut himself up in the fort, but it was taken the same day, and the youth was trampled to death by horses. So much plunder in jewels, gold, silver, and other things was taken, that it was impossible to compute even the tenth part of it. Out of all the plunder, Asaf Khan sent only fifteen elephants to Court, and retained all the rest for himself.'[1]

Gondwana formed the northern part of the present Central Provinces. The fort of Chauragarh is now in the Narsinghpur District. When it fell into Asaf Khan's hands, its treasures contained, besides those mentioned above, 'coined and uncoined gold, decorated utensils, pearls, figures, pictures, jewelled and decorated idols, figures of animals made wholly of gold, and other rarities.' "The coin was said to include a hundred large pots full of the gold *asharfis* of Ala-ud-din Khilji."

The gallant queen had, fifteen years previously, become the regent for her minor son, Bir Narayan. Although the Raja had now attained manhood, she continued to exercise all authority. "The Rani was a princess of the famous Chandel dynasty of Mahoba, which had been one of the great powers of India five hundred years earlier. Her impoverished father had been obliged to lower his pride and give his daughter to the wealthy Gond Raja, who was far inferior in social position. She proved herself worthy of her noble ancestry, and governed her adopted country with courage and capacity, 'doing great things', as Abul Fazl remarks, 'by dint of her far-seeing abilities. She had great contests with Baz Bahadur and the Miahs, and was always victorious. She had 20,000 good cavalry with her in her battles, and 1,000 famous elephants. The treasures of the Rajas of that country fell into her hands. She was a good shot with the gun and arrow, and continually went a-hunting and shot animals of the chase with her gun. It was her custom that when she heard that a tiger had made his appearance, she did not drink water till she had shot him.' "Akbar's attack on a princess of a character so noble," observes Smith, "was mere aggression, wholly unprovoked and devoid of all justification other than the lust for conquest and plunder."[2] Asaf Khan, intoxicated with success, in the manner of Adham Khan in Malwa, evidently thought of establishing himself independently; but Akbar, in this instance, for some reason or other, 'winked at his treachery,' and deferred the settlement of accounts.

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 169. There are differences regarding details in other accounts.
2 Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

6. (i) Adham Khan and (ii) Khwaja Muazzam

We might close this period (1560-64) with an account of two incidents which throw more light upon Akbar's independent character, and assertion of individuality, than any reflections of his critics who spin excessively over the malign influences of the 'monstrous regiment of women' and the 'petticoat government' over the youthful Emperor.

'A tragical event occurred in the course of this year (May 16, 1562)', writes Nizam-ud-din. 'Adham Khan Kakaltash, son of Maham Anaga, could not endure to see the elevation of his compeers. In the presumption of youth and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incentives of Shab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, Munim Khan Khan-khanan, and several other nobles, and murdered Khan-i-Azam (Shams-ud-din Muhammad Atga), then Prime Minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Then, trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the *harem*. His Majesty rushed out of the *harem*, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot and cast over the parapet for his crime. . . .All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment. . . .His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Maham Anaga ; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards.'

The other incident was also of a similar character. The same writer records :

'Khwaja Muazzam was maternal uncle of the Emperor. . . .This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of Emperor Humayun. . . .His unseemly conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him. . . .After his banishment the Khwaja stayed for a while in Gujarat, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bairam Khan then countenanced him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the disgrace of Bairam Khan, the Emperor took compassion on the Khwaja, and gave him some *jagir*. But the Khwaja's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful deeds. To mention one : There was a woman named Fatima, attached to the *harem* of the late Emperor, and the Khwaja had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zuhra Agha. After some time he formed this design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting expedition, and he assured the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khwaja. Accordingly he sent Tahir Muhammad Khan *Mir-i-Faraghat* and Rustum Khan to give the Khwaja notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Tahir Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged, that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khwaja's cruel actions, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and souse him several times in the river. After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior, where he died in confinement. Although immersed several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he abused the Emperor. He died insane. (*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 276).

What Smith observes with regard to the latter incident, is equally

true of both. He says, "The punishment inflicted on him proved definitely that Akbar was not to be deterred by family influence from doing justice on evil-doers, after the rough and ready manner of the times. The incident may be taken as marking the date of Akbar's final emancipation from the control of a palace clique. He continued to show all proper respect to his mother, *but he did not allow her to control his policy, which was conceived on principles distasteful to her.*"[1]

(G) Rebellions : East and West

The principal rebellions of this period were two : that of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Akbar's half-brother, at Kabul, and that of Khan Zaman at Jaunpur. They were interconnected in so far as the one sympathized with the other, and built his hopes of success on simultaneous action.

The Kabul Revolt

The first attempt of Mirza Suleiman of Badakhshan on Kabul has already been described. 'When Munim Khan (Mirza Muhammad Hakim's guardian) left Kabul to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khan Akhta-begi was left there as governor, but on Munim Khan being informed of his ill-treatment of the people of Kabul, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghani Khan, in his place. . . .After a time, Mah Chochak Begam (Hakim's mother) and the people of Kabul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghani. . . .Sometime afterwards Ghani Beg went out one day for a stroll in the melon-gardens, and the opportunity was seized by the mother of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, in concert with Shah Wali Atka. . . ., to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghani Khan. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghani Khan understood that the people had revolted against him. Unable to do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the Prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands. . . .When the report of these occurrences reached the Emperor, he appointed Munim Khan governor of Kabul and guardian (*atalik*) of the young Prince Mirza Muhammad (who was only ten years of age). The mother of the Prince assembled all the forces she could, and taking the Prince with her, she went, with the intention of resisting by force of arms, to Jalalabad, known in old times by the name of Jusai. There she awaited Munim Khan, who quickly marched against her, and defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begam returned to Kabul. . . .'

After some time, Abul Ma'ali, who had evidently escaped from Bayana and gone on pilgrimage, returned from Mecca, and in concert with Mirza Sharaf-ud-din, the Jagirdar of Nagor and Ajmer, rebelled and made towards Kabul. 'The Imperial forces invested Ajmir,. . . . and then hastened in pursuit of the rebels. . . .When Abul Ma'ali. . . .found that the royal army was coming up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct road he fled towards Kabul. When he approached Kabul, he wrote a letter full of affection and devotion for the late Emperor and sent it to Mah Chochak Begam (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honour. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abul Ma'ali now pushed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Hakim.

'A party of malcontents, who were displeased with the treatment they received from Mah Chochak Begam. . . ., persuaded him that matters would never go on well as long as the Begam lived. He fell in with their

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he got into hands the Prince Muhammad Hakim, who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government. . . .Mirza Muhammad Hakim sent a person to Mirza Suleiman, calling upon him for assistance. . . .The Mirza, hearing of the state of affairs,. . . .marched against Kabul. . . . Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began. . . .Three days later, he sent Abul Ma'ali, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and he ordered him to be strangled in punishment of his crimes. This happened on the night of the 17th *Ramzan*, 970 H. (April 1564).

'Mirza Suleiman now sent to Badakhshan for his daughter, and married her to Muhammad Hakim. After giving *jagirs* in the Kabul territory to many of his followers, and appointing Umaid Ali, who was in his confidence, to the post of minister, he returned to Badakhshan.

'Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his people, being greatly annoyed by these Badakhshanis,drove them out of Kabul. "Mirza Suleiman then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion. . . . Hakim fled to Peshawar. and appealed for Akbar's help. . . .When the statement of Mirza Muhammad Hakim reached the Imperial Court. an order was given directing all the nobles and *jagirdars* of the Punjab to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. . . .Mirza Suleiman on the approach of the royal forces fled to Badakhshan. . . .'

Mirza Suleiman, for a fourth time invaded Kabul. Mirza Hakim once more sought refuge in flight, and again appealed to Akbar. The Emperor this time appointed Faridun Khan, maternal uncle of the Mirza and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assistance. 'He now sent Khush-khabar Khan, one of the royal heralds, with money, goods of Hindustan, and a horse and saddle, to the Mirza ; and he wrote a *farman*, in which he said that if the Mirza required assistance, he would send the *amirs* of the Punjab to support him.'

When Khush-khabar Khan approached the camp, the Mirza hastened out with due ceremony and respect to receive the *farman*. After the arrival of Khush-khabar Khan, Faridun laboured to instigate the Mirza to hostile attempts, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lahore. Hostilities having been resolved upon, he tried to persuade the Mirza to seize Khush-khabar Khan. But although the Mirza had been led away by his foolish persuasions, he was too honourable to consent to the detention of Khush-khabar Khan ; so he invited the Khan to his presence secretly, and sent him away. Sultan Ali, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hasan Khan, brother of Shab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, who was in Kabul, helped to excite the hostile spirit and added their voices to Faridun's.

'Won over by their persuasions, the Mirza broke into open revolt, and marched against Lahore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Punjab,. . . . hearing of these proceedings, assembled at Lahore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and wrote an account of the Mirza's rebellion and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lahore, the Mirza advanced to the foot of the fortifications ; but the *amirs* of the Punjab repulsed him with the fire of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of the advance of the royal forces, the Mirza, feeling unable to offer resistance, took to flight.

Khan Zaman's Rebellion

We have already mentioned the contumacious conduct of this nobleman and his brother, Bahadur Khan, and their submission at the Emperor's approach in August, 1561. They again rebelled early in 1565. In May, Akbar

was obliged to take the field in person, and crossed the Jumna. In December, 1565, Khan Zaman gave an undertaking not to cross the Ganges, and Akbar came back to Agra in March, 1566. Meantime Mirza Muhammad Hakim invaded the Punjab, under the circumstances described above. " He was encouraged by the Uzbeg rebellions to claim the throne of Hindustan, and Khan Zaman went so far as to recite the *khutba*, or prayer for the King, in his name."[1] Akbar set forth against his brother in November, 1566; but when he learnt of his defeat and flight, he returned to Lahore where he heard of the rebellion of the Mirzas (February, 1567). The Mirzas, having first broken out at Sambhal, near Moradabad, where they had been granted estates, had been driven into Malwa. In May 1567, Akbar had once more to march against Khan Zaman, who had broken his plighted word, to suppress him finally. The details of these events are thus set forth by Nizam-ud-din in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* :

> 'In consequence of the severe proceedings against Abdulla Khan Uzbeg, which have been narrated above (*viz.*, his expulsion from Malwa on account of his rebellious attitude), an opinion got abroad that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Uzbegs.' The disaffected nobles, among whom was Ibrahim Khan the uncle of Khan Zaman, 'resolved to consult Ali Kuli Khan (Khan Zaman), who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country. . . .After consultation. . . .they determined to rebel . . . .Ibrahim Khan and Sikandar Khan went to Lucknow, full of hostile designs. Khan Zaman and his brother went to Karra Manikpur, and there began their revolt.
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> 'Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan (who was the *jagirdar* in that quarter) took a bold course, and went forth to confront the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position. When the statements of the *amirs* reached the Emperor he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered Munim Khan Khan-khanan to march in advance with a strong force, and cross over the river at Kanauj, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of *Shawwal* he crossed over the Jumna, and marched to chastize the rebels. . . .On Friday, the 12th *Zil-hijja*, the royal forces entered the citadel of Jaunpur. Orders were given to Asaf Khan and other nobles to cross over the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan, where Ali Kuli Khan and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels and act according to circumstances. . . .'
>
> 'Between Khan-khanan (who succeeded to the command of the Imperial army) and Khan Zaman there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a correspondence was opened, and it was agreed that Khan Zaman should wait upon Khan-khanan to discuss the terms of peace. The negotiations lingered on for four or five months, and war-like operations were suspended. . . .After a long discussion it was determined that Khan Zaman should send his mother, Ali Khan, and Ibrahim Khan his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offence. Upon receiving forgiveness the Khan and his brother and Sikandar Khan were to go to Court. . . .Ibrahim Khan, with uncovered head, and with a sword and shroud upon his neck, stepped forward, and Khan-khanan entreated forgiveness. . . .and he trusted that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an

1 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

eye of tenderness upon the faults of such useful servants. . . .The Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Khan-khanan said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain faithful".'

The Emperor then went to visit the fort of Chunar, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jaunpur to Benares, and there rested several days. From thence he went to the fortress, and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened. . . .(Akbar, who had agreed to restore the *jagirs* of the recalcitrant nobles, stipulated : "So long as I remain in this neighbourhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must send their *vakils* there, and *farmans* for their *jagirs* shall then be issued, under which they may take possession.") But when the Emperor had gone to Chunar, Khan Zaman crossed the river, and went to Muhammadabad, one of the dependencies of Jaunpur. and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Ghazipur and Jaunpur. As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this evil proceeding of Ali Kuli Khan, and he said reproachfully to Khan-khanan, "No sooner than I left this place then Ali Kuli Khan broke the conditions of his pardon." Khan-khanan looked mortified, and endeavoured to make excuse.

'Orders were given to Ashraf Khan *Mir Bakshi* to go to Jaunpur, and make prisoner the mother of Ali Kuli Khan, who was in that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jaunpur. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of. . . .The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against Ali Kuli Khan. . . .The forces under the Emperor occupied the bank of the river Sarwar (Saru), and after searching all the jungles they found that Khan Zaman had gone off to the Siwalik hills. News now arrived that Bahadur Khan had gone to Jaunpur, and liberated his mother. He made Ashraf Khan prisoner, and formed the design of making an attack upon the royal camp. Upon learning this the Emperor gave up the chase of Khan Zaman, and turned towards Jaunpur. . . .where he ordered a pleasant site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built ; and the nobles also were to build suitable houses and palaces suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as Ali Kuli Khan and his brother should remain in this world, Jaunpur should be the capital of the State. The royal forces were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them.

'When Ali Kuli heard of this he left the Siwalik hills, whither he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower to Court with a message. Khan-khanan. . . .once more made intercession for Khan Zaman ; and the Emperor in his great kindness, once more pardoned his offences. . . .Then, as required, he expressed contrition for his faults, took an oath of fidelity, and bade his visitors farewell. The Emperor's opponents having repented of their unrighteous deeds, and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the 11th year of the reign, 973 H. (12th March, 1566).

Asaf Khan's Surrender

'The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of Ali Kuli Khan and other rebels, Madhi Kasim Khan, one of the old nobles of the Imperial household, was sent with 3,000 or 4,000 men to Garha to settle the affairs of that country, and to capture Asaf Khan. (During the campaign against Khan Zaman, he had suddenly absconded, being afraid lest he should be called on to render the account of his ill-gotten wealth

from Chauragarh). Before Madhi Kasim Khan arrived, Asaf Khan quitted the fort of Chauragarh, and went off into the jungles. He wrote a letter full of humility and repentance to the Emperor, asking permission to go on pilgrimage. Madhi Kasim Khan on arriving in Garha, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of Asaf Khan, who then wrote letters to Khan Zaman, proposing to go and join him. Khan Zaman wrote in reply, inviting him to come to him. Asaf Khan, deceived by this, went to Jaunpur; but at the very first audience he beheld the arrogance of Khan Zaman, and was sorry that he had come. (Then after some adventure he went to the Emperor, when he was at Lahore in pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and received pardon for his offences.)

Revolt of the Mirzas

'During the stay at Lahore, also, a letter arrived from Agra, from Munim Khan-khanan, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Ulugh Mirza, by name Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and Shah Mirza, who held *jagirs* in the *sarkar* of Sambhal,[1] had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khan-khanan, had marched as far as Delhi to punish them, they had heard of his approach, and had gone off towards Mandu.

Khan Zaman's Final Suppression

'A command was given that Asaf Khan, along with Majnun Khan (who had once previously resisted Khan Zaman), should go to Karra-Manikpur, and provide for the safety of the dependent territories. Intelligence now arrived that Ali Kuli Khan, Bahadur Khan and Sikandar Khan had again broken their engagements and risen in rebellion (and caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of Mirza Muhammad Hakim—*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 359). Hereupon the Emperor placed their *vakil* Mirza Mirak Rizwi in custody of Khan Baki Khan, and leaving the direction of the affairs of the Punjab in the charge of Mir Muhammad Khan and all the Atkas, on the 12th *Ramzan*, 974 H. (22nd March, 1567) he started on his return to Agra.

'Upon arriving at Agra, the Emperor was informed that Khan Zaman was besieging the fort of Shergarh, four *kos* distant from Kanauj. . . . . Nineteen days afterwards, the Emperor left Khan-khanan in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 23rd *Shawwal*, 974 H., marched towards Jaunpur. When he reached the *pargana* of Saket, Ali Kuli Khan decamped to his brother, who was in Manikpur. . . .when he reached the *pargana* of Rai Bareilly, he learnt that the rebels had crossed the river Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Kalpi (*Akbar-Nama* says 'Gwalior'). He then directed his camp to proceed to the fort of Karra, and then marched with all possible speed to the ferry of Manikpur. (There had been heavy rains; the country was flooded and the river much swollen.—*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 366). There he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1,000 to 1,500 men swam the river along with him. Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the enemy. It so happened that Ali Kuli Khan had occupied themselves all that night in wine-drinking and licentiousness, and were heedless of everything else. The warlike demonstrations against them they

1 These Mirzas were Akbar's distant cousins, whose forebears had received favour at the hands of both Babur and Humayun. To everyone of them Akbar gave suitable *jagirs*, and advanced them to the dignity of *amirs*. They were constantly in attendance upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his Jaunpur campaign, they repaired to their *jagirs*, and remained in Sambhal. But when His Majesty went to Lahore, to repress the attempt of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, they broke out in rebellion.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 315-16).

attributed to the daring of Majnun Khan, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.'

'On Sunday, the 1st *Zil-hijja*, the Emperor made his dispositions for action. He himself took command of the centre. Asaf Khan and all the Atkas were on the right ; Majnun Khan and other *amirs* were on the left. . . .The enemy, being now fully aware of the Emperor's advance, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their forces and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor. . . .As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant (Balsunder) and mounted a horse. Then he ordered the elephants to be driven against the lines of Ali Kuli Khan. There was among them an elephant named Hiranand, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Diyana ; but Hiranand gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. Ali Kuli Khan received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged in drawing the arrow out, another arrow struck his horse. The animal became restive, and Ali Kuli Khan also was thrown. An elephant named Narsing now came up, and was about to crush him when Ali Kuli Khan cried out to the driver, "I am a great man ; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him, and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nazar Bahadur, placed Bahadur Khan behind him on a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the *amirs* he was put to death. After a little while, the head of Ali Kuli (Khan Zaman) was also brought. The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for his victory. This battle was fought at the village of Mankarwal, one of the dependencies of Josi Prayag, now known as Illahabad, on the 1st *Zil-hijja*, 974 H.'

'He then proceeded to Benares. Every follower of Ali Kuli Khan who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From Benares he went to Jaunpur, and remained three days in sight of that city. Thence proceeding to the Karra Manikpur fortress he rested there and sent word to Munim Khan. The Khan-khanan, when he came, waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and Government of the *jagirs* of Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan in Jaunpur, Benares, the fort of Chunar and Zamaniya, as far as the ferry of Chausa. He also received the present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season in *Zil-hijja*, 974 H., the Emperor began his homeward march, and in *Muharram*, 975 H., arrived at Agra.'

(H) Conquest of Rajputana

"In September, 1567, Akbar resolved on the most famous and tragically interesting of his martial enterprises, the siege and capture of Chitor, which deserves narration in exceptional detail," observes Smith.[1] The reasons for the undertaking are variously stated : the Rana had given shelter to Baz Bahadur after his flight from Malwa ; he had assisted the rebellious Mirzas ; he had not come forward, like the ruler of Amber (Bihar Mal), to offer his submission or a princess of the blood royal in marriage to the Emperor, etc., etc. But the fact is, as Ishwari Prasad points out, "There could be no Indian Empire without the Rajputs, no

1 *Akbar*, p. 81.

social or political synthesis without their intelligent and active co-operation . . . .The conquest of Mewar was therefore part of a larger enterprise, and the Emperor intended to treat it as a stepping-stone to his further conquest of the whole of Hindustan."[1] "Akbar being determined to become the undisputed master of all Northern India, could not brook the independence of a chief who was 'proud of his steep mountains and strong castles and turned away the head of obedience from the sublime court'."[2] Amber had already come into the Imperial net ; the fall of Chitor was followed by the surrender of Rantambhor, Kalinjar, Jesalmir, Bikanir, and Jodhpur.'

It is well to recollect here also that Rana Sanga, lion in the field of battle, had died about the same time as his vanquisher Babur, in 1530 ; that his successor in vain had called upon Humayun for succour when Chitor was being attacked by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, in 1534 ; and that proud and hoary Chitor had lain prostrate and impotent before the adventurous Afghan, Sher Shah in 1544. "It was the ill fate of Mewar to be cursed with a craven prince (Udai Singh) at the critical moment when India was ruled by the ablest, and perhaps the most ambitious, sovereign who has ever swayed her sceptre. 'Udai Singh', Tod tells us, 'had not one quality of a sovereign ; and wanting martial virtue, the common heritage of his race, he was destitute of all.' The historian of the Rajputs justly exclaims that 'well had it been for Mewar had the poniard fulfilled its intention, and had the annals never recorded the name of Udai Singh in the catalogue of the princes'."[3]

1. The Siege of Chitor

'Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of Ali Kuli Khan and other rebels,' writes Nizam-ud-din, 'he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor.' On his way thither, the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress the Mirzas, who had fled from Sambhal and taken refuge in these parts. 'He, therefore, appointed Shahb-ud-din Ahmad Khan and other *amirs* to *jagirs* in *Mandu*, and charged them with that duty. When the *amirs* reached Ujjain, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mirzas, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarat. . . .So the *amirs* obtained possession of Mandu without opposition.

'When the Emperor marched from Gagrun, Rana Udai Singh left 7,000 or 8,000 men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rajput named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mirza Sharaf-ud-din Hussain, in the fort of Mairtha, as before related. The Rana himself, with all his relatives and dependants, took refuge in the hills and jungles, —and soon built for himself a new capital at Udaipur.

'The fort of Chitor is seated on a hill, which is about one *kos* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three *kos*. It contains plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the ground round the fort was portioned out among the different *amirs*. The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Asaf Khan was sent to Rampur (about 50 miles south-east of Chitor), a prosperous town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood. Husain Kuli Khan was sent with a detachment towards Udaipur and Kombalmir (34 miles north-west of Udaipur), which is one of the chief fortresses in that

1 *A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 363, 364-65.
2 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

country, and is the residence of the Rana. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding no trace of the Rana, he returned to the Imperial camp.'

'When the siege of Chitor had been carried on some time, the Emperor ordered the construction of *sabats*,[1] and the digging of mines. About 5,000 builders and carpenters and stone-masons were collected, and began their work of constructing *sabats* on two sides of the fort. While the *sabat* was in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily although they covered themselves with shields of bullhide. Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time, the *sabat* was completed, and carried close to the fort. The miners also carried their mines to the foot of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together, they filled them with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery fully armed and accoutred, approached the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was affected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *mans* were carried to a distance of three or four *kos* from the walls, and also bodies of men who had been burnt were found. Saiyid Jamal-ud-din and a great number of the Emperor's attendants were slain, and nearly 500 picked soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

'After this disaster the pride and solicitude of the Emperor became still more intent upon the reduction of the fortress. A *sabat* which had been laid down in the battery of Shuja'at Khan was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 25th *Sha'ban* 975 H., the imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mal, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the *sabat*, and he had a musket in his hand. The face of Jai Mal was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died on the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects in one place and burnt them.[2] This proceeding in the language of the infidels of Hind, is

1 "A sabat is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance from the fort, and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*kucha*) is conducted to the fortress. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The *sabat* which was conducted from the royal battery (*morchal-i-badshahi*) was so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and it was so high that an elephant-rider with his spear in his hand could pass under it."—E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 326.

2 Among the heroic incidents that followed the death of Jai Mal was the fall of Patta, a lad of 16 summers ; but he was married, and "lest any 'soft compunctions visiting

called *jauhar*. The royal forces were now massed, and they assaulted the breaches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to defend them, and fought most valiantly. His Majesty, seated on the *sabat*, beheld the exertions of his men with an approving eye. Adil Muhammad Kandahari . . . . and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8,000 Rajputs who were in the place received the reward of their deeds. After noon the slaughter was stayed, and the Emperor returned to his camp, where he remained three days. Asaf Khan was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital on Tuesday, the 25th *Sha'ban*.'[1]

'When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of Chitor, he vowed that if he were successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'in-ud-din Chishti, which is at Ajmir. In performance of this vow, he set off for Ajmir, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th *Ramzan*, he reached Ajmir. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the poor and needy glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital. (He reached Agra in March, 1568).'

2. Rantambhor

'After a stay of some months at Agra, the Emperor resolved to attack the fort of Rantambhor,[2] renowned as one of the strongest and highest fortresses of Hindustan. An order was issued for the assembling of those troops which had not been engaged in the siege of Chitor . . . . When the *amirs* had marched several stages, intelligence reached the Emperor of disturbances created by the Mirzas, who had escaped from Gujarat, and laid siege to the fort of Ujjain, in Malwa. The Emperor then directed that Kalij Khan with the *amirs* and the army that had been sent to Rantambhor, should undertake the repression of the revolt of the Mirzas.'

The two forces united according to the order . . . . The army had now grown very large. When the Mirzas were apprised of its approach, they raised the siege of Ujjain, and went off towards Mandu . . . . All marched together in pursuit of the Mirzas, who fled before them from

for one dearer than herself might dim the lustre of Kailwa,' his mother armed the young bride with a lance, with her descended the rock, and the defenders of Chitor saw her fall, fighting by the side of her Amazonian mother. When their wives and daughters performed such heroic deeds the Rajputs became reckless of life." Patta fell fighting, being crushed to death by an elephant. At the time Akbar saw him 'there was a breath of life in him, but he shortly afterwards died.' Akbar nobly commemorated his appreciation of these heroic sacrifices by erecting in his palace-garden fine statues in honour of Jai Mal and Patta. "One of the facts gratifying to national vanity, which helped to heal the wounds of the Rajput heart," says Smith, "was the erection of fine statues in honour of Jai Mal and Patta, the defenders of Chitor."—*Akbar*, pp. 93-96.

1 'A curious incident in this siege was this : A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stall usually worn by archers, and just at the moment a gun was fired from the fortress and the ball passed within the length of a barley-corn from his thumb and did him no harm.'—Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. (E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 328).

2 (Sans.) *Ranastambhapura* is now in the south-east corner of the Jaipur State, a few miles from the Bundi border, and about 140 miles north-east from Chitor.

Mandu to the banks of the Narbada. They crossed the river in such confusion, that many of their men were drowned . . . . The Mirzas then fled to Gujarat . . . . The remainder of this transaction will be told in its proper place. . . .

'The Emperor marched at the opening of the year (22nd Feb., 1569) towards Rantambhor, and in a short period arrived at the foot of the fort. The place was invested, batteries raised, *sabats* constructed, and several breaches were effected by battering with cannon. Rai Surjan, the commander of the fort, when he observed the progress of the siege, was brought down from the pinnacle of his pride and insolence and he sent out his two sons, Dudh and Bhoj by name, to ask for terms. His Majesty received kindly the two young men, who had came to seek his mercy, and pardoned their transgressions. He sent Husain Kuli Khan, who had received the title of Khan-Jahan into the fort to give assurance to Rai Surjan. He did so and brought the Rai to wait upon the Emperor when he made a frank submission, and was enrolled among the royal servants.'[1]

3. Kalinjar

'This is a strong fortress, and many former Sultans had been ambitious of taking it. Sher Khan Afghan (Sher Shah) besieged it for a year, but was killed in the attempt to take it. During the interregnum of the Afghans, Raja Ram Chandar had purchased the fort at a high price from Bijilli Khan. . . .The renown of the conquest of the forts of Chitor and Rantambhor spread through the world, and the men of the Imperial army who held *jagirs* in the neighbourhood of Kalinjar were constantly forming plans for the capture of that fort, and were anxious to begin the war. Raja Ram Chandar was an experienced and prudent man, and considered himself an adherent of the Imperial throne. He sent by his envoy the keys of the fortress and suitable offerings, with congratulations for the victories achieved, to the Emperor. On the same day the custody of the fortress was given into the charge of Majnun Khan, one of the *jagirdars* of the quarter, and a friendly *farman* was sent to Raja Ram Chandar. The fortress came into the possession of the Emperor in the month of *Safar*, 977 H., in the fourteenth year of his reign.'[1]

4. Jodhpur and Bikanir

'When the Emperor was staying at Nagor, Chander Sen, son of Rai Maldeo, came to pay his allegiance and make his offerings. Raja Kalyan Mal, the Raja of Bikanir, . . . also came with his son, Rai Singh, to wait upon His

1 According to other accounts, Raja Bhagwandas of Amber and Man Singh used their influence to 'make Surjan Hara (Chauhan) faithless to his pledge—"to hold the castle as a fief of Chitor"....The proffered bribe was indeed magnificent—the government of 52 districts, whose revenue were to be appropriated without enquiry, on furnishing the customary contingent, and liberty to name any other terms, which should be solemnly guaranteed by the King.' (Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.)

2 Abul Fazl's rhetorical flourish about the conquest of this fortress is typical of his manner : 'When the report of the capture of Chitor and Rantambhor resounded in the ears of the haughty ones, everyone whose eyes had been in a measure touched by the collirium of understanding saw that there was no remedy except to lay down the heads of presumption on the ground of submission. Raja Ramchand, who possessed some rays of intelligence, heard of the arrival of the holy cortege at the capital and asked for quarter. He made over the fort to the Imperial servants and sent the keys along with splendid presents by confidential agents to the sublime threshold, and offered his congratulations on the recent victories. His wisdom and foresight were approved of, and his agents were received with favour. The government of the fort was made over to Majnun Khan Kakshal. By this felicity of the Shahinshah's fortune, such a fortress, upon whose battlements the eagle of the imagination of former rulers had never lighted, came into the possession of the Imperial servants without the trouble of a battle or contest.' (*Akbar-Nama*, ii, p. 499.)

Majesty, and present his tribute. The loyalty and sincerity of both father and son being manifest, the Emperor married Kalyan Mal's daughter. For fifty days he shed the light of his justice and equity upon the poor people of Nagor. From thence he proceeded to Ajodan, to pay a visit to the tomb of Shaikh Farid-ud-din Masud Ganj-i-Shakar. Rai Kalyan Mal, who was so fat that he could not ride on horseback, now received permission to return to Bikanir ; but his son was ordered to remain in attendance upon His Majesty, in which he received high promotion.'

Results of the Rajput Campaigns

These campaigns by no means completed the reduction of Rajputana. A still more arduous war remained to be waged against the intrepid Rana Pratap, who had 'the courage never to submit or yield.' But there was a respite of about seven years, from August 1569 to July 1576, before the 'sword of Islam' again struck the Hindu with his own hand. Meantime it is worthwhile taking note of some of the outstanding features and results of these early efforts. Whatever might have been Akbar's motives in the conquest, he had stormed and taken Mairtha, "the second city in Marwar" ; Raja Bharmal of Amber had "anticipated the King, enrolled himself and his son Bhagwandas amongst his vassals, given the Chaghatai a daughter to wife and held his country as a fief of the Empire." More had been achieved since. The proud Rana had been driven to seek refuge in the hills ; Chitor had been taken so also Rantambhor and Kalinjar, Jodhpur and Bikanir too had submitted, at least for the time being. Tod characterizes these events with the following observation :

"Akbar was the real founder of the Empire of the Moguls, the first successful conqueror of Rajput independence ; to this his virtues were powerful auxiliaries, as by his skill in the analysis of the mind and its readiest stimulant to action, he was enabled to guild the chains with which he bound them. To these they became familiarized by habit, especially when the throne exerted its power in acts gratifying to national vanity, or even in ministering to more ignoble passions. But generations of the martial races were cut off by his sword, and lustres rolled away ere his conquests were sufficiently confirmed. . . .He was long ranked with Shab-ud-din, Allaudin, and other instruments of destruction, and with every just claim ; like these he constructed a *Mumba* (pulpit) for the *Koran* from the altars of *Eklinga* ; yet he finally succeeded in healing wounds his ambition had inflicted, and received from millions that meed of praise, which no other of his race ever obtained."[1]

Akbar came into contact with three distinct types of Rajputs : (1) those, like Amber, that easily submitted, and were readily assimilated into the Imperial system ; (2) those that put up a decent fight or came to an honourable settlement with the conqueror, like Rantambhor ; and (3) those that refused to be assimilated, and sought refuge either in flight or persistent fight, like the Ranas of Mewar. The first two by their submission showed a spirit of compromise and assimilation which was quite necessary in the building up of a united nation towards which Akbar was bending the whole might of his genius ; the last, by its eternal hatred, unconquerable pride, and courage never to submit or yield, contributed its own quota to the strength and nobility of our national character. The treaty that was drawn up between Akbar and the Haras is noteworthy for its dignified statesmanship :

The *Annals of Bundi* record—'A treaty was drawn up on the spot,

1 Tod, *Rajasthan*, i, p. 338.

and mediated by the Prince of Amber (Jaipur), which presents a good picture of Hindu feeling. They were : (1) that the chiefs of Bundi should be exempted from that custom, degrading to a Rajput, of sending a *dola* (bride) to the royal *harem* ; (2) exemption from the *jiziya* or poll tax ; (3) that the chiefs of Bundi should not be compelled to cross the Attock ; (4) that the vassals of Bundi should be exempted from the obligation of sending female relatives "to hold a stall in the Mina Bazaar" at the palace, on the festival of Nauroz (New Year's Day) ; (5) that they should have the privilege of entering the *Diwan-i-am* or "Hall of Audience" completely armed ; (6) that their sacred edifices should be respected ; (7) that they should never be placed under the command of a Hindu leader ; (8) that their horses should not be branded with the Imperial *dagh* (a flower branded on the forehead) ; (9) that they should be allowed to beat their *nakkaras*, or kettle-drums, in the streets of the capital as far as the Lal Darwaza or "Red Gate" ; (10) that they should not be commanded to make the "prostration" (*sijda*) on entering the presence ; and (11) that Bundi should be to the Haras what Delhi was to the king, who should guarantee them from any change of capital."[1]

But, as noted above, "the most famous and tragically interesting" of Akbar's martial enterprises, viz., the destruction of Chitor which "was sanctified by the memory of eight centuries of heroic deeds and heart-rending tragedies, wounded deeply the Rajput soul. The place became accursed, and to this day no successor of Udai Singh would dare to set foot within the limits of the once sacred stronghold of his ancestors. The 'sin of the slaughter of Chitor' like the 'curse of Cromwell' in Ireland, has become proverbial, and the memory of it is kept alive, or was so kept a hundred years ago, by a curious custom. It is said that Akbar estimated the total of the Rajput dead by collecting and weighing the 'Brahmanical cords' (*janeo* or *zanar*), which it is the privilege and obligation of high caste men to wear. The recorded amount was 74½ *mans* of about eight pounds each. ['To eternize the memory of this disaster the numerals 74½ are *tilak* or accursed. Marked on the banker's letter in Rajasthan, it is the strongest of seals, for "the sin of the slaughter of Chitor" is thereby invoked on all who violate a letter under the safeguard of this mysterious number'.] The watch of the conqueror fell upon what Tod calls the 'symbols of regality' as well as the persons of the vanquished. The gates of the fortress were taken off their hinges and removed to Agra. The *nakkaras*, or huge kettledrums, eight or ten feet in diameter, the reverberations of which had been wont to proclaim 'for miles around the entrance and exit of her princes,' as well as the massive candelabra from the shrine of the 'Great Mother,' who had girt Bappa Rawal with the sword by which Chitor was won, were also taken away. . . .The recreant Rana Udai Singh (who had fled to the Aravallis at Akbar's approach, and founded there his new capital of Udaipur) died at Gogunda in the Aravalli hills four years after the storm of the fortress which he should have defended in person. His valiant successor, Rana Pratap Singh (about whom later) waged a long war with Akbar, and gradually recovered much of Mewar. But Chitor remained desolated."[2]

(I) Conquest of Gujarat

The rich province of Gujarat had been won and lost by Humayun,

1 Cited by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 90-92. Read "*Chitor and Its Sieges*", by R. R. Haladar in *Indian Antiquary*, August, 1930.

and Akbar could therefore put forth some legitimate claim for its reconquest. "The possession of numerous ports and the resulting extensive maritime commerce made Gujarat the richest kingdom in India. Ahmadabad, was justly reputed to be one of the finest cities in the world, while the manufacture of salt, cloth, paper, and other commodities flourished in many localities." The confusion into which Gujarat fell soon after the death of Bahadur Shah has already been hinted at. 'In the Court of the Emperor,' writes Nizam-ud-din, 'conversation continually turned upon the state of affairs in Gujarat, and information was often brought about the oppression and wilfulness of its petty rulers, and about the ruin of its towns and cities.[1] Now that His Majesty's mind was quite set at rest by the suppression of rebels, and the reduction of their lofty forts, he turned his attention to the conquest of Gujarat.'

Akbar marched out from his capital on 4th July, 1572, and 'proceeded, enjoying the chase on his way, to Ajmir'. He also visited the tombs of some of the saints, 'and gladdened the hearts of the *shaikhs* and attendants with his munificent gifts.' Then he sent Mirza Muhammad Khan Atka, 'better known by the title of Khan-i-kalan,' with 10,000 horses in advance. The Emperor himself marched *via* Nagor, Mirath, and Sirohi, and sent one of his officers, to make sure of the territory of Jodhpur, and keep the road to Gujarat open, so that none of the Ranas might be able to inflict any loss. This duty was imposed upon Rai Singh Bikaniri, who was sent with a strong force of Imperial troops. *Farmans* were (also) written to the *amirs* and *jagirdars* of that province, directing them to render Rai Singh every assistance he might require . . . .

'The emperor . . . . arrived in Patan, and rested there for a week.

1. Ahmadabad

The government of the country was conferred upon Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha, a man of courage and resolution, who had numerous friends and allies among the Saiyids of Hindustan. At this halt Raja Man Singh returned, bringing in a large booty, which he had taken from the remnant of the Afghans. The Emperor then marched towards Ahmadabad. Sher Khan Fuladi had been engaged for six months besieging Ahmadabad, which was held by Itimad Khan, ('the slave and prime minister of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati'), when he heard of the Emperor's approach, he took to flight. The Emperor had hardly advanced two stages from Patan, when Sultan Muzaffar, son of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati, whom Itimad Khan had kept continually in confinement, came with a great display of respect to meet the Emperor . . . . The next day, Itimad Khan, the ruler of Ahmadabad . . . . and other *amirs* and chiefs of Gujarat, too numerous to mention, came in to wait upon the Emperor, and to make their offerings. Itimad Khan presented the keys of Ahmadabad, and showed every sign of submission. The officers of the Court were suspicious of evil designs on the part of the *Habshi* (Abyssinian), and brought the matter to the notice of His Majesty, and although he desired to act generously and royally towards them, as a precaution he committed them to the charge of some of his attendants. The Emperor then marched on, and on Friday, 14th *Rajab,* pitched his camp on the banks of the river of Ahmadabad (Sabarmati). The *khutba*

1 "The country was at that time without a settled government being divided into seven warring principalities, over which the nominal King, Muzaffar Shah III, a prince of doubtful legitimacy, exercised little authority. Such a condition of affairs seemed almost to demand the interposition of a power capable of enforcing order. Akbar, in fact, was actually invited by one of the local princelings named Itimad Khan to put an end to the prevailing anarchy." (Smith, *op. cit.* p. 110.)

was read in the name of the Emperor, and all the people of the city and environs came to offer congratulations and thanksgivings.'

2. Cambay

'Ibrahim Husain Mirza and Muhammad Husain Mirza held Broach, Baroda, and Surat in defiance of the Emperor. So he resolved to free the country of Gujarat from their rebellious power. On Monday, 2nd *Sha'ban*, he started from the river of Ahmadabad, and marched towards Cambay. Itimad Khan and other Gujarati *amirs* were, at the request of some of the great officials, allowed to remain behind in Ahmadabad for a few days to arrange their affairs. Seizing this opportunity, Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, one of the chief nobles of Gujarat, fled . . . . from Ahmadabad to Ahmadnagar. As no reliance could be placed on the nobles of Gujarat, Itimad Khan, was given into the custody of Shabaz Khan Kambu. On the 6th the Emperor reached Cambay. He went to look at the sea, and leaving Cambay on the 12th, he reached Baroda on the 14th. After reflecting upon the best means of guarding and governing the country of Gujarat, he appointed Mirza Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash, the *Khan-i-azam*, to be the governor of the country, and especially of its capital Ahmadabad.' Here it is necessary to note that while at Cambay, for the first time, Akbar received a body of Portuguese merchants who came to pay their respects, and thus made his first acquaintance with the Christians, which event was fraught with great consequences in the future.

3. Battle of Sarnal

'After the departure of Azam Khan, the Emperor determined upon attacking the fortress of Surat which was the home and stronghold of the Mirzas. To effect this purpose he sent Saiyid Mahmud Khan Barha, Raja Bhagwan Das, Kunwar Man Singh, and several others to overpower Husain Mirza, who was in Surat. Next day, 17th *Sha'ban*, when one watch of the night was passed, intelligence was brought in that Ibrahim Khan Mirza, having heard at Broach of the Emperor's advance had murdered Rustum Khan Rumi ('who was desirous of returning to his allegiance'—*Akbar-Numa*), and then left the town, intending to pass about eight *kos* distance from the Emperor's camp, and to raise disturbances and rebellion elsewhere.

'Hearing of this the Emperor's wrath was kindled . . . . The remainder of the night and the greater part of the next day, he kept up the pursuit for a long distance. When night came on, he arrived with forty horsemen on the banks of the river Mahindri. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was in the town of Sarnal, on the other side of the river. When they heard this the Emperor's followers endeavoured to conceal themselves . . . . Kunwar Man Singh, at his own solicitation, was placed in command of the advanced guard. Although the whole of his followers did not number more than 100 men, the Emperor without hesitation, determined to attack. They dashed into the river and crossed over . . . . Every man of the Imperial force fought desperately, and killed a great many of the enemy. Bhupat, son of Raja Bihar Mal, a very brave young man, made a charge upon the enemy, and fell. Emboldened by his fall, the enemy renewed his attack. But the royal forces were in a contracted spot, where three horsemen could not pass abreast, as it was hedged in with thorns. The Emperor had, with great courage, gone to the front, and Raja Bhagwan Das had kept with him. Three of the enemy's horsemen now charged them, and one of them attacked the Raja. As his adversary was entangled among the thorns, Raja Bhagwan Das hurled his spear at him, so that he withdrew. The other two assaulted His Majesty, who received them so valiantly that they were obliged to make off.

'The royal forces, seeing the danger in which the Emperor had been placed, were roused to desperation, and made a fierce onslaught upon the enemy. Ibrahim Husain Mirza was disheartened and took to flight .... The Emperor went into the town of Sarnal, and offered thanks for his victory. Every man who served in this engagement received his reward in increased rank and in *jagirs* .... On Wednesday, the 18th *Sha'ban* ...., the Emperor rejoined his camp at Baroda. Next day he conferred a banner and a kettle-drum on Raja Bhagwan Das, who had so greatly distinguished himself in this action.'

4. Surat

'The fortress of Surat is small, but exceedingly strong and secure, and remarkable among fortresses. It is said that a slave of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati, who received the title of Khudawand Khan, built this fortress on the sea-shore (really on the bank of the river Tapti, 20 miles from the sea), in the year 947 H., in order to resist the attacks of the Europeans, for before the fort was built, the Europeans did all kinds of mischief to the Musalmans. When Khudawand was engaged in the erection of the fort, the Europeans several times fitted out ships to attack it but could not succeed in their object .... On the two sides of the fort which faces the land, he formed ditches reaching to the water, which were 20 yards wide, and filled with water; they were built of stone, *chunam*, and burnt bricks. The thickness of the double walls is five yards, and height twenty yards ... It is a remarkable circumstance that each stone is firmly fastened to the next with clamps of iron, having molten lead poured into the interstices. The battlements and embrasures are formed of stone, and are formidable to look at. On the top of the tower there is a *choukhandi* which, in the opinion of Europeans, is an invention of the Portuguese. When the Europeans were unable to prevent the erection of this fortress by force of arms, they offered large sums of money to prevent the raising of this structure. But Khudawand, in contempt of the Europeans, rejected their application and raised the structre...

'When the Emperor returned from Sarnal to Baroda, he renewed his design of conquering Surat .... The Emperor sent Raja Todar Mal to examine and ascertain precisely the inlets and outlets of the fortress. After a week he returned and made his report. His Majesty, relying on the help of the Almighty, left Baroda .... and encamped at a distance of a *kos* from Surat on the 18th *Ramzan*. On the same night he went up and reconnoitred the fort. He distributed the batteries among the *amirs*, and three days afterwards he moved his camp, and pitched his tent so near the fortress that cannon shot and musket balls could reach it.

'The siege was pressed on, and in a short time the way for drawing water was closed. After it had gone on for two months, the besiegers advanced their batteries, so that every way of ingress and egress was closed .... Every hole big enough for a mouse was closed. The miners pushed their mines under the bastions, and made such progress that the capture of the place was a mere matter of today or tomorrow. When the garrison perceived the state of affairs, they were reduced to the greatest alarm and distress. The wretched disloyal Ham-zaban and all the people in the fort sent out Maulana Nizam-ud-din Lari, who was a student and an eloquent man, to sue for quarter .... His Majesty, in his gentleness and humanity, granted the petition .... Lari returned to the fortress with the glad news of quarter having been conceded. A royal order was then issued for Kasim Ali Khan .... to proceed into the fortress with the Maulana, to give assurances to the men of the garrison and to bring them out with him. An order was also given for a party of trustworthy clerks

to be sent in to seize upon all property, live-stock and dead-stock, and take care that nothing was lost. The names of all the people in the place were written down, and the list was presented to the Emperor. . . . .In gratitude for the victory, the Emperor pardoned the common people and inhabitants of the place, but Ham-zaban and some others, who were the instigators of all the strife, were punished and kept in custody. This conquest was effected on the 23rd *Shawwal*, in the year 980 H. (the siege having lasted one month and seventeen days)—26th Feb., 1573.'

5. Patan

'While the Emperor was engaged in the siege of Surat several events occurred. Among them was the journey of Ibrahim Husain Mirza to Hindustan, for the purpose of raising disturbances. After his defeat at Sarnal, Ibrahim fled to the neighbourhood of Patan, where he joined Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza and informed them of his escape, and of the siege of Surat. After consultation it was resolved that Ibrahim should go into Hindustan and create disturbances, while the other two Mirzas laid siege to Patan ; their expectation being that the Emperor, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, would abandon the siege of Surat, and fall back upon Ahmadabad, to repress these two outbreaks. . . .

'They invested Patan. Saiyid Ahmad Khan Barha (the governor) put the fort in order, and shut himself up. He sent an account of the investment to the Emperor, who, on hearing it, issued orders. . . .to repress this rebellious attempt. The nobles accordingly joined Azam Khan and marched to Patan. . . .The Mirzas fell upon the advance and defeated it . . . .When Azam Khan saw the defeat of his right and left, and the fall of Muhammad Bukhari, he resolved to make a bold attempt to retrieve matters, and to dash into the fight. . . .When the enemy's men dispersed in search of plunder, and there remained but a few in array, Azam Khan . . . .formed his ranks and fell upon the enemy's centre. By God's help, victory declared in their favour, and the foe was scattered on every side . . . .Muhammad Husain Mirza fled to the Dakhin. This victory was won on the 18th *Ramzan*, 980 H.'

In March, 1573, 'the Emperor arrived at Ahmadabad and there he entrusted the government of Gujarat to Khan-i-azam (Mirza Koka). On the 10th *Zil-hijja*, the *Id-uz-zuha*, he commenced his journey to the capital. On his way Muzaffar Khan (late King of Gujarat) received the Imperial bounty : The *sarkars* of Sarangpur and Ujjain in Malwa were taken from the Rani and granted to him, with fifty *lacs of tankas* in *jagirs*. . . .At one stage from Ajmir, the Emperor received the communication from Said Khan, the governor of Multan, to inform him of the death of Ibrahim Husain Mirza. . . .On the 12th *Muharram*, 981 H., in the eighteenth year of the reign, the Emperor paid a visit to the tomb of Khwaja Muin-ud-din Chishti, and observed the usual ceremonies, and dispensed his customary gifts. He remained there a week, and every morning and evening paid a visit to the tomb, showing strict attention to all the observances.'

6. Rebellion in Gujarat

When the Emperor returned from Gujarat, there remained no resistance in that country, all the forts were in the hands of his servants, and such of his troops as had not served on the campaigns were sent to strengthen Azam Khan. But he had hardly been six months in his capital, when news of fresh outbreaks came in time after time ; and Azam Khan himself wrote for reinforcements.

'The rebels, having assembled round Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, got possession of Ahmadnagar and the surrounding territory. Muhammad

Husain Mirza left the Dakhin with the intention of attempting the recapture of Surat. Kalji Khan, who was *jagirdar* of the fort, made it secure, and prepared for a siege ; so Husain Mirza gave up the project and made a rapid march upon Cambay. (On his way he got possession of Broach.) Hasan Khan Karkarah, the *Shikkdar*, being unable to make any resistance, fled to Ahmadabad. . . .At length the Mirza was worsted, and fled to join Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk. Azam Khan, who had marched against Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, took a position near Ahmadnagar. He several times attacked him, and fighting went on for several days between Ahmadnagar and Idar with no decisive result. . . .

'Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and the other insurgents, got together a force of 20,000 men—Mughals, Gujaratis, Hubshis, Afghans, and Rajputs—around Ahmadabad. The Raja of Idar also kept up a connexion with them. . . .Khan-i-azam daily sent off despatches to the Emperor, calling for help. The Emperor therefore resolved once more to raise his banner in Gujarat, to clear the country of the rebels, and to uproot their families. . . .In the early morning of Sunday, 24th *Rabi-ul-akhir*, 981 H., the Emperor with his companions and attendants mounted swift she-camels and took their departure. On that day he rode to the town of Toda (about 70 miles W. by S. from Agra) without drawing rein. There he ate what he could get, and rode on. . . .On Tuesday, he reached the tomb of Chisti at Ajmir (140 *kos*, "228 *miles*"—Thornton), where he went through the usual observances and bestowed his gifts upon the poor. . . .

'Although the horsemen under his colours were only 3,000 in number, and the enemy had more than 20,000, he put his trust in God, and in the latter part of the day marched from Bhilsan towards Ahmadabad. A messenger was sent to apprise Khan-i-azam of his approach. He marched all night, and on Tuesday, 3rd *Jumad-al-awwal*, he reached Kari, a town 20 *kos* from Ahmadabad. The scouts now brought in the intelligence that a large force of the enemy had come out of the fort to give battle. Orders were accordingly given to attack them and drive them from the road but not to incur any embarrassment by attacking the fort. This was accomplished in the twinkling of an eye, and those of the enemy who escaped the sword, threw themselves into the fort. . . .Asaf Khan was sent to Khan-i-azam, to inform him of the proximity of the Emperor, and directing him to effect a junction. *Thus, in nine days, the Emperor marched from Fatehpur to the outskirts of Ahmadabad, a feat which it is difficult for the pen to describe.*'

Battle of Ahmadabad

It was now discovered that the enemy, drunk with wine, were asleep on the bed of heedlessness, quite unaware of the approach of the royal army. The feeling ran through the royal ranks that it was unmanly to fall upon an enemy unawares, and that they would wait till he was roused. When the blast of the trumpets was heard, the enemy, amazed and alarmed, rushed to their horses. . . .The Emperor perceived some signs of weakness in the advanced force, so he gave the word, and charged the enemy like a fierce tiger. Another body of the forces came up and took them in the flank . . . . Muhammad Husain Mirza and Shah Mirza struggled manfully, but ill-luck attended them, so they turned and fled. . . .Muhammad Husain Mirza had received a wound, and in his haste to make his escape, he put

his horse at a thorn-hedge, but the animal fell. One of the royal troops threw himself from his horse and made him prisoner. . . .Victory now declared itself on every side, and His Majesty returned triumphant to his couch, which was placed at the edge of the battle-field, and there he offered up his thanks for the victory vouchsafed. (Sept. 2, 1573).

'Gada Ali Badakhshi and a servant of the Khan-i-kalan now brought in the wounded Muhammad Husain Mirza a prisoner, each laying claim to the honour of capturing him. Raja Birbal[1] asked him who made him prisoner, and he replied, "Ingratitude to His Majesty", and he spoke the truth. Both Husain Mirza and Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk were executed. Then the Emperor ordered that a pyramid should be raised of the heads of the rebels who had fallen in the battle, and these were more than 2,000 in number. After this he proceeded into Ahmadabad, and occupied the royal abode which is in the citadel. The men of the city of all ranks waited upon him with their offerings and congratulations. . . .His first act was to see that all those who had rendered good service in this campaign should receive their due reward in advanced rank and increased allowances. Eloquent scribes were employed to write despatches of the victory, and the heads of Muhammad Husain Mirza and Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk were sent to be hung up over the gates of Agra and Fatehpur.'

7. Final Settlement of Gujarat

This sharp action broke the back of the rebellion in Gujarat. Having accomplished this, he appointed Kutub-ud-din Muhammad Khan and Naurang Khan to Broach and Champanir, to uproot the power of Shah Mirza yet remaining to be subdued. Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahram, and several others were sent to Idar, to ravage the country which Rana Udai Singh had abandoned. The government of Patan was again confided to Khan-i-kalan. Khwaja Ghiyas-ud-din Ali Bakshi, who had rendered good service in this campaign, received the title of Asaf Khan (II), and he was appointed *diwan* and *bakshi* of Gujarat. So he remained behind with Khan-i-azam, who was entrusted with the full charge of the province as before. The Emperor left Ahmadabad on Sunday, 16th *Jumad-al-awwal* ; "he was back in Fatehpur-Sikri within forty-three days from the time he had ridden out. Considering the distance travelled, *Akbar's second Gujarat expedition may be described safely as the quickest campaign on record.* The victor, spear in hand, rode proudly into his capital, on Monday, October 5, 1573."[2]

'The revenues of Gujarat had not been paid up satisfactorily,' says Nizam-ud-din ; 'so the Raja (Todar Mal) was sent to ascertain and settle the assets, and draw up an account of them for the royal exchequer.' This capable officer, about whom we shall learn more later, "effected the measurement of the greater part of the lands in the short space of six months. The province, as reorganized, yielded more than five millions of rupees annually to the Emperor's private treasury, after the expenses of the administration had been defrayed. The work so well begun by Raja Todar Mal was continued by another revenue expert, Shihab-ud-din Ahmad Khan, who was viceroy from 1577 to 1583 or 1584. He rearranged

1 His original name was Brahma Das, and he was, according to Badauni, 'a bard who was distinguished above all his compeers for his skill in celebrating the achievements of great men, and he used to make excellent Hindi verses. He was some years in the service of the Emperor, and was admitted among the number of his private attendants, when he received the title of Kab Rai, chief of poets,'..Later, 'the Emperor, having given to Kab Rai the title of Raja Birbal, bestowed upon him the country of Nagarkot.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, p. 356.

2 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

the *sarkars* or administrative districts, so that sixteen were included in the province. The conquest of 1573 was final, although disturbances continued to occur. Gujarat remained under the government of the Imperial viceroys until 1758, when Ahmadabad was definitely taken by the Mahrattas. . . . *Akbar's system of administration may be said to have been definitely planned in 1573 and 1574, immediately after the conquest of Gujarat.*"[1]

(J) Conquest of Bihar and Bengal

Bihar and Bengal had been overrun by the Mughals, but not wholly subdued. Humayun had occupied Gaur, the capital of Bengal, for a short period, but he was immediately driven out by the Afghans. The Surs had established their sovereignty up to the borders of Assam. 'Suleiman Kirani, one of the *amirs* of Salim Shah, and ruler of Bengal and Bihar, who had always in his letters acknowledged himself a vassal of the Imperial throne, died while the Emperor was engaged in his Surat campaign, in the year 981 H.[2] His eldest son Bayazid succeeded, but he was murdered by the *amirs* ('in consequence of his evil conduct'—*Badauni*, ii, p. 173), and the younger son raised to the throne.

'The Emperor was informed that Daud had stepped out of his proper sphere, and assumed the title of King, and through his morose temper had destroyed the fort of Patna, which Khan Zaman built when he was ruler of Jaunpur.[3] A *farman* was immediately sent to Khan-khanan, directing him to chastise Daud and to conquer the country of Bihar.

1. Fall of Patna and Hajipur

'At that time Daud was at Hajipur, and his chief noble, Lodi, who was in open hostility to him, was in the fort of Rohtas, and set up a claim to independence. Khan-khanan Munim Khan marched with the Imperial forces against Patna and Hajipur. Lodi, knowing the destruction of the Afghans to be certain, notwithstanding his hostility towards Daud, made a sort of peace with Khan-khanan. The old friendship and respect which Khan-khanan had for the late Sulciman Kirani led him to agree that, upon the payment of two *lacs* of rupees in money and one *lacs* in stuffs as a tribute, the Imperial forces should be withdrawn. Then having sent Jalal Khan Krori, he entered into a peace with Daud.

'But Daud was a dissolute scamp, and knew nothing of the business of governing. At the instigation of Katlu Khan and Sridhar Hindu Bengali and through his own want of judgment, he seized Lodi, his *Amir-ul-umara* (prime minister), and put him in confinement under the charge of Sridhar Bengali. When in prison, Lodi sent for Katlu and Sridhar, and sent Daud this message : "If you consider my death to be for the welfare of the country, put your mind quickly at ease about it ; but you will be very sorry for it after I am dead. You have never given me any good wishes or advice, but still I am willing to advise you. Act open my counsel, for it will be for your good : after I am killed, fight the Mughals without hesi-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 120-21.

2 The correct year of his death, according to Smith, is 980 H., (1572), as in *Badauni*, ii, 166, not 981 H. (1573) as above. Suleiman's death seems to have been 'much regretted by his subjects, and (he was) highly respected by all his contemporaries.'—*Ibid.*, p. 124.

3 Daud found himself in possession of an immense treasure, 40,000 well-mounted cavalry, 1,40,000 infantry, 20,000 guns of various calibres, 3,600 elephants, and several hundred war-boats—a force which seemed sufficient justification for a contest with Akbar.—*Ibid.*

tation, that you may gain the victory. If you do not do so, the Mughals will attack you, and you will not be able to help yourself. Do not be too sure about the peace with the Mughals, they are only biding their time." But the power of Daud and of all the Afghans was on the wane : it was God's will that they should fall, and that the power of the Emperor should be established over the country of Bengal. So Daud resolved to put Lodi out of the way, and by so doing to establish his authority to his satisfaction. . . .So, in the pride and intoxication of youth, he listened to the words of his sinister counsellors. The doomed victim was put to death, and Daud became the master of his elephants, his treasure and his troops. But he was puffed up with conceit and folly, and took no precautions for combating his enemies, and relying upon that unsatisfactory peace which Lodi had concluded, he banished all care.

'When the death of Lodi was reported to Khan-khanan, he at once set his heart upon the conquest of Bengal and Lakhnauti and marched against Patna and Hajipur. . . .The Emperor, when he heard of this, determined personally to direct the operations. After resting for a few days at Fatehpur, he sent off his camp and elephants by land, under the command of Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, one of his chief *amirs*. He placed Agra in charge of Shahb-ud-din Ahmad Khan Naishapuri, and embarked on board a boat on Sunday, the last day of *Safar*, 982 H. (15th June, 1574). The boats carried all his equipments and establishment, armour, drums, treasure, carpets, kitchen-utensils, stud etc. Two large boats were specially prepared for his own accommodation, in which he embarked with his attendants. The boats required by the *amirs* for themselves and their establishments were in the rear of the royal boats. . . .Everyday he left the boat and went hunting on shore. ("In the evening they cast anchor, and the Emperor engaged in discussion upon science, and poetry, etc.—*Badauni*, ii, p. 176). Every day he was joined by fresh parties of troops. . . .On the 28th he reached Kori, a dependency of Jaunpur, at the confluence of the Gumti and Ganges, and there anchored. Here he was waited upon by Mirza Yusuf Khan, who had brought down the army by land.

'On the 2nd *Rabi-us-sani* he reached a village near Jaunpur. Here a despatch arrived from Khan-khanan, urging him to march on with all speed. So on the 3rd he departed on his campaign against Bengal. On the 4th, the boats fell down the Gumti to the Ganges, and Mirza Yusuf Khan, the commander of the army, waited on His Majesty. It was now arranged that the army should keep within sight of the royal flotilla. . . . Khan-khanan and the other *amirs* advanced two *kos* from Patna to meet the Emperor, who on the 16th reached his destination, and took up his residence in the tents of Khan-khanan. Great rejoicings followed, and rich offerings were made. On the 17th Akbar held a council of war. . . .He thought that the best course to follow was to first reduce the fort of Hajipur (which stood opposite Patna, with the Ganges, about two *kos* in width, flowing between them—*Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 73), which rendered very material assistance to the garrison of Patna. The Khans greatly applauded this scheme. . . .Victory now declared in favour of the Emperor. Fath Khan Barha, commander of Hajipur, and many Afghans were slain, and the place fell into the hands of the Mughals. The head of Fath Khan Barha, and the heads of the other Afghans were thrown into boats, and sent to Daud, that he might see with his own eyes, what had befallen his officers, and might be led to reflect upon his own position. When Daud's eyes fell upon these heads, he was plunged into dismay, and set his mind upon flight. . . . Sridhar Bengali, who was Daud's great supporter, and to whom he had

given the title of Raja Bikramjit, placed his valuables and treasure in a boat and followed him. . . .

'Late at night, when the flight of Daud was reported, the Emperor gave thanks to heaven, and as soon as it was light, Khan-khanan having assured himself of the fact, the royal forces entered the city with great display. Fifty-six elephants, which the enemy had been unable to carry off, were found in the city and paraded before His Majesty. The date of the fall of Patna, which was indeed the conquest of Bengal, is found in this line, "*Mulk-i-Suleiman zi Daud raft.*" (983 H.)'

Smith here reflects, "The capture of so great a city in the middle of the rainy season was an almost unprecedented achievement and a painful surprise to the Bengal prince. He had reckoned on Akbar following the good old Indian custom of waiting until the *Dasara* festival in October to begin a campaign. But Akbar resembled his prototype, Alexander of Macedon, in his complete disregard of adverse weather conditions, and so was able to win victories in defiance of the *Shastras* and the seasons."[1]

2. Garhi and Tanda captured

'The Emperor remained in the city till four hours of the day had passed, and having made a proclamation of amnesty to the inhabitants, he left Khan-khanan in command of the army, while he himself dashed off in pursuit of Gujar Khan (Daud's minister). . . . . .When he reached the Punpun (river near Patna), he swam over on horseback, and the *amirs* and soldiers followed his example. . . .Then he gave orders for every man and officer to press on with all his might in the pursuit of the enemy, and he himself spurred forward. . . .The Emperer stayed at Daryapur six days. He appointed Khan-khanan to the government of Bengal, and left him an additional force of 20,000 horses. He increased his military allowance 25 or 30 per cent, he gave him all the boats which he had brought down from Agra, and invested him with full power and authority. Then he raised the standard of return, and dismissed Khan-khanan and other *amirs*. . . . . .

'The Emperor remained at Jaunpur thirty-three days, devoting his time to making arrangements for the army and the government of the country. He placed Jaunpur, Benares, the fort of Chunar, and sundry other *mahals* and *parganas* directly under the royal exchequer, and he gave the management of them to Mirza Rizwi and Shaikh Ibrahim Sikr.

'When Daud fled from Patna, he went to Garhi. Leaving some trusty men there, he proceeded to the town of Tanda. He made such efforts to strengthen the fort of Garhi that in his vain idea it was impregnable. Khan-khanan marched against Tanda, and arrived near Garhi. (He had already made himself master of Surajgarh, Mongir, and Bhagalpur. —*Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 84). As soon as the eyes of the terrified Afghans fell upon his army, they fled and abandoned the fort, so that he obtained possession of Garhi without striking a blow. This intellegence greatly pleased the Emperor, and he sent letters of commendation to Khan-khanan and the other *amirs*. Continuing his journey, and hunting as he went, he arrived, on the 8th *Jumad-as-sani*, at the town of Iskandarpur, where he received the intelligence of the fall of Tanda. After taking possession of the fort of Garhi, the Imperial forces marched on towards Tanda, which is the capital of the kingdom of Bengal. Khan-khanan's explorers at first reported that Daud intended to make a stand there and

1 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

had made his dispositions. Khan-khanan thereupon summoned his *amirs*, and took every precaution for the security of his army. Next day he marshalled his forces and advanced upon Tanda. When Daud's spies carried him the intelligence of Khan-khanan's advance, he and his associates thought of the black night of Patna, and fled in dismay, abandoning the town. Thus, on the 4th *Jumad-as-sani*, the capital of Tanda was won for the Emperor without fighting, and a proclamation of protection was issued to the people. . . . .The Emperor arrived at Fatehpur on the last day of *Ramzan* (January 18, 1575—after seven months of strenuous travelling and campaigning.)'

3. Daud's Defeat at Tukaroi

'After the conquest of Tanda and the flight of Daud, Khan-khanan sent Raja Todar Mal with some other *amirs* towards Orissa, in pursuit of Daud. . . .Raja Todar Mal reached Madaran (in the Hugli District, between Burdwan and Midnapur), was informed by his scouts that Daud was engaged collecting men in Din-kasari, and that his forces were daily increasing.' Todar Mal informed Khan-khanan of this and got reinforcement. 'Upon their arrival all the chiefs concurred in the expediency of marching to Gowalpara, ten *kos* from Din-kasari, with all speed. When Daud heard this, he did not fly, but stood his ground at Darpur. . . . . Raja Todar Mal halted and sent swift messengers to inform Khan-khanan of the position of affairs, Khan-khanan then left Tanda to march against Daud, and he formed a junction with Raja Todar Mal. Daud had organized his army and now advanced to meet him. The Afghans entrenched their camp, on the 20th *Zil-kada*, 982 H., the armies met (3rd March, 1575) at Tukaroi, now in the Balasore District (between Midnapur and Jalesar). After the array was formed, the Afghans advanced rapidly and boldly to the attack, Khan-khanan ordered fire to open upon them from the swivels (*zarbzan*) and light guns (*zanburak*) which were mounted on *rabas* in front of his line. The fire of the guns drove back the elephants which were placed in front of the Afghan attack, and the musketry mowed down the Afghans who were in the advance. . . . . .An arrow struck Gujar Khan (Daud's general) and brought him down. When the Afghans saw their leader fall, they turned their backs and fled : but many of them were cut down in the flight. Raja Todar Mal and others who were upon the right now charged the left of the enemy. Shaham Khan and others, who were on the left, also attacked their opponents on the right, defeated them, and drove them back upon Daud. His elephants, being worried by the arrows, turned round upon the body of the army, and the stone of dismay was cast among them. . . .the death of Gujar Khan came to the knowledge of Daud. This shook his resolution, and he turned and fled. Immense booty fell into the hands of the victors, and Khan-khanan encamped victorious on the battle-field. He remained there a few days, and sent a report of the victory to the Emperor. All the prisoners taken were put to the sword.'

4. Peace with Daud

Daud fled to Cuttack, in Orissa, but was pursued by Raja Todar Mal and others. Daud had suffered several defeats in succession, and Gujar Khan, his mainstay and support, was slain. Death stared him in the face ; so, in his despair and misery, he sent a messenger to Khan-khanan with this message : "The striving to crush a party of Musalmans is no noble work. I am ready to submit and become a subject ; but I beg that a corner of this wide country of Bengal, sufficient for my support, may be assigned to me. If this is granted, I will rest content, and never after rebel." The *amirs* communi-

cated this to Khan-khanan, and after considerable discussion, it was determined to accept the proposal, upon the condition that Daud himself should come out to meet Khan-khanan, and confirm the agreement by solemn binding oaths. (Raja Todar Mal, who well understood the position of affairs, though he wrung his hands and stamped his feet, to prevent the armistice, met with no support. He refused to take any part in the settlement.—*Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 108).

Daud protested that he would never take any course hostile to the Imperial throne and he confirmed his promise by the most stringent oaths. The treaty of peace was drawn up, and then Khan-khanan brought a sword with a jewelled belt of great value out of his stores, and presenting it to Daud, said, "You have now become a subject of the Imperial throne, and have promised to give it your support. I have, therefore, requested that the country of Orissa may be settled upon you for your support, and I feel assured that His Majesty will confirm my proposition—granting this to you. I now gird you afresh with this warlike sword." Then he bound on the sword with his own hands; and showing him every courtesy, and making him a great variety of gifts, he dismissed him. The Court then broke up, and Khan-khanan started on his return. On the 10th *Safar*, 983 H., he sent a report of his arrangements to the Emperor, who was greatly delighted and satisfied with the conquest of Bengal. Splendid robes and jewelled swords, and a horse with a golden saddle, were sent to Khan-khanan, and all the arrangements he had made were confirmed.

5. Final Defeat and Death of Daud

'When Khan-khanan, with his mind at ease about Daud, returned to Tanda, the capital of the country, under the influence of his destiny, he took a dislike to Tanda, and crossing the Ganges, he founded a home for himself at the fortress of Gaur which in old times had been the capital of Bengal, and he ordered that all soldiers and *raiyats* should remove from Tanda to Gaur.'

'In the height of the rains the people were involved in the trouble of expatriation. The air of Gaur is extremely unhealthy, and in former times, the many diseases which distressed its inhabitants induced the rulers to abandon the place, and raise the town of Tanda. Sickness of many kinds now broke out among the people, and every day numbers of men departed from Gaur to the grave (*az Gaur ba gor*), and bade fare-well to relatives and friends. By degrees the pestilence reached such a pitch that men were unable to bury the dead, and cast the corpses into the river. Everyday deaths of many *amirs* and officers were reported to Khan-khanan, but he took no warning, and made no resolution to change his residence. He was so great a man that no one had the courage to remove the cotton of heedlessness from his ears, and bring him to a sense of the actual position. His own health became affected, and he grew worse, and at the end of ten days in the month of *Safar*, 983 H., he departed this life. His nobles and officers, who had so often met to congratulate him, now assembled to lament him. They placed Shaham Khan in command, and made report of the facts to the Emperor. Khan-khanan had no son, so all his property escheated to the royal exchequer, and an account of it was made out. When the despatch reached His Majesty, he appointed Khan-jahan, who had been supreme governor of the Punjab, to be governor of Bengal. He raised him to the dignity of *Amir-ul-umara*, commended the *raiyats* and the people to his care,

bestowed upon him gifts of embroidered coats, jewelled swords, and a richly caparisoned horse, and dismissed him to his government.'

'While the Emperor was encamped at Ajmir, the intelligence was brought to him that Daud Afghan had flung away the treaty which he had made with Khan-khanan, had risen against the royal authority, and had marched against Tanda. The Imperial forces in that quarter, having no chief among them on whom they could rely, had abandoned the country, and retired to Hajipur and Patna. All this commotion had arisen because Khan-jahan had taken time in going there, in consequence of his army being at Lahore. . . .The Khan took the field, and advanced into Bengal. He had an action with 3,000 men whom Daud had left in charge of Garhi, and took the place. Nearly 1,500 of the enemy were slain, and many chiefs were made prisoners.'

On July 22, 1576, when Akbar was at Fatehpur, 'messengers arrived with the intelligence that Khan-jahan, after the capture of Garhi, had advanced to the vicinity of Tanda. There he found that Daud had evacuated Tanda, and had taken up a position in the village of Ak. On one side was a river, on the other a mountain, and he had thrown up entrenchments to secure his position. Khan-jahan marched against him, and sharp fighting followed. One day Khwaja Abdulla, one of the imperial officers, advanced from his battery to the edge of the Afghan entrenchment. The enemy sallied forth and attacked him, and he fell, fighting bravely. On hearing of his fall the Emperor's anger was roused, and he sent an order to Muzaffar Khan, the governor of Patna and Bihar, to assemble all the troops in his province, and march to the assistance of Khan-jahan. . . .He sent by *dak-chauki* five *lacs* of rupees towards defraying the expenses of the army. Orders were given for the despatch of boats laden with grain from Agra, for the use of the army. . . . The Emperor himself set off from Fatehpur, but at five *kos* distance he made a halt, and issued orders for the assembling of troops, and for the preparation of boats and artillery. Here he was waited upon by Abdulla Khan whom he had sent as a messenger to Khan-jahan, and who now returned to cast the head of Daud at the foot of the Emperor's throne, Rejoiced at the victory he returned to the capital.'

The *Tarikh-i-Daudi* closes with the following observations : *'Daud* Shah Kirani was brought in a prisoner, his horse having fallen with him. Khan-jahan, seeing Daud in this condition, asked him if he called himself a Musalman, and why he had broken the oaths which he had taken on the *Kuran* and before God. Daud answered that he had made the peace with Munim Khan personally ; and that if he had now gained the victory, he would have been ready to renew it. Khan-jahan ordered them to relieve his body from the weight of his head, which he sent to Akbar the King. . . *From that period the dominion of Hindustan departed from the tribe of Afghans, and their dynasty was extinguished for ever, in lieu of which arose the star of Akbar Shah's supremacy over the whole country.*' "The independent kingdom of Bengal, which had lasted for about two hundred and thirty-six years (1340-1576)," writes Smith, "perished along with Daud, 'the dissolute scamp, who knew nothing of the business of governing'."[1]

1 *Ibid.*, p. 146. "Bengal chiefs' struggle for independence in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir," by N.K. Bhattasali, in *Bengal, Past and Present* ; "*Mughal Pathan conflict in Bengal*" by Sir J. N. Sarkar, in Jan. to Mar., 1928 ; and *Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, XLII, 1-2, 1935.

(K) Rana Pratap's Glorious Resistance (1572-97)

We have noted already how Akbar's conquest of Rajputana was almost complete but for the flight of Rana Udai Singh of Mewar, who sought refuge in the Aravallis where he founded his new capital of Udaipur. "Four years had Udai Singh survived the loss of Chitor," writes Tod, "when he expired at Gogunda, at the early age of forty-two, yet far too long for his country's honour and welfare."[1] "Pratap succeeded to the titles and renown of an illustrious house, but without a capital, without resources, his kindred and clan dispirited by reverses ; yet possessed of the noble spirit of his race, he meditated the recovery of Chitor, the vindication of the honour of his house, and the restoration of its power. Elevated with this design, he hurried into conflict with his powerful antagonist (Akbar), nor stooped to calculate the means which were opposed to him[2]. . . .The wily Mughal arrayed against Pratap his kindred in faith as well as blood. The princes of Marwar, Amber, Bikanir, and even Bundi, late his firm ally, took part with Akbar and upheld despotism. Nay, even his own brother Sagorji deserted him, and received as the price of his treachery, the ancient capital of his race, and the title which that possession conferred.

"But the magnitude of the peril confirmed the fortitude of Pratap, who vowed, in the words of the bard, "to make his mother's milk resplendent' ; and he amply redeemed his pledge. Single-handed, for a quarter of a century did he withstand the combined efforts of the Empire ; at one time carrying destruction into the plains, at another flying from rock to rock, feeding his family from the fruits of his native hills, and rearing the nursling heir Amar (his son), amidst savage beasts and scarce less savage men, a fit heir to his prowess and revenge. The bare idea that 'the son of Bappa Rawal should bow the head to mortal man,' was insupportable : and he spurned every averture which had submission for its basis, or the degradation of uniting his family by marriage with the Tartar, though lord of countless multitudes.

"The brilliant acts he achieved during that period (1572-97) live in every valley ; they are enshrined in the heart of every true Rajput, and many are recorded in the annals of the conquerors.[3] To recount them all, or relate the hardships he sustained, would be to pen what they would pronounce a romance which had not traversed the country where tradition is yet eloquent with his exploits, or conversed with the descendants of his chiefs, who cherish a recollection of the deeds of their forefathers, and melt, as they recite them, into manly tears. . . . . .To commemorate the desolation of Chitor, which the bardic historian represents as a 'widow despoiled of the ornaments of her loveliness', Pratap interdicted to himself and his successors every article of luxury and pomp until

1 Tod, *op. cit.*, i., p. 343.

2 "The empire of Akbar during the last quarter of the 16th century," says Smith, "was the most powerful in the world, and its sovereign was immeasurably the richest monarch on the face of the earth....Even in 1576 the amount of his hoarded riches must have been stupendous, and none but the bravest of the brave could have dared to match the chivalry of poverty-stricken Mewar against the glittering host of rich Hindustan."—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

3 *Cf.* Smith : "The historians of Akbar, dazzled by the commanding talents and unlimited means which enabled him to gratify his soaring ambition, seldom had a word of sympathy to spare for gallant foes whose misery made his triumph possible. Yet they too, men and women, are worthy of remembrance. *The vanquished, it may be, were greater than the victor.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 254.

the insignia of her glory should be redeemed[1]. . . . . .with the aid of some chiefs of judgment and experience, Pratap remodelled his government, adapting it to exigencies of the times and to his slender resources. New grants were issued, with regulations defining the service required. Kombalmir (or Kumbhalgarh, situated on a mountain, near the western border of Mewar, about 40 miles to the north of Udaipur city), now the seat of government, was strengthened as well as Gogunda and other mountain fortresses ; and being unable to keep the field in the plains of Mewar, he followed the system of his ancestors. and commanded his subjects, on pain of death, to retire into the mountains. During the protracted contest, the fertile tracts watered by the Bunas and the Beris, from the Aravalli chain west, to the eastern tableland, was *'be chiragh'*, without a lamp. . . ."

Battle of Haldighat or Gogunda

Nizam-ud-din, whose account we have mostly followed for other events of Akbar's reign, gives only a very brief description of this glorious fight for independence : 'Rana Kika (as he calls Rana Pratap) was chief among the Rajas of Hindustan. After the conquest of Chitor, he built a town called Kokanda (Gogunda), with fine houses and gardens, in the mountains of Hinduwara. There he passed his days in rebellion. When Kunwar Man Singh drew near to Kokanda, Rana Kika called all the Rajas of Hindustan to his aid, and came out of Ghati Haldeo (Haldighat) with a strong force to oppose his assailant. Kunwar Man Singh, in agreement with his *amirs*, put his troops in array and marched to the battle-field. Some desperate charges were made on both sides, and the battle waged for a watch with great slaughter. The Rajputs in both armies fought fiercely in emulation of each other.[2] Nearly 150 horsemen of the royal army were killed, and more than 500 Rajputs of the enemy's army were sent to perdition. The enemy lost Rameshwar Gwaliari and his son, and the son of Jai Mal. On that day Rana Kika fought obstinately till he received wounds from an arrow and from a spear ; he then turned to save his life, and left the field of battle. The Imperial forces pursued the Rajputs, and killed numbers of them. Kunwar Man Singh wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. Next day he went through the pass of Haldeo, and entered Kokanda. He took up his abode in the house of Rana Kika, and again returned thanks to the Almighty. Rana Kika fled into the hills for refuge. The Emperor rewarded Kunwar Man Singh and his *amirs* with robes and horses.'[3]

1 "The gold and silver dishes were laid aside for *patra* or leaves, their beds henceforth of straw, and their beards left untouched. But in order distinctly to mark their fallen fortune and stimulate to its recovery, he commanded that the martial *nakkaras* which always sounded in the van of battle or processions, should follow in the rear. This last sign of the depression of Mewar still survives ; the beard is yet untouched by the shears ; and even in the subterfuge by which the patriot king's behest is set aside, we have a tribute to his memory ; for though his descendant eats off gold and silver and sleeps upon a bed, he places the leaves beneath the one and straws under the other."—Tod, *op. cit.*, i, p. 347.

2 The historian Badayuni has enthusiastically joined this campaign, because, as he put it, "I have a presumption to desire to dye these black mustachios and beard in blood through loyalty to your Majesty's person." He said to Asaf Khan, the chief under whom he fought, "How are we in these circumstances, since there are Rajputs on either side, to distinguish between friendly and hostile Rajputs ?" He answered, "On whichever side these may be killed, it will be a gain to Islam." He records with great satisfaction : "My hand prospered in the matter, and I attained the reward due to one who fights against infidels...." and that day through the generalship of Man Singh, the meaning of this line of Mulla Shir became known : *"A Hindu strikes, but the sword is Islam's."*

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 398-99.

"On the 7th of *Sawun*, V.S. 1632 (July, 1576 A.D.), a day ever memorable in her annals, the best blood of Mewar irrigated the pass of Haldighat." Pratap retired to the remote fastness of Chaund, and his strong fortresses fell one by one into the enemy's hands. "But later he recovered all Mewar, excepting Chitor, Ajmir, and Mandalgarh. During the latter years of his life he was left in peace, owing to the inability of Akbar to continue an active campaign in Rajputana, while necessity compelled him to reside for thirteen years in the Punjab. In 1597, Pratap died, worn out in body and mind. His chiefs pledged themselves to see that his son Amar Singh should not forget his duty."[1]

"The last moments of Pratap," writes Tod, "were an appropriate commentary on his life, which he terminated, like the Carthagenian, swearing his successor to eternal conflict against the foes of his country's independence. . . .*Thus, closed the life of a Rajput whose memory is even now idolized by every Sisodia, and will continue to be so, till renewed oppression shall extinguish the remaining sparks of patriotic feeling. May that day never arrive ! yet if such be her destiny, may it, at least, not be hastened by the arms of Britain.*" He also adds, "There is not a pass in the alpine Aravalli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratap—some brilliant victory, or oftener, more glorious defeat. Haldighat is the Thermopylae of Mewar ; the field of Deweir her Marathon."[2]

The end of the struggle with the Rajputs is thus briefly described by Dr. Ishwari Prasad : "Rana Pratap was succeeded by his son Amar Singh in 1597. He reorganized the institutions of the state, made a fresh assessment of the lands, and regulated the conditions of military service. The Mughals took the offensive again, and in 1599, Akbar sent Prince Salim and Raja Man Singh to invade Mewar. The Prince frittered away his time in the pursuit of pleasure at Ajmer, but the valiant Raja aided by other officers did a great deal. Amar led the attack, but he was defeated, and his country was devastated by the imperialists. The campaign came to an end abruptly, when Raja Man Singh was called away by the Emperor in order to quell the revolt of Usman Khan in Bengal. Akbar contemplated another invasion of Mewar, but his illness prevented him from putting his plan into execution."[3]

(L) The Crisis of 1581

"The year 1581," observes Smith, "may be regarded as the most critical time in the reign of Akbar, if his early struggles to consolidate his powers be not taken into account."[4] When the year began he was undisputed master of all the fortresses in northern India, and had extended his dominion east and west from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal, and southwards as far as Tapti river. But he was faced with rebellions on all sides, which had arisen from complex causes. In addition to the unquenchable discontent among the Afghans whose power he had supplanted, Akbar's religious and other reforms, which we shall notice later, had created a great ferment among the more conservative sections of his subjects. At the same time, Akbar's restless brother, Muhammad Hakim, was ever watchful for an opportunity to fish in troubled waters. At this time rebellions arose, almost simultaneously, in Bengal, Bihar, Gujarat, and in the north-west. We shall notice these one by one.

1 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
2 Tod, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 345-63.
3 *A History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 380.
4 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

1. Bengal and Bihar

We have noted already that, after the death of Munim Khan, Khan-jahan was appointed governor of Bengal. He too died in December, 1578, and was succeeded by Muzaffar Khan Turbati, in March, 1579. Nizam-ud-din records, 'Muzaffar Khan, on arriving in Bengal, set about arranging the affairs of that province. But his prosperity was on the wane, and his day was gone by. He was harsh in his measures, he offended men with his words, he deprived many *amirs* of their *jagirs*, he demanded the *dagh* (brand-tax), and brought old practices up again.

'Baba Khan Kakshal, although he was conciliatory, and begged that his *jagir* might be left undisturbed, was called upon for the *dagh*, and received no attention. The *pargana* of Jalesar, which was the *jagir* of Khaldi Khan, was taken away from him at the beginning of the spring harvest, and was added as *tankhwah* to the *jagir* of Shah Jamal-ud-din Husain. A sum of money due from the spring harvest had been received by Khaldi Khan, and to recover this Muzaffar Khan put him in prison, and ordered him to be scourged and bastinadoed.

'At this time a *farman* arrived from the Imperial Court, directing Muzaffar Khan to apprehend and put to death a servant of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, named Roshan Beg, who had left Kabul and gone into Bengal, and to send his head to Court. This Roshan Beg was among the Kakshals, and Muzaffar Khan issued an order for his execution. He also spake some harsh words about Baba Khan Kakshal. The soldiers who were present, and especially Baba Khan and the Kakshals, trembled together and resolved upon mutiny. They shaved their heads, put on their high caps, and broke out into revolt. Crossing the river, they went to the city of Gaur, celebrated in old times under the name of Lakhnauti. There they collected men, and having found property of Muzaffar Khan in several places, they took it or destroyed it. Muzaffar Khan collected boats, and sent Hakim Abul Fath and Patar Das (the former a drunkard, and the latter a Hindu clerk), with an army against them on the banks of the river.

'When the disaffection of the Kakshals was reported to the Emperor, he sent a *farman* to Muzaffar Khan, in which he said that the Kakshals had long been servants of the throne, and it was not right to hurt them ; and they were therefore to be conciliated and encouraged with hopes of the Emperor's favour, and the matter of their *jagirs* was to be settled. The *farman* arrived at the time when Muzaffar Khan was in face of the insurgents.

'Upon the arrival of the *farman*, Baba Khan and the other rebels made a show of submission, and sent a message to Muzaffar Khan, asking him to send Rizwi Khan and Patar Das to arrange terms with them. . . . But, when they arrived, Baba Khan put them in confinement and so stirred the fire of warfare.

'Coincident with this, it so happened that Mulla Tayib and Rai Purshottam *Bakshi*, and the revenue officials of Bihar, also entered upon harsh dealings. They took away the *jagirs* of Muhammad Masum Kabuli, Arab Bahadur, and all the *amirs*, and so laid the foundation of an evil system. Masum Kabuli and the others resolved to rebel and kill Mulla Tayib and Rai Purshottam. Having put them to flight, they plundered their dwellings. After a few days, Purshottam rallied some royal subjects, and crossed the river Jausa with the intention of attacking the rebels. But the rebel Arab Bahadur anticipated him, took him unawares, and killed him.

'Upon the intelligence of Masum's rebellion reaching Baba Khan, a correspondence was opened between them, and when the Kakshals confronted Muzaffar Khan, Masum marched to assist them, and arrived at Garhi. . . .and the revolt gathered strength. The Kakshals then crossed the river, and advanced against Muzaffar Khan. . . .Muzaffar Khan then took shelter in the fort of Tanda, which was nothing better than four walls. The rebels occupied the town of Tanda. They took Hakim Abul Fath, Khwaja Shams-ud-din and others prisoners, and began to pillage . . . .The rebels made themselves masters of the fort of Tanda, brought Muzaffar Khan out of his house upon a solemn assurance of safety and put him to death. They took possession of his property and effects, and all the country of Bengal and Bihar fell into their hands. Nearly 30,000 horsemen assembled round the rebels. The Emperor sometime before this had taken Mirza Sharaf-ud-din Husain out of prison, and sent him to Bengal to Muzaffar Khan (to be kept in custody). The rebels now released him from confinement, and placed him at their head. So the revolt increased.

'Upon the facts being communicated to the Emperor, he sent Raja Todar Mal. . . .and other *amirs* to repress it. *Farmans* were sent to Muhammad Masum Farankhudi, governor of Jaunpur, and. . .the *Jagirdars* of that country, directing them to place themselves under the command of Todar Mal, and render every assistance to quash the rebellion.

'But Muhammad Masum was a weak-minded man, his dignity and the strength of his arm had turned his brain, and he began to show many little actions savouring of disaffection, and to utter expressions indicative of disloyalty. Raja Todar Mal, like a prudent and experienced man, temporized with him, and did all he could to reassure and conciliate him.'

> 'When the Imperial army reached Mongir, the Kakshals, and Mirza Sharaf-ud-din Husain with 30,000 horses, and 500 elephants, and with war boats and artillery, in battle array, advanced to meet the Imperial army. Raja Todar Mal had no confidence in the cohesion of the adventurers composing the enemy's army, and deeming it inexpedient to fight, he occupied the fort of Mongir, and throwing up other fortifications around it, he kept that position. Everyday combats occurred between the men of the outposts. When these proceedings were reported to the Emperor, he sent a large sum of money for the expenditure of the army. . . .For four months the royal forces and the insurgents faced each other, but at length some loyal *zamindars* of the vicinity cut off the supplies from the insurgents, and great scarcity prevailed among them. Baba Khan Kakshal fell sick and died. . . .Masum, not being able to maintain his ground withdrew to Bihar. Arab Bahadur made rapid march to Patna, seized upon the city, and appropriated the treasure, but he was soon put to flight. . . .Todar Mal and the other *amirs* marched to Bihar, ...and the Emperor's good fortune aided them, and Masum ran away to Bengal in sorry plight. Now Garhi fell into the hands of the royal troops.'

After this, though fighting continued for a considerable length of time in the eastern provinces, the back of the rebellion was broken. and Bengal and Bihar were restored to Imperial allegiance.

Akbar appointed his foster-brother, Mirza Aziz Kokah, governor of Bengal, under the title of *Khan-i-azam*, and entrusted him with the task of further pacifying the eastern provinces. In order to conciliate the rebels, Shah Mansur, the Diwan or Finance Minister, who had been responsible

for drastic measures (like cutting down the allowances of soldiers by 50 and 20 per cent) was temporarily removed from office. "Mulla Muhammad Yazdi, the Kazi of Jaunpur, who had dared to give the ruling, that rebellion (against an innovating ruler) was lawful, was sent for, along with his colleague, the Kazi of Bengal. Their boat 'foundered' in the river, and sundry other Mullas suspected of disaffection were 'sent to the closet of annihilation', by one way or another. (Badauni, ii, p. 285.). . . .Akbar exhibited his usual politic clemency in favour of several of the prominent rebel leaders, who sometimes abused his leniency and renewed their disloyal conduct."[1]

2. Mirza Hakim's Rebellion

Akbar did not personally undertake the subjugation of the eastern rebels, because there was a more serious danger threatening from the north-west. His brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, was once more preparing for an invasion in collusion with the Bengal insurgents. "A successful invasion from Kabul," as Smith points out, "resulting in the occupation of Delhi and Agra, with its enormous store of treasure, would have meant the destruction of the empire which Akbar had built up with so much labour and skill. But if that invasion should fail, the rising in the east might be safely regarded as a mere provincial trouble to be adjusted sooner or later by the imperial officers. Events proved the soundness of Akbar's judgment. The invasion from the north-west was repelled, and the eastern insurrections were suppressed in due course."[2]

Nizam-ud-din's account of this north-western campaign is as follows:

'In the beginning of this year (989 H., or 1581 A.D.) intelligence arrived that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, allured by the inducements held out in letters sent to him by Masum Kabuli and Masum Farankhudi, and urged on by his maternal uncle Faridun, had set out from Kabul with the object of conquering Hindustan. He sent his servant Shadman over the Indus (in advance), but Kunwar Man Singh, son of Raja Bhagwan Das, attacked him and killed him. On hearing of this the Mirza crossed the river, and encamped in the *pargana* of Saiyidpur. The Emperor assembled his forces, and having advanced to all the soldiers eight months' pay out of the treasury, he marched towards the Punjab.

'When Kunwar Man Singh defeated Shadman, he obtained from Shadman's portfolio three letters from Mirza Muhammad Hakim, one to Hakim-ul-Mulk, one to Khwaja Shah Mansur (Akbar's trusted *Diwan*) and one to Muhammad Kasim Khan Mir-bahr ; all in answer to letters of invitation and encouragement. Kunwar Man Singh sent these letters to the Emperor, who ascertained the contents, but kept the fact concealed.

'After the Emperor marched from Delhi, Mirza Muhammad Hakim advanced to Lahore, and encamped in the garden of Mahdi Kasim Khan. Kunwar Man Singh, Said Khan, and Raja Bhagwan Das had gone into the fortress, On the Emperor's reaching Panipat, Malik Sani Kabul, *diwan* of Mirza Hakim, deserted the Mirza and came to the Imperial camp. He alighted at the tent of Khwaja Shah Mansur. . . .The Emperor was already suspicious of Mansur, and his doubts were now confirmed. So he dismissed Mansur, and showed

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 187-88.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87.

him the Mirza's letter. Mansur asseverated (his innocence), but it was of no use.

'The Emperor proceeded to Shahbad, and there he came into possession of other incriminating letters. . . .On hearing and considering these letters, it appeared to His Majesty that Sharaf Beg had written one of them to Khwaja Mansur, and that the other was certainly connected with the coming of Mirza Hakim's *diwan* Malik Sani, to Khwaja Mansur. Many of the *amirs* and officers of the State were on bad terms with the Khwaja, and these exerted their influence to secure his death. So the Emperor gave the order for his execution, and he was hanged next morning.

'Three days afterwards intelligence came in that Mirza Muhammad Hakim, having been informed of the Emperor's march towards the Punjab, had passed the river of Lahore, and gone to Kabul. The Emperor advanced from Sirhind to Kalanor, and from thence to New Rohtas. There he received good news, and hunting as he went along, he reached the Indus. . . .He ordered a fort to be built on the banks of the Indus, which is called Sindsagar, and he called it Attack Benaras. Boats were scarce ; so he ordered the *amirs* to produce some. He assigned their respective posts to the *amirs*. Kunwar Man Singh. . . .and others were sent over the river towards Peshawar. When they took possession of that city, the Emperor sent Prince Murad along with others to effect the conquest of Kabul.

'At this time envoys from Mirza Hakim came to beg pardon for his offences. The Emperor sent Haji Habib-ulla along with them to Kabul, promising him forgiveness, on condition that he repented of the past, would bind himself by oath (for the future), and would send his sister to the Imperial Court. . . .But when Prince Murad came to within seven *kos* of Kabul, Mirza Hakim issued forth and attacked him ; but he was defeated and put to flight. The victorious Prince then entered Kabul. . . .On Friday, 10th *Rajab* (9th August, 1581), the Emperor himself entered his grandfather's capital, and remained there for twenty days visiting the gardens. . . .The Mirza (Muhammad Hakim) having made a promise and vow of fidelity, and executed an engagement. . . .His Majesty then turned towards Hindustan, after conferring Kabul upon Mirza Muhammad Hakim.[1] . . .He arrived at Lahore on the last day of *Ramzan*.

'He again entrusted the government of the Punjab to Said Khan, Raja Bhagwan Das, and Kunwar Man Singh, and went on his way hunting to Fatehpur. . . .On the 25th *Shawwal* he arrived at Delhi (1st Dec., 1581).

'When the Emperor had been engaged in the Kabul campaign, Bahadur Ali, son of Saiyid Badakhshi, entered the country of Tirhut, and gave himself the title of Bahadur Shah (and according to Badauni, caused the *khutba* to be read and coins to be struck in his name) ; but he was taken prisoner and killed by the men of Khan-i-azam. Masum Khan Farankhudi (who had fled to the Siwaliks) being in distress, begged pardon for his offences, through Khan-i-azam, and in consequence of the Khan's intercession he was pardoned.'

1 Smith writes, "The Muhammadan historians represent Akbar as having restored the government of the Kabul province to his brother directly. But the Mirza had never come in to make personal submission to Akbar, and there can be no doubt that Father Monserrate is correct in stating that the Emperor made over Kabul to his sister. . . .when she came to see him. . . .She seems to have tacitly allowed the Mirza to resume the government." (*Akbar*, p. 200.)

"The success of the Kabul expedition," observes Smith, "gave him (Akbar) an absolutely free hand for the rest of his life, and may be regarded as the climax of his career."[1]

3. The Gujarat Rebellion

Nizam-ud-din's account of the rebellion in Gujarat is too long to be reproduced here. Besides, little interest attaches to the narrative, except in the fact that the author himself took part in the campaign of suppression. The following brief account of it by Smith sets out the salient features in a nutshell :

During the progress of the wars in Bengal and the expedition to Kabul, the province of Gujarat was much disturbed by the revolt of Muzaffar Shah, ex-King of that country. He had escaped from surveillance in 1578, and taken refuge at Junagarh in Kathiawar until 1583, when he collected and started a formidable rebellion, which lasted for about eight years. When Itimad Khan was appointed viceroy in 1583, he was lucky enough to be assisted by Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the historian, in the capacity of *bakshi*, who proved himself to be a most energetic and efficient officer. In September 1583, Muzaffar took Ahmadabad, and assumed the title and state of King. In November, he treacherously killed Kutb-ud-din, the distinguished imperial officer who had surrendered to him, and he occupied Bharoch. The alarming news from the west obliged Akbar to return from Allahabad to the capital in January, 1585. He had meantime appointed Mirza Khan (Abdurrahim, Bairam Khan's son), better known by his later title of *Khan-khanan*, to the government of Gujarat. The pretender was severely defeated by much inferior imperial forces at the battle of Sarkhej near Ahmadabad in January 1584, and again at Nadot or Nandod in Rajpipla. After many vicissitudes he was driven into Cutch (*Kacch*), where he received support from certain local chiefs. Nizam-ud-din inflicted a terrible punishment on their territory by destroying nearly 300 villages[2] and ravaging two *parganas*. He was then recalled.

Muzaffar continued to give trouble in the wild regions of Kathiawar and Cutch until 1591-92, when he was captured. He committed suicide by cutting his throat, or at any rate was reported to have done so. Abdurrahim got his title of *Khan-khanan* for the defeat of Muzaffar.[3]

(M) Settlement of the Frontier

Akbar, having successfully passed through the crisis above described, undertook campaigns which were more or less of an aggressive character, intended mostly to round off his territories by a settlement of its frontiers. The annexation of Kabul, Kashmir, Kandahar, Sindh, and Orissa, and

1 *Ibid.*, p. 202.

2 'We burnt and destroyed the towns of Kari and Kataria, two places well-known in Cutch. We realized an enormous booty and after plundering and destroying nearly 300 villages in the course of three days, we recrossed the Rann....After crossing we ravaged and destroyed the *parganas* of Malia and Morbi which belonged to Khangar ....After returning to Ahmadabad, I turned my thoughts to the repression of the Grassias. In the course of two months I fitted out an army, and then marched towards Othaniya and Ahmadnagar. I attached and laid waste nearly fifty villages of the Kolis and Grassias, and I built forts in seven different places to keep these people in check....In the year 996 H., the Emperor gave Gujarat to Azam Khan, and recalled me to Court. By rapid stages I reached the Imperial Court at Lahore in fourteen days, and was most graciously received.' (*Nizam-ud-din*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, V, pp. 445-47).

3 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

the subjugation of the Balochi and Yusufzai, as well as the campaigns against the Uzbeks in Badakhshan, are all illustrative of this. Having once secured these, he led his last aggressive campaigns for the conquest of the southern kingdoms of the Deccan.

1. Annexation of Kabul

The death of Mirza Muhammad Hakim gave the occasion for the incorporation of Kabul with Akbar's dominions. 'The Mirza,' says Nizam-ud-din, 'was the Emperor's own brother, but the Emperor had shown him kindness and affection greater than even that of a brother. For the Mirza had often been presumptuous and agressive, and the Emperor had not only pardoned him and showed him favour, but had sent *amirs* and armies to maintain him in Kabul. He was greatly addicted to wine, and excessive drinking was the cause of his illness and death. He died on the 12th *Shaban*, 993 H. (July, 1585). When the news of his death reached the Emperor, he was much grieved ; and after the period of mourning was over, his purpose was to confirm the country of Kabul to the sons of Mirza. But the nobles urged that the Mirza's sons were of tender age, and incapable of ruling ; and that the army which had already taken Badakhshan was on the look out for Kabul also. These considerations induced the Emperor to march to the Punjab, and he began his march on the 10th of *Ramzan*. . . .

'The Emperor travelled by successive stages without making any halts to Delhi. There he visited the tomb of his father and the shrines of saints and dispensed his charity upon the poor, and celebrated the *Id*. . . .On the 19th *Shawwal* he reached the bank of the Sutlej and encamped. There he was informed that Kunwar Man Singh had sent a body of men across the Indus to Peshawar and that Shah Beg, the officer of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, had fled to Kabul. . . .On the 28th he (Akbar) reached and crossed the Beyah. Here he received a despatch from Man Singh, reporting that the people of Kabul had willingly submitted to the Imperial rule. . . .Moreover, Faridun Khan, the uncle of the late Mirza, when Kunwar Man Singh entered Kabul in hot haste, finding that he was helpless, brought the young princes to wait upon the Kunwar. They were received with great kindness and assurances of protection. Man Singh left his own sons in Kabul in the charge of Shams-ud-din Khan, and set off with the young princes and the nobles of Kabul to meet the Emperor. . . . They were received with princely generosity (at Rawalpindi). Each of the chief attendants received five or six thousand rupees as a gift. Suitable allowances and *jagirs* were also granted. . . .His Majesty placed Kunwar Man Singh in command, and gave him Kabul in *jagir*.

2. Reduction of the Afghans, etc.

'When the Emperor reached Atak, he sent Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Mahram, and other well-known *amirs*, with about 5,000 horses, to effect the conquest of Kashmir. On the same day Ismail Kuli Khan and Rai Singh were sent against the Baluchis. Next day Zain Khan Koka was sent with a force against the Afghans of Swat and Bajaur, to reduce that turbulent people to order. The Emperor encamped at Atak on the 15th *Muharram*, 994 H.

In former times a Hindustani soldier had come among the Afghans, and set up an heretical sect. He induced many foolish people to become his disciples, and he gave himself the title of *Pir Roshanai*. He was dead, but his son Jalala, a youth of about fourteen, came in the year 989 H., to wait upon the Emperor, as he was returning from Kabul. He was kindly received ; but after a few days his evil disposition induced him to tak

flight, and go off to the Afghans. There he raised disturbances ; and gathering a good number of men under him, he shut up the roads between Hindustan and Kabul. In order to repress this base sect of *Roshanais*, His Majesty placed Kunwar Man Singh in command and gave him Kabul in *jagir*.

'When intelligence arrived of Zain Khan having entered the country of Swat, and of his having encountered this sect of Afghans, who were as numerous as ants and locusts. on the 2nd *Safar*, 994 H., Sayid Khan Gakkar, Raja Birbal and others were sent with forces to support him. A few days later Hakim Abul Fath was sent after them with additional forces. After these reinforcements had joined, Zain Khan began to plunder and ravage the Afghans. and great spoil fell into his hands. When they reached the pass of Karagar, a person observed to Raja Birbal that the Afghans meditated a night attack on that night, that the extent of the mountain and of the pass was only three or four *kos*, and that if they got through the pass they would be safe from the attack designed. Raja Birbal, without making any communication to Zain Khan, pushed on to get through the pass, and all his army followed. At close of day, when the sun was about to set, they reached a defile, the heights of which on every side were covered with Afghans. Arrows and stones were showered upon them in the narrow pass, and in the darkness men lost their path, and perished in the recesses of the mountain. A terrible defeat and slaughter followed. Nearly 8,000 men were killed, and Raja Birbal, who fled for his life, was slain. On the 15th *Rabi-ul-awwal*, Zain Khan Koka and Hakim Abul Fath were defeated and reached the fort of Atak with difficulty.

'This defeat greatly troubled the Emperor.[1] He dismissed these commanders, and sent Raja Todar Mal with a large army to repair the disaster. The Raja entered the mountain region with great caution. Here and there he built forts, and harried and plundered continually, so that he reduced the Afghans to great straits. Raja Man singh, who had marched against these sectaries, fought a hard battle with them in the Khaiber Pass, in which many of them were slain and made prisoners. The Raja obtained a great victory (1586).'

3. Conquest of Kashmir

'When Raja Bhagwan Das, Shah Kuli Khan Mahram, and others who had been sent against Kashmir, reached the pass of Bhuliyas, on the confines of Kashmir, Yusuf Khan, the ruler of that country, came up and blockaded the pass. The Imperial forces remained for some days inactive, snow and rain came on, and supplies of corn were cut off. Moreover, the news of the defeat of Zain arrived, and the army was in great difficulty. The *amirs* resolved to make peace. They settled a tribute to be paid by saffron, shawls. and by the mint, to the royal treasury, and they appointed collectors. (They gave the country entirely over to Yusuf.—Badauni, ii, p. 352.) Yusuf was delighted with the terms, and came to visit the *amirs*, and they brought him along with them to visit the Emperor. When they came to Court, the Emperor disapproved of the peace. and the *amirs* were forbidden his presence, but after some days they were allowed to make their obeisances. . . .'

Then 'Muhammed Kasim Khan *Mir-bahr*. . . .was sent with a large force to effect the conquest of Kashmir. Aften seven marches they en-

1 Akbar in particular grieved very much over the death of his jovial companion Raja Birbal and is said to have been so much moved that he gave up food and drink for two days. Badayuni says : 'He never experienced such grief at the death of any *amir* as he did at that of Birbal.'

tered the defiles of the mountains. When they reached the pass of Kartal, Yakub, the son of Yusuf Khan (who had been thrown into prison, and was treated as dead by his son,—Badauni, ii, p. 353), considering himself ruler of Kashmir, came with a considerable force to oppose them. But fortune fought for the Imperial army, and the stone of dissension was cast among the Kashmiris. The chiefs of Kashmir were distressed with the rule of Yakub, and several deserted from him and joined Kasim Khan. Another party raised the standard of rebellion in Srinagar, which is the capital of the country. Yakub deeming it of primary importance to crush the internal rebellion, returned to Kashmir. The Imperial army then entered Kashmir without opposition, and Yakub, unable to make any resistance, fled to the mountains. Srinagar was occupied, and revenue collectors were appointed to all the *parganas*.

'The Emperor, being informed of the contest, sent letters of thanks to Kasim Khan and the other *amirs*, and bestowed honours and promotions upon all of them. Yakub raised a force and fought with Kasim, but was defeated. Another time he tried a night surprise, but was unsuccessful. The royal forces pursued him into hills, full of trees and defiles, beating him and driving him before them. He was very nearly captured. At last in wretched plight and in humble mood, he waited upon Kasim Khan, and enrolled himself among the subjects of the Imperial throne.' Badauni adds that he was eventually sent into Bihar to Raja Man Singh, to join his father : and both Yusuf and Yakub there died in confinement, worn out with troubles and chagrin.[1]

The Emperor after this paid a visit to Kashmir and Kabul and attended to the transfer of several of the important officers. 'The government of Kabul was given to Zain Khan Koka, and Raja Man Singh was recalled to Court and the government of Bihar and Bengal was conferred upon him. About the same time the government of Kashmir was given to Mirza Yusuf Khan Rizwi, and Kasim *Mir-bahr* was recalled. Sadik Khan was sent to Swat and Bajaur against the Yusufzais, and the *jagirs* of Man Singh at Sialkot and elsewhere were granted to him. Ismail Kuli Khan was recalled from Swat and Bajaur, and sent to Gujarat, to replace Kalji Khan who was summoned to Court. . . .Kalji Khan arrived from Gujarat and was appointed to assist Raja Todar Mal in Revenue and Civil administration.'

When the Emperor was at Kabul, 'intelligence reached him that Raja Todar Mal *wakil-us-saltanat* and *mushrif-i-diwan* and Raja Bhagwan Das *amir-ul-umara*, had died at Lahore.' On the 8th *Muharram*, 998 H., the Emperor started on his return to Hindustan, leaving the government of Kabul in the hands of Muhammad Kasim *Mir-bahr*. . . .He gave the government of Gujarat to Mirza Aziz Muhammad Kokaltash *Azam Khan*, who held the government of Malwa. He recalled me, Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, the author of this work, to Court. To Khan-khanan he gave Jaunpur instead of the *jagir* which he had held in Gujarat.

4. Sindh and the Balochis

'The city of Lahore had been for some years the royal residence, and many chiefs of that quarter had come to wait upon the Emperor. But Jani Beg of Thatta, although he had sent letters and tribute, had never come in person to enroll himself among the supporters of the Imperial throne. Khan

1 Badauni, ii, p. 353 ; Abul Fazl on the other hand says, 'Yusuf was released from prison, and received a *jagir*, so that he might learn better manners, and appreciate the kind treatment he had received.' (*Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 549.)

khanan was now appointed governor of Multan and Bhakkar, and he was commanded to effect the conquest of Sindh and the Balochis. In the month of *Rabi-us-sani* (1590) he was sent on his enterprise, along with a number of nobles whose names are too numerous to mention. He had a hundred elephants and a train of artillery. . . .

'Khan-khanan had besieged Jani Beg for two months. Everyday there was fighting, and loss on both sides. The Sindhis had got possession of the roads, and prevented the passage of provisions. Grain had consequently become very scarce and bread exceedingly dear. Khan-khanan had no resource but to move away, so he set off towards the *pargana* of Jun, near Thatta. But he sent a portion of his force to invest Sihwan. Jani Beg, assuming the Sihwan force to be weak in numbers, marched against it. . . .But confident in the Imperial good fortune, they went into battle. Raja Todar Mal's son, Dharu, fought most bravely, and was killed. The wind of victory blew upon the royal standards, and Jani Beg flew towards the banks of the river, and again entrenched himself. Khan-khanan upon his side, and the Sihwan force upon the other, bore down upon him and besieged him. There was fighting everyday. At length Jani Beg's men were reduced to eat their horses and camels, and many were killed everyday by the fire of the guns and muskets. Jani Beg was compelled to make an offer of capitulation, and promise to go and wait upon the Emperor. He begged for the period of three months to make preparations for his journey, and this was conceded. It being the rainy season, Khan-khanan remained in the village of Sann, in the vicinity of Sihwan, for that time. The fort of Sihwan was surrendered, and Jani Beg gave his daughter in marriage of Mirza Iraj, son of Khan-khanan. He also surrendered twenty *ghrabs* (three-masted ships).

'The intelligence of this victory gave the Emperor great joy, as he deemed it a good augury of his success in Kashmir. He then continued his journey to Kashmir. . . .taking me with him in attendance. . . .It is a curious fact that when the Emperor started on his return from Kashmir, he observed : "It is forty years since I saw snow, and there are many men with me, born and bred in Hind, who have never seen it. If a snow-storm should come upon us, it would be a kind dispensation of Providence." It occurred just as His Majesty expressed his wish. On the 1st *Rabi-ul-awwal* he reached the fort of Rohtas, and there rested. On the 13th he started for Lahore, and on the 6th *Rabi-us-sani* he arrived there (1592).'

5. Annexation of Orissa

'Intelligence here reached him that Raja Man Singh had fought a great battle with the sons of Kutlu Afghan, who since his death, had held the country of Orissa, and, having defeated them, he had annexed that extensive country, which lies beyond Bengal, to the Imperial dominions.' The new province was attached to the *Suba* of Bengal, and continued to be part of the Empire until 1751, when the Marathas conquered it from Alivardi Khan.'

6. Balochistan and Kandahar

'The year 1595 saw the completion of the conquests and annexations in the north-west effected by the arms of Akbar's officers or through diplomacy based on the terror of his name. In February of that year Mir Masum, the historian, who wielded the sword and the pen with equal facility, attacked the fort of Siwi to the south-east of Quetta which was held by the Parni Afghans. The tribesmen who mustered in force to defend their stronghold, were defeated in battle, and after consideration surrendered the place, with the result that all Balochistan, as far as frontiers of the

Kandahar province, and including Makran, the region near the coast, passed under the imperial sceptre.

'A little later, in April, Kandahar itself came into Akbar's possession without bloodshed. . . .The Persian governor, Muzaffar Husain Mirza, being involved in quarrels with relatives and in danger from the Uzbegs, asked Akbar to depute an officer to take over charge. The Emperor, of course, complied gladly, and sent Shah Beg, who had been in the service of his brother at Kabul. The city, thus peacefully acquired, remained under the Indian government until 1622, when Jahangir lost it. Shahjahan regained it and held it from 1638 to 1649, when it was finally separated from the empire.'[1]

7. Badakhshan and the Uzbegs

Akbar was ambitious to reconquer his ancestral dominions in Trans-Oxiana. When he marched to Kabul, he was intent upon effecting the conquest of Badakhshan.' Later, 'Mirza Suleiman, with the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, had returned to Badakhshan, and obtained a victory over the army of Abdulla Khan Uzbeg. Abdulla Khan of Badakhshan, when he was informed of Mirza Suleiman's success, gathered a strong force, which he sent to oppose him. Mirza Suleiman, unable to cope with this army, retreated to Kabul, all Badakhshan came into the power of the Uzbegs.' Akbar then tried to conciliate Abdulla Khan with diplomacy. 'Nearly a lac and a half of rupees, equal to 37,000 *tumans* of Irak, goods of Hindustan and curiosities were entrusted to Muhammad Ali *Khazanchi* for presentation to Abdulla Khan.' But all this was of little avail. On the contrary, Akbar was in constant anxiety about the activities of the Uzbeg leaders until the death, in 1598, of Abdulla Khan, when relieved of all danger from that direction, he turned definitely towards the south.

(N) Conquest of the Deccan

In August 1591, Akbar had sent diplomatic missions to the various kingdoms of the Deccan—'Faizi, the brother of the learned Sheikh Abul Fazl, to Asir and Burhanpur ; Khwaja Amin-ud-din to Ahmadnagar ; Mir Muhammad Amin Mashudi to Bijapur ; and Mirza Masud to Golkonda.' But in 1593, 'the ambassadors, whom the King had despatched to the Deccan, returned communicating that all the kings had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbar, who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection.'[2] Only Raja Ali Khan, the ruler of Khandesh, who was 'a man of great talent, just, wise, prudent, and brave,' had showed indications of being loyal. "The chief importance of Raja Ali Khan's territory lay in the fact that it included the mighty fortress of Asirgarh, commanding the main road to Deccan, and justly regarded as one of the strongest and best equipped fortresses in Europe or Asia."[3] There was no unity among the Sultans of the Deccan, and they continued to fight among themselves, in spite of the common danger that now threatened their independence. Burhan-ul-Mulk of Ahmadnagar died in 1594, and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim who was killed in battle by the Bijapuris in 1595. 'The Ahmadnagar nobles, refusing to acknowledge the new king, rebelled, and besieged Ahmadnagar. In this dilemma, finding himself unable to cope with his enemies, the party supporting the young prince entreated the help of the Mughals in Gujarat.'

1 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
2 *Ferishta*, Briggs, II, pp. 265, 269.
3 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

'Prince Murad, having previously received orders from his father, Akbar, to march into the Deccan, gladly embraced the proposal, and moved with great expedition to the south.' Abdurrahman, Khan-Khanan, also marched to the south at the same time.

1. Siege of Ahmadnagar

'Mian Manju (the minister) having, by this time, suppressed the rebellion, repented of his having called in the Mughals, and had already laid in a store of provisions in Ahmadnagar to defend it. He left Chand Bibi, the daughter of Husain Nizam Shah, to assume command of the fort, and himself marched with the remainder of the army, and a large train of artillery, towards the Bijapur frontier. The Prince Murad and Khan-khanan, instead of coming as allies, now proceeded to lay siege to Ahmadnagar. In November 1595, the besiegers opened their trenches, and carried on approaches by raising mounds, erecting batteries, and sinking mines ; while Chand Bibi defended the place with masculine resolution, and wrote letters to Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, and Kutub Shah of Golkonda, for aid. At the end of three months. . . .Chand Bibi appeared with a veil on her head. She got guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen, and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet, before daylight, with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcasses. Meanwhile, a report prevailed that the general of Ibrahim Adil Shah was on his march, in conjunction with Kutb Shahi troops, at the head of an army of 70,000 horses, to raise the siege. At the same time, a scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Mughal camp, the Prince and Khan-khanan thought it advisable to enter into negotiations with the besieged.

'It was stipulated by Chand Bibi, that Akbar should retain Berar, while Ahmadnagar and its original dependencies should remain entirely in the hands of Bahadur Shah, the grandson of Burhan Nizam Shah II.' These terms being ratified, Prince Murad and Khan-khanan marched towards Berar, where they built the town of Shahpur, near Balapur, and formed cantonments in that place (1596).

2. Battle of Supa

'After the departure of the Mughals Chand Bibi resigned her authority. . . .and the nobles, contrary to her advice, and in violation of the late treaty, marched with 50,000 horses to the north, in order to expel the Mughals from Berar ; while Khan-khanan leaving the Prince in Shahpur, moved with 20,000 horses accompanied by Raja Ali Khan Farukhi, to oppose them on the banks of the Godavari. On reaching the village of Supa, Khan-khanan halted for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, and having forded the river, then only knee-deep, drew up his army on the south bank. . . .The Nizam Shahi troops were on the right, the Kutb Shahi on the left, and the Adil Shahis in the centre.'

'On the side of the Mughals, Khan-khanan took post in the centre. Raja Ali Khan of Khandesh and Raja Ram Chunder, at the head of a body of volunteers, began to attack. The onset of the Mughals was begun with much intrepidity ; they broke the advance troops of the Deccanis. . . .However, they met with a check from a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms, and rockets, which did much execution among the Rajputs and the Khandesh troops ; Raja Ali Khan and Raja Ram Chunder were both killed, and above three thousand of their men fell; the Mughal centre and left also gave way at the same time, and left the enemy master of the field in the

quarter. . . .But, Sohil Khan (the enemy's commander), after performing prodigies of valour, worn out by fatigue and loss of blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependants, however, bore him off the ground ; and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khan-khanan master of the field : but being in no condition to pursue the fugitives, the Mughals returned to Shahpur.'

3. Emperor takes the field in person

'The private animosity that had long subsisted between Prince Murad and the Khan-khanan, at this time rose to a dangerous height. The King, therefore, conceiving it imprudent to leave them any longer together, despatched Sheikh Abul Fazl in the year 1006 H. (1597). Khan-khanan was recalled to the presence. . . .At this time Prince Murad Mirza, falling dangerously ill (of excessive drinking) died in 1007 H. . . .The King's grief at the death of the son increased his desire of conquering the Deccan, as a means of dividing his mind. In the meantime, the nobles of the Nizam Shahi dominions gained some slight advantages over the Mughals. . .Khan-khanan was now despatched (again) to the Deccan, accompanied by Prince Daniyal, with orders to occupy the whole of the Nizam Shahi territory. Akbar also, in the year 1008 H. (1599), marched in person to the south, leaving his dominion in the north under the charge of the Prince Royal, Muhammad Salim Mirza.

'Meanwhile, Daniyal Mirza and the Khan-khanan entered the Deccan. Miran Bahadur Khan, son of Raja Ali Khan, unlike his father, assumed a hostile position in Asirgarh after the Mughal army had gone to the south. The Prince deemed it prudent, therefore, to halt on the banks of the Godavari, near Paithan, in order to conciliate him. But Akbar having reached Mandu directed the Mirza to proceed to Ahmadnagar, as he himself intended to besiege Asirgarh. Daniyal and Khan-khanan accordingly marched with about 30,000 horses towards Ahmadnagar. The Deccani officers flying before them, left the Mughals at liberty to advance without molestation.' The city of Ahmadnagar easily fell into the hands of the Mughals, owing to its internal dissension. Chand Bibi, the only capable leader, was either murdered or constrained to take poison. The town surrendered in August 1600, after 1500 of the garrison had been put to the sword. The young prince and his family were committed to life-long imprisonment in the fort of Gwalior.

4. Capture of Asirgarh

'Akbar failed in inducing Miran Bahadur Khan to submit to this authority. He accordingly proceeded to Burhanpur, and directed one of his generals to besiege Asirgarh which lay only six *kos* from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air, on account of the number of troops cooped up in the fort, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swept off several of the garrison ; and although Miran Bahadur Khan had still sufficient men for the defence of Asir, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores and provisions, he began to despair. At this time also Ahmadnagar fell. . .In the beginning of the year 1009 H. (1600) Miran Bahadur Khan, losing all courage, resigned the strong fortress of Asir into the hands of Akbar, and yielded up treasures and stores which had been accumulating therein for many ages. The wealth of Ahmadnagar was also brought to Burhanpur. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur sent an ambassador to conciliate Akbar, and consented to give his daughter in marriage to his son, Prince Daniyal Mirza. A Mughal noble was accordingly despatched with suitable offerings to escort the bride from Bijapur.

Asir, Burhanpur, Ahmadnagar, and Berar were not consolidated into one province, the government of which was conferred upon Daniyal Mirza, under the management of Khan-khanan. The King, after these transactions, having returned in triumph to the city of Agra in the year 1011 H. (1602), assumed by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan in addition to his other title.'

(O) Death of Akbar

The above narrative of the conquest of the Deccan is mainly taken from Ferishta. The exact nature of the capitulation of Asirgarh is one of the subjects of keen controversy. "Asirgarh," says Smith, "was the last of the long list of Akbar's conquests, which had been practically continuous for forty-five years."[1] The history of the remaining few years of Akbar's reign is thus briefly recorded by Ferishta :

'In the course of the same year (1602), Sheikh Abul Fazl was recalled from the Deccan ; and that learned man was unfortunately attacked and cut off in the district of Nurwur, by banditti near Orchha. In the month of *Safar*, 1013 H. (June, 1604), Mir Jalal-ud-din Husain, who had been deputed to Bijapur, returned with the royal bride and the stipulated dowry. He delivered the young Sultana to Daniyal upon the banks of the Godavari near Paithan,[2] where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence ; after which, Mir Jamal-ud-din Husain proceeded to join the King at Agra. On the 1st of *Zehuj* of the year 1013 the Prince Daniyal died in the city of Burhanpur, owing to excess of drinking. His death and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he everyday became worse, till, on the 13th of *Jumad-us-sani*, in the year 1014 H. (Oct. 13, 1605), he died, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Eternity belongeth only to that King to whom our worship is due : The words "*The death of King Akbar*" contain the numeral letters which comprise the date of his death.'[3]

This account, although it refers to the assassination of Abul Fazl, fails to point out its connection with Prince Salim's rebellion. The murder of his great companion, as well as the misdemeanour of Prince Salim, must certainly have hastened Akbar's approaching end. The details concerning these closing events may be only briefly stated here :

Prince Salim, on the testimony of Badauni, is accused of having poisoned his father, as early as 1591. 'In this year,' says Badauni, 'the Emperor's constitution became a little deranged and he suffered from stomach-ache and cholic. . . .In his unconscious state he uttered some words which arose from suspicion of his eldest son, and accused him of giving poison.'[4] Commenting upon this, Smith observes, "It is impossible to say whether or not the suspicion was then justified ; but it is certain that in 1600 Salim had become utterly weary of waiting for the long-deferred and ardently desired succession."[5] In 1598, when Akbar left for the southern campaign, he left Salim in charge of the capital. In 1600, when Usman Khan, an Afghan chief rebelled in Bengal, Salim was asked to

1 *Ibid.*, p. 287.
2 Ferishta personally accompanied the bride.
3 Briggs, ii. 280. According to Smith, "He died soon after midnight, early in the morning of Thursday, Oct. 27, new style (Oct. 17, old style), or according to the Muhammadan reckoning, on Wednesday night."—*Ibid.*, p. 324.
4 Badauni, ii. p. 390.
5 Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 301.

proceed to the eastern province, but he preferred to remain at Allahabad, appropriated the vast revenue of Bihar (amounting to no less than 30 *lacs* of rupees) and assigned *jagirs* to some of his supporters. It was this grave misconduct of Salim that had made Akbar somehow finish the conquest of Asirgarh and hasten to the north. Akbar reached Agra in May 1601, and heard that Salim was coming to the court with 30,000 horses ; had, in fact, reached Etawah, only 73 miles from the capital. Akbar thereupon ordered him to return to Allahabad, and at the same time conferred on him the government of Bengal and Orissa. Early in 1602, Salim required that he should be permitted to return to the capital with 70,000 men, that all his grants to his officers should be confirmed, and that his adherents should not be regarded as rebels. Still, Akbar could not make up his mind to fight this strange rebel. In the meanwhile, Salim continued in royal style at Allahabad, struck coin in his own name, and had even the impudence to send specimens of them to Akbar.

Unable to endure all this, the Emperor communicated his son's insolence to Abul Fazl in the Deccan. The valiant minister recommended strong action, and himself undertook to bring the Prince bound to the Court. But unfortunately, as stated above, he was intercepted by the hand of the assassin, Bir Singh Bundela, who had been hired for the purpose by Salim. His head was sent to Allahabad, and "Salim received it with unholy joy and treated it with shameful insult." Salim records this crime in the following terms :

> 'Sheikh Abul Fazl, who excelled the Sheikhzadas of Hindustan in wisdom and learning, had adorned himself outwardly with the jewel of sincerity, and sold it to my father at a heavy price. He had been summoned from the Deccan, and since his feelings towards me were not honest, he both publicly and privately spoke against me. . . . it became necessary to prevent him from coming to court. As Bir Singh Deo's country was exactly on the route and he was then a rebel, I sent him a message that if he would stop the sedition-monger and kill him, he would receive every kindness from me.
>
> 'By God's grace, when Sheikh Abul Fazl was passing through Bir Singh Deo's country, the Raja blocked his road, and after a little contest scattered his men and killed him. He sent his head to me in Allahabad. Although this event was a cause of anger in the mind of the late King (Akbar), in the end it enabled me to proceed, without much disturbance of mind, to kiss the threshold of my father's palace, and by degrees the resentment of the King was cleared away.'

'Akbar became furious, and, distracted with grief, he declared : "If Salim wanted to be the Emperor, he might have killed me and spared Abul Fazl." For three days he abstained from appearing in public audience, and sent urgent orders to apprehend Bir Singh Deo. The murderer, though hotly pursued and wounded on one occasion, evaded capture, and lived to enjoy the favour of Jahangir. "The murder," says smith, "was effectual for two years in stopping Akbar from taking stong measures to coerce his rebellious son."[1]

About April 1603, a temporary reconciliation was effected between father and son through the intercession of Salima Begum (Bairam Khan's widow, daughter of Humayun's sister Gulbadan Begum, whom Akbar had married, the mother of Murad). Akbar went to the extent of taking off his own turban, and placing it on the head of his son, thus publicly recog-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 307.

nizing him as heir to the throne. But it was all in vain. Again, when Salim was ordered to march against Amar Singh (son of Rana Pratap), he went off to Allahabad and resumed his old and unfilial ways. Akbar was prevented from going after him by the death of his own mother Mariyam Makani in August, 1604. In November, when Salim came to the capital, Akbar severely reproached him for his unfilial conduct, and by way of punishment deprived him of his accustomed dose of opium for 24 hours (according to *Ma'asir-i-Jahangir*, of both liquor and opium for ten days), but ultimately softened and pardoned him. After this Salim humbly accepted the government of the western provinces, which had been held by his brother Daniyal, but continued to live at Agra until Akbar's death in October, 1605.[1]

Asad Beg records ; 'During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i-azam (Aziz Koka), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted Raja Man Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultan Khusru Emperor.[2] They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salim), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respect at Court, thus displaying the nature of their mind, little considering that 'the sun cannot be smeared with mud, nor the marks of the pen of destiny be erased by the pen-knife of treachery. He whom the hand of the power of Allah upholds, though he be helpless in himself, is safe from all evil.' When these designs were frustrated by other loyal nobles, who declared, "This is contrary to the laws and customs of the Chaghatai Tartars, and shall never be," Raja Man Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, and took Sultan Khusru with him to his own palace, and prepared boat, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. As soon as the Prince was relieved from all anxiety as to the course affairs were taking, he went with the great nobles, and Mir Murtaza Khan at their head, without fear, to the fort, and approached the dying Emperor. He was still breathing, as if he had only waited to see that illustrious one (Salim). As soon as that most fortunate Prince entered, he bowed himself at the feet of His Majesty. He saw that he was in his last agonies. The Emperor once more opened his eyes. and signed to them to invest him with the turban and robes which had been prepared for him, and to gird him with his own dagger. The attendants prostrated themselves and did homage ; at the same moment that sovereign, whose sins are forgiven, bowed himself also and closed his life.'[3]

There are various stories as to Akbar's death being due to poisoning ; but Smith writes, "On the whole, while it is perhaps most probable that Akbar died a natural death, the general belief that he was poisoned in some fashion by somebody may have been well-founded. The materials do not warrant a definite judgment."[4]

(P) Akbar's Relations with the Europeans

The Portuguese were the principal Europeans with whom Akbar came into contact, both for a religious and secular purpose. Although the Jesuits belonged to different nationalities, they acted in close union

1 *Ibid.*, p. 319.
2 The Khan-i-azam was Prince Khusru's father-in-law ; and Khusru's mother was the daughter of Bhagwan Das, Man Singh's adopted father.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 169-72.
4 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

with the Portuguese authorities at Goa. The English contact with Anbar was very slight.

In 1561, "the Portuguese were strongly established on the western coast in fortified settlements taken from the Sultans of the Deccan, and situated at Goa, with a considerable territory attached ; Chaul, Bombaim (Bombay) with neighbouring places ; Bassein (see Malabari, *Bombay in the Making*, p. 21); Daman, and Diu. Their fleet controlled the mercantile and pilgrim traffic of the Arabian Sea and Persiam Gulf. No other European power had gained any footing on the soil of India, and no Englishman had even landed in the country."[1]

Akbar met the Portuguese for the first time, as we have noted, during his Gujarat campaign. In 1572, while at Cambay, some Portuguese merchants came to pay their respects. The next year, according to Abul Fazl, 'while the siege of Surat was proceeding, a large party of Christians from the port of Goa arrived ; they were admitted to an audience with the Emperor, although it was probable that they had come to assist the besieged, and to get the fort into their own hands. But when they saw the strength of the Imperial force, and its power of carrying on the siege, they represented themselves to be ambassadors, and besought the honour of an interview. They offered various articles of the country as presents. Akbar treated each one of them with great condescension, and conversed with them about the affairs of Portugal, and other European matters.'[2] A treaty was also entered into with Antonio Cabral, the Portuguese envoy from Goa, one of the principal terms of which was assurance of the safety of the pilgrims to Mecca, who used to be molested by Christians.

In 1576, the year following the building of the *Ibadat-khana* (or the House of Worship). Akbar met two Jesuits (Anthony Vaz and Pater Diaz) in Bengal. Their reproof of Christian converts who wanted to defraud the Imperial treasury, by refusing to pay some legitimate shipping and other dues, impressed Akbar to a great extent about these strangers from Europe. Accordingly, he sent for Father Julian Pereira, the Vicar General at Satgaon. But the worthy Father "being a man of more piety than learning" could not satisfy Akbar's curiosity about the Christian religion.

In 1577, Akbar consulted Pietro Tavares, the captain or commandant of the port of Hugli ; but, says Smith, "Naturally, he too was ill-qualified to answer correctly the various conundrums proposed to him." Nevertheless, Akbar made him a grant of land, some time between 1578-80.

In 1578, Antonio Cabral again visited Akbar at his Court ; "but being a layman, he was not in a position to expound with authority the deeper matters of the faith."

These failures only whetted Akbar's curiosity more. So he sent despatches to Goa, both of a secular and religious character. He sent Haji Abdulla to bring from Goa European curios, and to copy anything worthy of imitation. Among the things that he brought back was a musical organ 'like a great box, the size of a man, played by a European sitting inside. The wind was supplied by bellows or fans of peacock's feathers.' Some Europeans, and others dressed like Europeans, also accompanied the organ. But the more important purpose of the embassy was for missionaries.

1 Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 348.
2 *Akbar-Nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 42.

In September 1579, Akbar's embassy reached Goa with the following message :

First Jesuit Mission from Goa

'Order of Jalal-ud-din the Great, King by God appointed, Fathers of the Order of St. Paul, know that I am most kindly disposed towards you. I send Abdulla, my ambassador, and Dominic Pires, to ask you in my name to send me two learned priests who should bring with them the chief books of the Law and the Gospel, for I wish to study and learn the Law and what is best and most perfect in it. The moment my ambassadors return let them not hesitate to come with them and let them receive most kindly and honourably the priests who will come. Their arrival will give me the greatest pleasure, and when I shall know about the Law and its perfection what I wish to know, they will be at liberty to return as soon as they like and I shall not let them go without loading them with honours and gifts. Therefore, let them not have the slightest fear to come. I take them under my protection. Fare you well.'

Although at first the Portuguese Viceroy hesitated, the Committee of Bishops decided on November 10, 1579, in favour of the despatch of the Mission. The Fathers selected for the service were Rudolf Aquaviva, Antony Monserrate, and Francis Henriquez. "Of these, Henriquez was a Persian by origin, native of Ormuz and a convert from Islam, who was intended to help as interpreter to the Mission. Monserrate, a Spaniard from Catalonia, forty-three years of age, was a wise and observant man of studious habits, and to him we owe an admirable first-hand description of the Mission and of the Mughal Court. . . .Rudolf Aquaviva, the third member and leader of the Mission, was an Italian of high social status and of outstanding sanctity."[1]

The Mission started on November 17, 1579, and reached Fatehpur Sikri on February 27 or 28, 1580. "This Mission," observes Sir Edward Maclagan, "came to Akbar's Court at a time of great interest in the development of his religious policy, and its doings have received notice at the hands of the contemporary Indian historians, Badauni and Abul Fazl ; the former writing from the orthodox Muslim standpoint and the latter from Akbar's own eclecticism. We have also first-hand information recorded by the members of the Mission themselves." Monserrate's *Relacam* (1582) contains "the best contemporary sketch of the character and power of Akbar at the time of the Mission and the *Commentarious* (1590) which forms the best general account which we possess of the Mission itself."

The object of the Mission was the "glory of the Church and the benefit of Portugal." The missionaries were abmbitious of converting the inhabitants of "Mogor". But, as Maclagan says, "in view of the unsolicited invitation addressed to Goa and the known proclivities of Akbar, it was ardently hoped that this object might be achieved through the medium of the conversion of the King. All the effort of the Mission were therefore at the first concentrated on the King himself. Royal converts were not unknown in the Indies. . . .a near relation of Bijapur had been baptised at Goa shortly after Father Rudolf's arrival from Europe. . . .There was therefore nothing impossible or fantastic in the scheme of the Mission and, as the Jesuits were admittedly the Order best fitted to deal with such cases, the Mission commenced with well-founded hopes of success.[1]

1 *Ibid.*, p, 27.

Akbar received the members of the Mission very cordially. "On arrival they were offerd large sums of money, and gained much consideration by their refusal to accept more than was necessary for subsistence. They were accorded quarters in the palace. . . .They were given food from the royal table ; and, when Monserrate was ill, the King proceeded to visit him and greeted him in Portuguese. In personal intercourse with the King the Fathers were treated with special courtesy. 'He never allowed them,' says Monserrate, 'to remain uncovered in his presence ; both at the solemn meetings of the grandees and in private interviews, when he would take them inside for private colloquy, he would tell them to sit near him. He would shake hands with them familiarly and would call them apart from the body of ordinary retainers to indulge with them in private conversation. More than once, in public, he walked a short distance with Rudolf, his arm round Rudolf's neck. . . .' This familiarity encouraged the Fathers to speak to him seriously on faults in his regime or his conduct. . . .'modestly however and not without first examining what mood he was in'."[1]

The King, in short, allowed them every liberty and even permitted them to preach and convert people. 'His Majesty,' says Badauni, ordered Prince Murad to take a few lessons in Christianity under good auspices and charged Abul Fazl to translate the Gospel.' During the Kabul campaign, Father Monserrate was allowed to accompany the King, and we have accordingly from the Father's pen an intimate and detailed account of Akbar's camp, his forces, the towns through which he passed, his advance beyond the Indus, and his final triumphant entry into Kabul : a document, as Maclagan points out, which no future historian of Akbar can fail to utilize. 'The King,' says Monserrate, 'listened ; but not to appear drawn to the Christian faith, he pretended sometimes to be occupied with other things. At the same time he did not fear to honour and kiss publicly the image of Christ.' At this attitude of Akbar the Fathers got disappointed, and even declared, 'Giving the pearls of the Gospel to the King was exposing them to be trampled and trodden under foot.' The Provincial at Goa, accordingly bade them return, but at the same time left them the discretion to stay on if that would serve any purpose.

Akbar was loth to part with the Fathers, but Monserrate left him under the pretext of leading an embassy from Akbar to Philip II, King of Spain. Rudolph Aquaviva, who was more hopeful, remained at Fatehpur for some time longer. His letter to the General of the Society of Jesus is valuable as revealing the hopes and designs of the Christians :

> 'First', he wrote, 'the Emperor is in a more hopeful state than heretofore : he desires to know our Faith and attends to it with greater diligence than at first, showing much affection thereto, though impediments are not also lacking, and the love and familiarity with which he treats us leave nothing to be desired. (2) We hope to see some fruit from the Emperor's second son, Pahari, a boy of thirteen years of age, who is learning the Portuguese language and therewith the things relating to our Faith, and who shows himself well disposed thereto and who is of great natural genius and has good inclination. Father Monserrate was his teacher and now I am. (3) We have discovered a new nation of heathens called Bottan (Tibetans) which is beyond Lahore towards the river Indus, a nation very well inclined and given to pious works. They are white men, and Muhammadans

1 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

do not live among them, wherefore we hope that if two earnest Fathers are sent thither, a great harvest of other heathens may be reaped. (4) There is here an old man, the father of the Emperor's secretary, in whom he confides in matters of Faith. He has left the world and is of great virtue and given much to contemplation of divine things, whence he appears disposed to receive the light of our Faith. He is very friendly to us and listens to our Faith and we have already visited him several times at his house with much consolation. (5) Where we are is the true India, and this realm is but a ladder which leads to the greater part of Asia; and now that the Society has obtained a footing and is so favoured by so great an Emperor and by his sons, it seems not fitting to leave it before trying all possible means to commence the conversion of the continent of India ; seeing that all that had so far been done has been merely on the sea-coast.'

In spite of all these hopes, the reports of Father Monserrate were not encouraging, and Father Rudolf was also finally recalled by the Provincial at Goa. In February, 1583, he left Akbar carrying with him an appreciatory epistle to the following effect :

'God is great. Farman of Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar Padshah Ghazi. . . .With regarded to what he (the Provincial) wrote to me about sending hence Father Rudolf—since I like very much the Book of the Heavenly Jesus, and desire to discover the truth of it with the aid of his skill to find out the meanings of those who have written in the past, therefore I have much love for the Father ; and considering that he is wise and versed in the laws, I desire to have him every hour in conversation with me, and for this reason I refuse him the permission ; but as Your Paternity asked it me by letter several times, I did so, and gave him the permission ; and as my intention is that our friendship should go on increasing more day by day, it behoves Your Paternity to labour on your side towards preserving it, by sending Rudolph back to me with some other Father, and I wish this with least possible delay ; for I desire that the Fathers of this Order be with me, because I like them much. And to the Father I said many things by words of mouth, for him to report them to Your Paternity, which Your Paternity will consider well. Done in the moon of the month of February, 1583.'

Father Rudolph, however, met with an unexpected death and martyrdom. On the 27th July (N.S.), 1583, he was killed together with four companions by a fanatical mob of Hindus at Cuncolim near Goa. In 1593, Rudolph was beatified by the Church, and is now known as the Blessed Rudolph Aquaviva. Akbar, when he heard of this untoward end of the Father, exclaimed, 'Ah me, Father. Did I not tell you not to go away ? But you would not listen to me.' He loved him, says Monserrate, not because he himself wished to become a Christian, but because he recognized the intense conviction of the Father in the truth of his own religion and his desire to bring others to his own way of life. Thus, ended the First Jesuit Mission to the Court of Akbar.[1]

Second Jesuit Mission from Goa

In 1590, Akbar for a second time renewed his intercourse with the Christians at Goa. This time he found a Greek subdeacon named Leo Grimon to carry his message to the Provincial. "On this occasion," so ran the Emperor's *Parwana* addressed to his various provincial officers, who were

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

asked to give safe conduct to the Christian envoy, "I am summoning the most learned and most virtuous of the Fathers that they may help me to a true knowledge of the Christian law and of the royal highways by which they travel to the presence of God. I, therefore, command my officers aforesaid to bestow great honour and favour both on Dom Leo Grimon and on the Fathers for whom I am sending. . . ." To the Fathers of the Society, he wrote :

> "In the name of God. The exalted and invincible Akbar to those who are in God's grace and have tasted of His Holy Spirit and to those that are obedient to the Spirit of the Messiah and lead men to God. I say to you learned Fathers, whose words are heeded as those of men retired from the world, who have left the pomps and honours of earth : Fathers who walk by the true way : I would have your Reverences know that I have knowledge of all the faiths of the world both of various kinds of heathen and of the Muhammadans, save that of Jesus Christ which is from God and as such recognized and followed by many. Now, in that, I feel great inclination to the friendship of the Fathers. I desire that I may be taught by them the Christian law. There has recently come to my Court and royal palace one Dom Leo Grimon, a person of great merit and good discourse, whom I have questioned on sundry matters, and who has answered well to the satisfaction of myself and my doctors. He has assured me that there are in India (Portuguese) several Fathers of great prudence and learning, and if this be so, your Reverences will be able, immediately on receiving my letter, to send some of them to my Court with all confidence, so that in disputations with my doctors I may compare their several learning and character, and see the superiority of the Fathers over my doctors. . . .and who by this means may be taught to know the truth. If they will remain in my Court, I shall build them such lodging that they may live in greater honour and favour than any Father who has up to this been in this country and when they wish to leave I shall let them depart with honour. You should, therefore, do as I ask of you in this letter. Written at the commencement of the moon of June."[1]

The Provincial, accordingly, sent two Portuguese Fathers, Edward Leioton (Leitanus) and Christopher di Vega, with an assistant, who were received in Lahore in 1591. The Provincial's report to his Superior dated November, 1591, mentions : 'This embassy induced many, not only of the Fathers, but also of the students, to apply to be sent on the Mission, and there were chosen for the purpose two Fathers and a companion who reached the Emperor's Court in 1591, and were received with great kindness. Every kind of favour was shown to them in the palace itself, necessaries were supplied, and a school was started in which the sons of nobles and the Emperor's own sons (Murad and Daniyal) and grandson (Khusru) were taught to read and write Portuguese.

'But when the Fathers saw that the Emperor had not decided as they expected, they proposed to return to Goa, but were bidden by me not to do so. . . .And *as the conversion of the Emperor to the Catholic Faith is a matter of the greatest moment, it is necessary to proceed skilfully and justly in the motter.*'

But, as Smith observes, "No printed record explains how, why, or exactly when the Mission came to an abrupt conclusion. Its members

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

were recalled and returned to Goa, at some time in 1592. . . .The suspicion seems justifiable that the Fathers selected were not in all respects the right persons for the task entrusted to them, and that they might have been somewhat faint-hearted."[1] Thus closed the Second Mission, like the First, in disappointment and failure.

In 1594 Akbar, for the third time, desired the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to send a party of learned Christians to him. The message was conveyed by an American Christian. But the Provincial, being very much disappointed by the results of the first two missions, was not inclined to comply with the request. The Viceroy, however, thought differently. He hoped for "*good results not merely of a religious but also of a political character.*" So it was finally decided to send a Mission.

Third Jesuit Mission from Goa

Father Jerome Xavier, a grand-nephew of St. Francis Xavier, Father Emmanuel Pinheiro and Brother Benedict de Goes were selected for the purpose. "They were, each in his own line, men of outstanding competence."[2] The first had seen much service in India and had held positions of trust. For twenty years he was to remain at the Mughal Court, "*working sometimes for the conversion of Emperors, and sometimes for the material advancement of the Portuguese.*"[3] In the end he too returned to Goa and died there in June 1617. The second, according to Maclagan, "seems to have been the first of the Jesuits in Mogor to turn his attention seriously to the people rather than the Court."[4] He remained for many years at Lahore as pastor of a large congregation, and at the same time enjoyed much favour and influence with Akbar. He returned to Goa in 1615, and only four years later 'he departed hence to a better Mission.' Brother Benedict seemed little interested in the Court of the Mughal, and distinguished himself by undertaking a Mission from Lahore to China, in 1603. He died there in 1604.

On December 3, 1594, the party left Goa, sailing *via* Daman to Cambay, and thence they proceeded through the desert of Rajputana, and after five months reached Lahore on May 5, 1595. From this time to the death of Akbar, in 1605, there are two batches of Jesuit letters giving valuable information. The Indian sources for this period are scanty, and throw little light on the subject of Akbar's relations with the Christians. Badauni's account stops with 1595 and Abul Fazl's with 1602. Father Jerome Xavier, the head of the Mission, was in attendance on Akbar all the last ten years of the Emperor's life. He also accompanied Akbar during his Deccan campaign.

Like its predecessors, this Mission was also well received at Lahore. Father Pinheiro states in his letter of September 1595, "Both Emperor and Prince (Salim) favoured us and treated us with much kindness and I observed that he paid to none of his own people as much attention as he paid to us, for he desired us to sit in turn upon the cushion on which he and the Prince alone are wont to sit." On the 20th August the same year, Father Jerome Xavier also wrote, 'He (Akbar) received us publicly with great honour and kindness and whenever he sees us he maintains the same attitude towards us and has us near him among the chief lords of the Court. . . .He has images of our Lord Christ and of the blessed Virgin which are of the best kind of those which are brought from Europe and he keeps them with respect and reverence. He evinces the greatest pleasure

1 *Smith, op. cit., pp 254-55.*
2 *Maclagan, op. cit., p. 50.*
3 *Ibid., p. 51.*
4 *Ibid.*

in showing them to others, holding them in arms for a long time in spite of fatigue which their size entails. . . . .He sent us very costly gold and silk clothes, wherewith his servants handsomely adorned our chapel. . . . . The Emperor gave us leave to bring together so many as might so wish to the church of Christ.'

He allowed them to start a school which was attended by the sons of some of the feudatory Princes and those of the Chief of Badakhshan. Two of these pupils asked to become Christians and one even wished to be admitted to Orders. The question of a site for a church at Lahore was mooted and a church was ultimately built. It was opened in 1597 while Akbar was in Kashmir and the Governor of the city attended in person, remaining for some two hours conversing with Father Pinheiro in his house. At the following Christmas, Brother Benedict de Goes prepared a sacred Crib which was much admired. The Royal Princes followed Akbar's example in their attention to the Fathers and one of them went so far as to present large candles to be burnt in honour of Christ and the Virgin, accompanying his gift with liberal alms for the poor. The heir apparent, Prince Salim, himself became the firm friend and protector of the Mission.[1]

When Akbar went to Kashmir in May, as above referred to, he took with him both Father Xavier, and Brother Goes. They stayed till November 1597. During their stay a great famine raged in the valley, and the Father baptised many orphans that had been left in the streets to die. After their return, both the Father and Brother suffered for about two months from fever. They had spent altogether two and a half years at the Court of Akbar with no encouraging result, so far as their main purpose was concerned. In 1598, the King of Spain wrote to his Viceroy at Goa that, although the Fathers had not yet produced any fruit, the Mission should not be allowed to expire, and ordered that, if the Fathers should die or have to be recalled, their places should be filled. 'The fruit,' he wrote, 'which has hitherto not shown itself, may appear whenever God pleaseth and when human hopes are perhaps the smallest.' But the Fathers got exasperated with Akbar's attitude. Akbar explained to them courteously that, whereas former rulers would have tried to suppress them, he had allowed them every liberty in his dominions.

The Fathers accompanied Akbar during his southern campaign. When found himself confronted with the difficult siege of Asirgarh, Akbar asked the Jesuits to procure the assistance of the Portuguese authorities at Goa. But Xavier refused on the plea that *such action was contrary to the Christian faith.* Du Jarric, however, points out that *the Father must also have been influenced by the fact that the Khandesh forces against whom Akbar was fighting were in alliance with the Portuguese.*[2] This, therefore, enraged Akbar against the Jesuits whose objection seemed to him mere casuistry. For a time, until his wrath subsided, the Fathers withdrew from his presence.

Asirgarh fell in January 1601. The Jesuits have given their own account of some of its details. "Whatever the truth as regards these incidents may be," says Maclagan, "the main point of interest to the Jesuits was that when the fort fell seven renegade Portuguese officers, who were captured among the defenders and were about to be subjected to cruel treatment, were at Father Xavier's request, handed over to him and were

1 *Ibid.*, p. 54.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

by him reconverted to Christianity."[1] Then Father Pinheiro arrived from Lahore, and he with Father Xavier went into the presence of the King who received them with much kindness, laying his hand on Pinheiro's shoulder ('which he does not do save to his great captains and his special favourites'). Akbar returned to Agra in May 1601 together with Fathers Xavier and Pinheiro.

Before his return, however, he had sent an embassy to Goa, for the fourth time, but only for a secular purpose. In his letter dated 20th March, 1601, Akbar requested, not for priests, but for a political alliance, skilled craftsmen, precious stones, etc. The Portuguese authorities exhibited all their ammunition to the ambassador and fired a demonstration salvo out of their heavy ordinance, but nothing more came out of the embassy.

In the following year, with the arrival of two other missionaries, Goes and Machado, the Jesuit Fathers at the Mughal Court formed a sort of 'College' or monastery. Now they succeeded in securing from Akbar, despite much opposition, notably from Mirza Aziz Koka, a written sanction under the Royal Seal expressly permitting such of his subjects as desired to embrace Christianity to do so without let or hindrance. Fifty Portuguese captives, who were held to ransom by Akbar, were also released and well treated by the intercession of the Fathers. 'My lord,' said Xavier, 'you have liberated fifty captives, and in so doing have made fifty thousand Portuguese your servants.'[2]

In spite of these cordialities, the Portuguese Fathers suffered much hostility from some of the orthodox Muslim nobles, but more particularly on account of the intrigues of other Europeans who were now gathering at the Court of the Grand Moghal. Consequently, in 1605, when Akbar lay on his death-bed, the Jesuits were not allowed to be by his side. Their account of the happening is thus given by Guerreiro and du Jarric :

> 'The Fathers, who had full information of the King's sickness, went on a Saturday to see him in the hope that he would hear the words which, after long thought and having commended the matter to God, they had prepared for this hour. But they found him amongst his Captains, and in so cheerful and merry a mood, that they deemed the time unsuitable for speaking to him of the end of this life, and decided to await another opportunity. They came away, fully persuaded that he was making good progress. . . .On the Monday following, however, it was reported on all sides that. . . . His Majesty was dying. On hearing this the Fathers went to the palace ; but they could find no one who could make their arrival known to the King, or dare to speak to him of them ; for already such matters were more in the hands of the great nobles than of the King himself ; and hence every means by which the Fathers tried to gain entrance was ineffectual.'[3]

Akbar and the English

Direct intercourse between England and India began as early as October 1579 when Father Thomas Stevens, a Jesuit from Oxford, arrived in Goa. He remained there for forty years, studied Konkani, wrote its grammar, and also a book of verses containing 11,000 strophes of high literary merit. His letters to England stimulated much interest in that country about India. Consequently, in 1581, a company of English merchants started

1 *Ibid.*, p. 58.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 645.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

with a Charter from Elizabeth, and two years later sent John Newbury, a London merchant, on the first British mercantile adventure to India. William Leedes, a jeweller, and James Story, a painter, and Ralph Fitch, another London merchant, accompanied Newbury. At Goa they were imprisoned as heretics and obtained release on bail, with considerable difficulty, owing to the good offices of Father Stevens. James Story alone was welcomed by the Jesuits as an artist capable of painting their Church. He settled down in Goa, married a half-caste girl, opened a shop, and gave up all thought of returning to Europe. His three companions escaped secretly, visited Belgaum, Bijapur, Golkonda, Masulipatam, Burhanpur, Mandu, and went to Agra *via* Malwa and Rajputana, 'passing many rivers, which by reason of the rain were so swollen that we waded and swam oftentimes for our lives.' Fitch was the only member of this party to return to Europe ; he reached London in 1591. The others were never heard of again.

Fitch has left some interesting impressions of his visit to Fatehpur Sikri and Agra : "Agra," he writes, "is a very great citie, and populous, built with stone, having faire and large streets, with a faire river running by it, which falls into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong, with a very faire ditch. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdin (Jalal-ud-din) Echebar (Akbar) : the people for the most part call him the great Mogor.

"From thence wee went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater than Agra, but the houses and streets be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles (Muhammadans and Hindus).

"The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1,000 elephants, thirtie thousand horses, 1,400 tame deers, 800 concubines ; such store of Ounces (cheetah), Tigers, Buffles (buffaloes kept for fighting), Cocks and Haukes, that is very strange to see.

"He kept a great Court, which they call Dericcan.

"Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous.[1] Between Agra and Fatepore are 12 miles (*kos* ?—23 miles) and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a men were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market.

"They have many fine cartes, and many of them carved and gilded with gold, with two wheeles, which be drawen with two little Bulls about the bigness of our great dogs in England. Hither is great resort of merchants from Persia and out of India, and very much marchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamonds and Pearles. The king is apparelled in white Cabie, made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a little cloth on his head coloured often times with red or yellow. None came into his house but his eunoches which keepe his women."[2]

The next Englishman to come to India was John Mildenhall or Midnall, who bore a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Akbar, requesting liberty to trade in his dominions on terms as good as those enjoyed by the Portuguese. No text of the letter is extant. Mildenhall who was a mer-

1 The population of London in 1580 was 1,23,034, and 1,52,478 between 1593-95. The population of Fatehpur Sikri, according to Smith, may have been about 2,00,000 in 1585.—Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 108, n. 5.

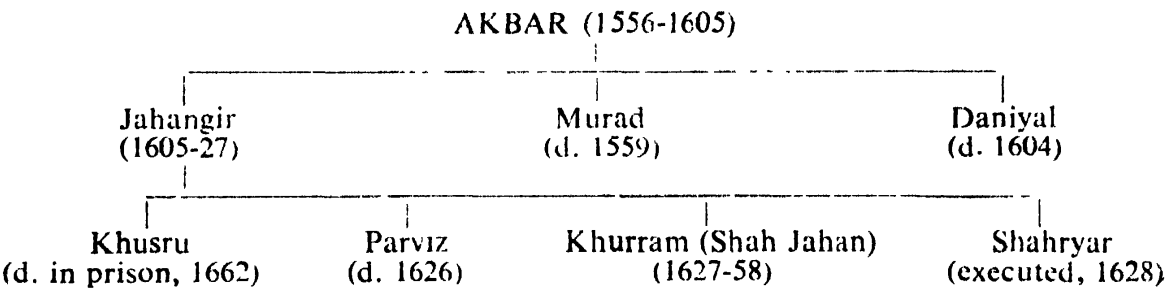
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 108-09.

chant, sailed from London on February 12, 1599. He made his way to Lahore, early in 1603, by the land route *via* Kandahar. He brought to the Emperor 29 good horses, some of which cost £50 or 60 each. He stated his mission before the council of ministers, and also asked the Emperor not to take offence if the English should capture Portuguese ships or ports on his coasts. Some days later Akbar presented him with gifts worth £500, which put the Jesuits 'in an exceeding great rage'. They began to denounce Englishmen as thieves and spies. In six months time "the Jesuits bought over Akbar's two principal ministers with bribes of at least £500 each, and enticed away the Armenian interpreter of the envoy, who was obliged to work hard studying Persian for six months in order to be able to speak for himself."[1] When Akbar heard the case against the Jesuits, he granted a *farman* to Mildenhall. "The discomfiture of the Jesuits," says Smith, "must have taken place in August or September, 1605, after the reconciliation with Salim and shortly before Akbar's fatal illness, which began late in September."[2]

Mildenhall's negotiations perhaps were responsible for the decision taken a few years later to send Sir Thomas Roe as the duly accredited ambassador of James I. Not until August 1608, however, did the first English vessel, *Hector*, call at the port of Surat. The Englishmen who visited India during Akbar's lifetime were only pioneers unconscious of the great good fortune which lay in store for their country in the future.

The Dutch had come to India, but they confined their activities to the coasts of India and never cared to visit either the Court or the capital of Akbar.

GENEALOGY



1 *Ibid.*, p. 293.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 294.

CHAPTER 6

Reorganization of the Empire

'I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let them worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I call from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend.'

—TENNYSON, AKBAR'S DREAM

THOSE that take up the sword can have only one justification, viz., seeking, not merely extension of dominion, but also the welfare of the people coming under their sway. Sher Shah had tried to rule according of this principle, and though Providence had given him no worthy heir to ensure its continuance, his good work did not perish with him. Akbar carried to perfection, so far as it was possible for his genius to accomplish, the policy which the enemy of his house had inaugurated. He strove to achieve what might be called the true aims of a benevolent autocracy. In the words of Abul Fazl, 'It is universally agreed that the noblest employments are the reformation of the manners of the people ; the advancement of agriculture ; the regulation of the officers ; and the discipline of the army. And these desirable ends are not to be attained without studying to please the people, jointed with good management of finances, and an exact economy in the management of the State. But when all these are kept in view, every class of people enjoys prosperity.' Akbar sought to achieve these ends, and his administration, as Moreland has pointed out, was 'severely practical". A chief or *raja* who submitted and agreed to pay a reasonable revenue, therefore, was commonly allowed to retain his position of authority. His administrative system, nevertheless, favoured the direct relations between the State and the individual peasant, the assessment and collection of revenue being controlled from the centre, and the officers having to account in detail for all receipts.[1] It was in fact a centralized monarchy acting through a bureaucratic machinery ; all the strings of the government were in the Emperor's own hands and controlled by him directly. Yet, for the sake of administrative convenience, there were the usual Departments : Military, Revenue, Justice and Religion. Prof. (Sir) J. N. Sarkar has given the following description of them in his *Mughal Administration* :

1 Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 3 and 34.

I. Central Government

'The chief Departments of the Mughal administration were :

1. The Exchequer and Revenue (under the High *Diwan*).
2. The Imperial Household (under the *Khan-i-saman*).
3. The Military Pay and Accounts Office (under the Imperial *Bakshi*).
4. Canon Law, both Civil and Criminal (under the Chief *Qazi*).
5. Religious Endowments and Charity (under the Chief *Sadr*).
6. Censorship of Public Morals (under the *Muhtasib*).

'Inferior to these, but ranking almost like the Departments, were :

7. The Artillery (under the *Mir Atish* or *Darogha-i-topkhana*).
8. Intelligence and Posts (under the *Darogha of Dak-chauki*).

'The innumerable *karkhanas* (i.e., factories and stores), each under a *darogha* or superintendent, were not Departments. Most of them were under the *Khan-i-saman*.'

1. The Chancellor

The highest officer next to the Emperor was called the *Wazir* or *Vakil*. He was the Prime Minister or Chancellor of the Empire, and under the later Mughals he exercised dictatorial authority, like the Mayors of the Palace in medieval France, or the Peshwas in India. He was always the *Diwan* as well, and in this capacity, the head of the Revenue Department. Like every great officer of the Mughal Government, he was expected to command an army, and often did lead a short expedition ; but the necessity of his constant attendance on the Emperor prevented him from taking charge of military operations for a long time or at a distance from the Imperial camp. 'Thus, in its origin the *Wazir's* post was a civil one, and his assumption of the supreme military direction was abnormal and a mark of Imperial decadence.'[1]

2. The Bakshi or Pay-Master

Almost all officers of any rank being enrolled, at least in theory, as military commaders, their salaries were calculated in terms of the contingents under them and passed by the Pay-Master of the Army. This officer at a later time was called the *Mir* or *first Bakshi* when he had under him three others, respectively called the Second, Third, and Fourth *Bakshis*.

3. The Khan-i-saman or High Steward

This important officer was the head of the Imperial household. According to Manucci, "He had charge of the whole expenditure of the royal household in reference to both great and small things."[2] All the personal staff of the Emperor was under his control, and he also surpervised the Emperor's daily expenditure (e.g., food, tents, stores, etc.). Often *Wazirs* were chosen from among the *Khan-i-samans*.

4. The Qazi-ul-quzat or Chief Judge

This '*Quazi* of the Imperial Camp', as he was also designated, made all the appointments of local *qazis* in various parts of the Empire.

5. The Sadr-us-sudur or Ch ef Sadr

This officer was the Chief Civil Judge and Supervisor of the Endowments of land made by the Emperor or Princes, for the support of pious men, scholars, and monks. 'It was his duty to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose and also to scrutinize applications for fresh grants. . . ,

1 Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 22-23.
2 *Ibid., op. cit.*, p. 26, n.

The *Sadr* was also the Emperor's almoner and had the spending of the vast sums which the Emperor set apart for charity in the month of *Ramzan* and other holy occasions—amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of rupees in the reign of Aurangzeb—and at Court ceremonies.[1] Like the Chief *Qazi*, he also made the appointments of the local *Sadr*. For this post, men of the best Arabic scholarship and sanctity of life were selected.'

6. Muhtasib or Censor of Public Morals

His duties were to see that Muslims led lives according to the Prophet's commands, and did not indulge in forbidden things. A part of the instructions issued to the censor ran—'In the cities do not permit the sale of intoxicating drinks, nor the residence of 'professional women' (*tawaif*, dancing-girls), as it is opposed to the Sacred Law. Give good counsel and warning to those who violate the Quranic precepts. Do not show harshness (at first), for then they would give you trouble. First send advice to the leaders of these people, and if they do not listen to you, then report the case to the Governor.'[2]

II. Provincial Administration

'The administrative agency in the provinces of the Mughal Empire,' observes Sarkar, 'was an exact miniature of that of the Central Government.' The Governor was officially called the *Nazim* but popularly known as the *Subahdar*. The administration was concentrated at the provincial capital. Touch with the villages was maintained by (i) the *Faujdar*, (ii) the revenue collectors, (iii) *zamindar's* visit to the *Subahdar*, and (iv) the tours of the *Subahdar* himself. But in spite of all this the villagers led their own peaceful life under their local *panchayat* administration, undisturbed for the most part by what took place in the rest of the world.

The duties of the principal officers were as follows :

1. The Subahdar

His chief function was to maintain order in his province, to assist the collection of revenue, and to execute the Imperial *farmans* sent to him. He also collected the tribute due from the vassal princes in the neighbourhood of his jurisdiction. The instructions issued to a new *subahdar*, though they look like counsels of perfection, were :

'He ought to keep all classes of men pleased by good behaviour, and to see that the strong may not oppress the weak. He should keep all the oppressors down. . . .the *subahdar* should take care to recommend only worthy officials for promotion. . . and every month send two despatches to Court by *dak chauki* reporting the occurrences of the province.

'When you are appointed, you should engage a good *diwan*—a trustworthy and experienced man who has already done work in the service of some high grandee—and a *munshi* (secretary) with similar ability and experience. You should secure a trustworthy mediator or friend (*wasilah*) at Court to report promptly to the Emperor and take his orders on any affair of the province on which you may write to His Majesty. . . .

'*Encourage the ryots to extend the cultivation and carry on agriculture with all their heart. Do not screw everything out of them. Remember that the ryots are permanent* (i.e., the only permanent source of income to the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 28.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

State). Conciliate the *zamindars* with presents ; *it is cheaper* to keep them in hand thus than to repress them with troops.'[1]

2. The Provincial Diwan

He was the second officer in the province, and 'the rival of the *subahdar*.' The two kept a jealous and strict watch over each other. The provincial *Diwan* was appointed by the Imperial officer of the same name, and was in constant correspondence with him. He was specially charged to increase the cultivation and select only honest men for the post of *amin*. Twice every month he was to report to the High *Diwan* the occurrences of the *subah*, with a statement of the cash balance with him. 'The *Diwan* was specially urged to appoint as collectors (*kroris* and *tahsildars*) practical men who were likely to *induce the ryots to pay the government dues of their own accord, without the necessity of resorting to harshness or chastisement.*' (*Manual*, 13-14). The *sanad* of appointment ran :

"Cause the extension of cultivation and habitation in the villages. Watch over the Imperial treasury, that nobody may draw any money without due warrant. When due money is paid into the treasury from the chests of the *fotadars* and other sources, give receipts (*quaz-ul-wasul*) to their agents. *See that no official (amil) exacts any forbidden cess (abwab).*

"At the end of every agricultural season ascertain from the original (rough) papers the extortions and peculations of the *amils* and recover for the Imperial treasury whatever may be due from them on this account. *Report bad or dishonest amils to government* (i.e., to the High *Diwan*) *so that better men may be appointed to replace them.*

"If any *amil* has let arrears (of revenue) accumulate for many years, you should collect the due amount from the villages in question by *easy instalments* at the rate of 5 per cent, every season. The *takavi* loan given last year by Government should be realized in the first season of the present year. If they fail to pay or delay payment, Government will compel the *Diwan* and the *amin* to make the amount good. Send the papers of your Department to the Imperial Record Office according to the regulations."[2]

3. The Faujdar

The *faujdars* were assistants of the *Subahdar* in the maintenance of peace and the discharge of all his executive duties. Each *faujdar* was in charge of division or district of the province. The following instructions were issued to them :

'A *faujdar* should be brave and *polite* in dealing with his soldiers. He should enlist in his contingent of armed retainers only men of known bravery and good family. . . . . .

'Keep up your practice in the exercise of all weapons of war, in hunting and in riding horses, so to keep yourself in a fit condition and to be able to take the field promptly (when called upon to march to a scene of disturbance). Do justice to the oppressed. (*Manual*, 34-36).

'Destroy the forts of lawless men and rebel chiefs as the best means of punishing them. Guard the roads, protect the revenue payers. Assist and give (armed) support to the *gumashtahs* (agents) of the *jagirdars* (in the case of military fiefs) and the *kroris* (in the case of Crown-lands) at the time of collecting the revenue.

'Forbid the blacksmiths to manufacture matchlocks. Urge the *thanahdars* (men in command of the outposts or smaller areas within

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 57-61.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

a *faujdari*), whom you appointed under yourself, to take complete possession of their charges, to abstain from dispossessing the people from their rightful property and from levying any forbidden cess (*abwab*).'[1]

4. The Kotwal

The *kotwal* was the most important of the local officers. He was a man of all work, from the inspection of prisoners to the observance of the *Ilahi* era and the various festivals by the people ; from the maintenance of the safety of the roads to the regulation of the markets ; from the inspection of weights and measures to the prevention of vice, and even wasteful extravagance by private individuals, because when a man spends in excess of his income it is certain that he is doing something wrong.' He was also charged to keep census of the houses and inhabitants in his jurisdiction, to keep an eye over visitors and foreigners coming in and going out, to maintain a body of informers to keep in touch with the daily and hourly happenings, etc., etc. No wonder, therefore, Abul Fazl lays down : 'The appropriate person for this office should be vigorous, experienced, active, deliberate, patient, astute, and humane.'[2] His duties are thus described in the *Ain-i-Akbari* :

> 'Through his watchfulness and night-patrolling the citizens should enjoy the repose of security, and the evil-disposed lie in the slough of non-existence. He should keep a register of houses, and frequented roads, and engage the citizens in a pledge of reciprocal assistance, and bind them to a common participation of weal and woe. He should form a quarter by the union of a certain number of habitations, and name one of his intelligent subordinates for its superintendence and receive a daily report under his seal of those who enter or leave it, and of whatever events therein occur. And he should appoint as a spy one among the obscure residents with whom the others should have no acquaintance, and keeping their reports in writing, employ a heedful scrutiny. . . .He should minutely observe the income and expenditure of the various classes of men and *by a refined address, make his vigilance reflect honour on his administration.* Of every guild of artificers, he should name one as a guild-master, and another as broker, by whose intelligence the business of purchase and sale should be conducted. From these he should require frequent reports. When the night is a little advanced, he should prohibit people from entering or leaving the city. He should set the idle to some handicraft. . . .He should discover thieves and the goods they have stolen or be responsible for the loss. He should so direct that no one shall demand a tax or cess save on arms, elephants, horses, cattle, camels, sheep, goats and merchandise. In every *subah* a slight impost shall be levied at an appointed place. Old coins should be given in to be melted down or consigned to the treasury as bullion. He should suffer no alteration in the value of the gold and silver coin of the realm, and its diminution by wear in circulation he shall recover to the value of the deficiency. *He should use his discretion in the reduction of prices and not allow purchase to be made outside the city.* The rich shall not take beyond what is necessary for their consumption. He shall examine the weights and make the *ser* not more or less than 30 *dams.* In the *gaz*. . . .he should permit neither decrease nor increase, and *restrain the people from the making, the dispensing, the buying or selling of wine, but refrain from invading the*

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 63-65.

privacy of domestic life. Of the property of a deceased or missing person who may have no heir, he shall take an inventory and keep it in his care. He should reserve separate ferries and wells for men and women. He should appoint persons of respectable character to supply the public water-courses : and prohibit women from riding on horseback. *He should direct that no ox or buffalo or horse, or camel be slaughtered,* and *forbid the restriction of personal liberty and the selling of slaves. He should not suffer a woman to be burnt, against her inclination, nor a criminal deserving of death, to be impaled,* nor any one to be circumcised under the age of twelve, etc., etc.'[1]

5. News-reporters

There were four kinds of news-reporters : (i) *wakai-navis* ; (ii) the *sawanih-nigar* ; (iii) the *khufia-navis* ; and (iv) the *harkarah.* The first was the regular reporter posted with the army, in the provinces, and in all towns ; the latter were appointed, either occasionally or regularly, to make sure that *wakai-navises* sent correct news. The news-letters were sent to the *darogha-dak-chauki,* i.e., Superintendents of Posts and Intelligence, who handed them unopened to the *Wazir* to be placed before the Emperor. 'These four classes of public intelligences acted under the orders of this *Darogha* who was their official superior and protector. Sometimes an irate governor would publicly insult or beat the local news-writer for a report against himself and then the *Darogha* would take up the cause of his subordinate, and get the offending governor punished.'[2] The arrangement was that '*wakai* should be sent once a week, *sawanih* twice, and the *akhbar* of *harkarahs* once (? a month) and the despatches in cylinders (*nalo*) from the *nazim* and the *diwan* twice every month, in addition to urgent matters (which are to be reported immediately).'[3]

6. Revenue Collectors

(i) *The Krori.* The *Krori* or 'collector of State dues' was the real collector of revenue. The arrangement was first introduced by Akbar (*Ain,* i, p. 13), and signified an officer in charge of a district which was expected to yield a revenue of one *Kror* of *Dam* ($\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of rupees). Later on the name was applied even to other collectors of State dues like the *kroris* of *ganj* or collectors of markets. The *sanad* of appointment read :

'Collect the revenue season by season as assessed by the *amin,* and pay it to the *fotadar.* With the advice of the *faujdar* and *amin,* carefully deposit the money in the Imperial treasury, giving a receipt for it to the *fotadar.* Send to the Government Record Office your abstract of accounts and statements of income and disbursements and other papers, as laid down in the regulations.' The regulations were :

'The *krori* ought to entertain a body of militia (*sehbandi*) proportionate to his jurisdiction and collect the revenue without negligence and at the right time. He should not demand *mahsul* (the state due in cash or kind) from places not yet capable of paying, lest their ryots should run away. *He should urge his subordinates not to realize anything in excess of the regulations,* lest he should in the end be subject to *wasilat* (examination of accounts with a view to detect peculation). He should be honest.' (*Manual,* p. 66).[4]

1 *Ain-i-Akbari,* ii, pp. 41-43.
2 Sarkar, *op. cit.,* p. 71.
3 *Ibid.,* p. 75.
4 *Ibid.,* p. 86. (Read *The Cambridge History of India,* IV, pp. 109-110)

(ii) *The Amin and the Qanungo.* The *Amin,* as his name implies, was an umpire between the State demanding revenue and the individual *rayat* paying the same. According to the *Manual of the Duties of Officers,* 'The *amin's* work is to cause the kingdom to be cultivated. Before the season of cultivation, he should take from the *Qanungoes* the preceding ten years' papers of the revenue with the *kroris, chaudharis, qanungoes* and *zamindars,* inquire into the condition of the villages, as regards their (culturable) area and the actual number of ploughs, compare the area given in the papers of the *qanungo* with the real area and if the two did not agree, call upon the *qanungo* to explain, and censure the headmen (in the case of shortage). . . .Then enquire whether the existing ploughs are sufficient for the cultivators of the village. If not, then grant *taqavi* (agricultural loans). . . .for the purchase of oxen and seeds, taking bonds from the headmen for the recovery of the loan with the first instalment of the next year's revenue, and indemnity-bonds from the *kroris* that they would realize the loan with the first instalment of the next year.

The *Qanungo* was the living dictionary of the *qanun* or regulations regarding land. He kept registers of the value, tenure, extent, and transfers of lands, reporting deaths and successions of revenue-payers, and explaining when required, local practices and public regulations. The *Mannal* states, 'The Emperor's business goes on in reliance on your papers. To your office belong the papers of division, comparison, etc. . . .Keep two copies of the records—one in your house and the other in your office (in charge of your *gumashta*)—so that one at least may be saved in case of fire or flood.'

Fifteen Subahs

The *Ain-i-Akbari* relates, 'In the fortieth year of the Divine Era, His Majesty's dominions consisted of one hundred and five *Sarkars* (divisions of a *Subah* subdivided into 2,737 townships). When the ten years' settlement (see below) of the revenue was made. . . .His Majesty apportioned the Empire into twelve divisions, to each of which he gave the name of *Subah* and distinguished them by the appellation of the tract of country or its capital city. These were Allahabad. Agra, Oudh, Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Bihar, Bengal, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Multan, Malwa ; and when Berar, Khandesh, and Ahmadnagar were conquered, their number was fixed at fifteen.' This is followed by a detailed description of the provinces, their boundaries, administration, products, etc.

III. Akbar's Revenue System

Land Revenue was the principal source of income to the Empire. The other sources of Imperial revenue were customs, mint, inheritance, presents, monopolies, and indemnities. Its total, according to the *Ain.,* amounted to 363 *Krors* of *dams* ; the land-revenue alone (from the 12 *subahs* in 1579-80) was Rs. 90,744.000. Different systems obtained in different parts of the country before Akbar's conquest. Akbar's policy was directed towards reducing these to a common system. The task was a very difficult one. In 1570-71 Muzaffar Khan Turbati and Raja Todar Mal were asked to revise the land-revenue assessments according to estimates framed by local *qanungoes,* and checked by ten officers at the headquarters. "Thus, for the first time since the establishment of the Mughal power, was the local knowledge of the old hereditary revenue officials

1 *Ibid.,* pp. 87-89.

employed in determining the amount of the State demand."[1] In 1573, Todar Mal made his famous systematic survey of all the lands in Gujarat, which became the basis of his later reforms known as Todar Mal's *Bandobast*. "There is no name in mediaeval history," says Lane-Poole, "more renowned in India to the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstruction of the revenue system."[2] Two years later, in 1575-76, with the exception of Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat, a fresh survey was carried out, and the Empire was divided into 182 equal fiscal units each roughly yielding a revenue of a *kror* of *tankas* (?) or Rs. 260,000. Such a unit was made the charge of an officer called the *krori*, described above. This artificial system was made too mathematically perfect to succeed in practice, and had soon to be discarded. Consequently, a fresh attempt at reform was made in 1579-80. This resulted in the division of the Empire into the 12 *subahs* already referred to, and the introduction of the ten years' settlement. The history of these reforms is thus given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* :

Todar Mal's *Bandobast*

> 'When Khwajah Abdul Majid Asaf Khan was raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, the total revenue was taken at an estimation, and the assignments were increased as the caprice of the moment suggested. And because at that time the extent of the Empire was small, and there was a constant increase of dignities among the servants of the State, the variations were contingent on the extent of corruption and self-interest. When this great office devolved on Muzaffar Khan and Raja Todar Mal, in the 15th year of the reign, a redistribution of the Imperial assessment was made through the *qanungoes*, and estimating the produce of the lands they made a fresh settlement. Ten *qanungoes* were appointed who collected the accounts from the provincial *qanungoes* and lodged them in the Imperial exchequer. Although this settlement was somewhat less than the preceding one, nevertheless there had been formerly a wide discrepancy between the estimates and the receipts.
>
> When through the prudent management of the Sovereign, the Empire was enlarged in extent, it became difficult to ascertain each year the prices current and much inconvenience was caused by the delay. On the one hand, the husbandman complained of extensive exactions, and, on the other, the holder of assigned lands was aggrieved on account of the revenue balances. His Majesty devised a remedy for these evils and in the discernment of his world-adorning mind fixed a settlement for ten years ; the people were thus made contented and their gratitude was abundantly manifested. From the beginning of the 15th year of the divine era to the 24th, an aggregate of the rates of collection was formed and a tenth of the total was fixed as the annual assessment ; but from the 20th to the 24th year the collections were accurately determined and the five former ones accepted on the authority of persons of probity. The best crops were taken into account in each year and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted.'

This measurement of land was preceded by a reform of the units of measurement ; the *gaz*, the *tanab* and the *bigha* were set and defined.[3]

1 Edwardes and Garret, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 198.
2 Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 261.
3 *Ain-i-Akbari*, ii, pp. 58-62.

When His Majesty had determined the *gaz*, the *tanab* and the *bigha*, in his profound sagacity he classified the lands and fixed a different revenue to be paid by each.

'*Polaj* is land which is annually cultivated for each crop in succession and is never allowed to lie fallow. *Parauti* is land left out of cultivation for a time that it may recover its strength. *Chachar* is land that has lain fallow for three or four years. *Banjar* is land uncultivated for five years and more.

'Of the two first kinds of land, there are three classes, good, middling and bad. They add together the produce of each sort, and a third of this represents the medium produce, one-third part of which is exacted as the royal duties. The revenue levied by Sher Khan, *which at the present day is represented in all provinces as the lowest rate of assessment*, generally obtained, and for the convenience of the cultivators and the soldiery, the value was taken in ready money. . . .

'His Majesty in his wisdom thus regulated the revenues in the above-mentioned favourable manner. He reduced the duty on manufactures from ten to five per cent, and two per cent was divided between the *patwari* and the *qanungo*. . . .Many imposts, equal in amount to the income of Hindustan, were remitted by his Majesty as a thanks-offering to the Almighty. Among these were the following:

> 'The capitation tax, the port duties, the pilgrim tax, the tax on various classes of artificers, *Daroga's* fees, *Tahasildar's* fees, market duties, passports, fees on the sale and purchase of a house, on salt made from nitrous earth. . . .in fine all those imposts which the natives of Hindustan include under the term *Sair Jihat*, were remitted.
>
> 'When either from excessive rain or through an inundation, the land falls out of cultivation, the husbandmen are, at first, in considerable distress. In the first year therefore but two-fifths of the produce is taken; in the second three-fifths; in the third four-fifths; and in the fifth the ordinary revenue. According to differences of situation the revenue is paid either in money or in kind. In the third year the charges of 5 per cent, and one *dam* for each *bigha* are added.'[1]

IV. The Army and Fleet

We have stated above that the salaries of almost all important officers of the Empire were disbursed by the *Bakshi* or Pay-Master General of the Army. They were all enrolled, whatever the nature of their actual duties, as military officers: and their status and emoluments were calculated in terms of the military contingents under them. "Though on several occasions," observes Prof. Sarkar, "we have officers invested with the title of *sipahsalar* or 'commander of troops', it was only a mark of honour and they did not command the entire Mughal army. The Emperor was the only Commander-in-Chief.[3]

Abul Fazl thus describes the organization of the Imperial army:

'His Majesty guides the Imperial army by his excellent advice and counsel, and checks in various ways attempts at insubordination. He has divided the army, on account of the multitude of the men, into several

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-67.
2 Read Monserrate on Akbar's Army by Moreland, in the *J.I.H.*, April, 1936.
3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

classes, and has thereby secured the peace of the country.[1] The principal grades of officers and classes of troops were : (1) *Mansabdar*, (2) *Ahadis*, (3) *Dakhilis*, and (4) the Infantry.

1. Mansabdars

According to Abul Fazl, the Emperor appointed the *Mansabdars* 'from the *Dabhashi* (commander of ten) to the *Dah Hazari* (commander of ten thousand), limiting, however, all commands above 5000, to his august sons (or nobles of the highest rank). . . .

'The monthly grants made to the *Mansabdars* varied according to the condition of their contingents. An officer whose contingent came up to his *Mansab*, was put into the First Class of his rank ; if his contingent was one-half and upwards of his number, he was put into the Second Class ; the Third Class contained those contingents which were still less. Their salaries were as follows :

Rank : Commanders of	*Monthly Salary in Rupees*		
	1st Class	*2nd Class*	*3rd Class*
10,000	60,000	—	—
5,000	30,000	29,000	28,000
1,000	8,200	8,100	8,000
500	2,500	2,300	2,100
100	700	600	500
10	100	82½	75

These salaries included also the expenses of the contingents maintained by each *Mansabdar*. But, as pointed out above, few *Mansabdars* actually maintained the full contingent indicating their rank. A commander of 100, if he had his full establishment, had to spend Rs. 313; one of 1,000, Rs. 3015½ ; and of 5,000, Rs. 10,637.

The higher *Mansabdars* were mostly Governors of *Subahs*. They were at first called *Sipahsalars* : towards the end of Akbar's regin they were known as *Hakims*, and afterwards, *Sahib Subah* or *Subahdar*, and still later merely *Subah*. The other *Mansabdars* held *jagirs* which after Akbar frequently changed hands.

The contingents of the *Mansabdars* formed the greater part of the army, and were inspected from time to time. They were paid from the central or the local treasuries. Badauni states : 'Shahbaz Khan, the *Mir Bakshi*, introduced the custom and rule of the *dagh o mahalli* (branding of animals), which had been the rule of Ala-ud-din Khilji and afterwards the law under Sher Shah. It was settled that every *Amir* should commence as a commander of twenty (*bisti*), and be ready with his followers to mount guard. . . .and when, according to the rule, he had brought the horses of his twenty troopers to be branded, he was then to be made a *Sadi* or Commander of 100 or more. They were likewise to keep elephants, horses and camels, in proportion to their *Mansab*, according to the same rule. When they had brought to the masters their new contingents complete, they were to be promoted according to their merits and circumstances to the post of *Hazari*, *Duhazari* and even *Panj-hazari*, which is the highest *Mansab* (for other than Princes of the royal blood ; Raja Man Singh, who held a *Mansab* of 7,000, was an exception) ; but if they did not do well at the musters they were to be put down.[2]

1 *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 231.
2 *Ibid*, pp. 236-47. Read Prof. Shri Ram Sharma, "Organization of Public Services in Mughal India (1526-1707)" in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XXIII, 1937, Part 2, pp. 1-54. Also

2. Ahadis

'There were many brave and worthy persons,' says Abul Fazl, 'whom His Majesty does not appoint to a *mansab*, but whom he frees from being under the orders of any one. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of His Majesty, and are dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. These were the *Ahadis*.

'For the sake of the convenience of the *Ahadis*, a separate *Diwan* and a pay-master are appointed, and one of the great *Amirs* is their chief. . . . Many *Ahadis* have indeed more than Rs. 500 per mensem. . . .In the beginning when their rank was first established, some *Ahadis* mustered eight horses ; but now the limit is five. . . .*Ahadis* are mustered every four months, when on a certificate signed by the *Diwan* and the *Bakshi*, which is called now-a-days *Tahchihah*, the clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to be counter-signed by the principal grandees. This the treasurer keeps and pays the claim. . . .On joining the service, an *Ahadi* generally finds his own horse ; but afterwards gets it from the Government. . . .Those who are in want of horses, are continually taken before His Majesty, who gives away many horses as presents or as part of the pay, one-half being reckoned as grant, and the other half being deducted in four instalments at the subsequent four musters ; or, if the *Ahadi* be in debt, in eight instalments.'[1]

3. Dakhili

A fixed number of troops are handed over to the *Mansabdars* ; but they are paid by the State. His Majesty has ordered to designate these infantry soldiers in the descriptive rolls as *nimah suwaran* or half-troopers.

'The fourth part of *Dakhili* troops are matchlock-bearers ; the others carry bows.

'Carpenters, workers in iron, water-carriers, pioneers, belong to this class.'[2]

4. Infantry

'They are of various kinds, and perform remarkable duties. His Majesty has made suitable regulations for their several ranks, and guides great and small in the most satisfactory manner.

'The *First Class* gets 500 *dams* ; the *Second*, 400 *dams* ; the *Third*, 300 *dams* ; the *Fourth*, 240 *dams* (Re. 1=40 *dams*).

'There are 12,000 Imperial matchlock-bearers. Attached to this service is an experienced *Bitikchi*, an honest treasurer and an active *Darogah*. few *bandugchis* are selected for these offices ; the others hold the following ranks :

'Some are distinguished by their experience and zeal and are, therefore, appointed over a certain number of others, so that uniformity may pervade the whole, and the duties be performed with propriety and understanding. The pay of these (non-commissioned) officers is of four grades : *First*, 300 *dams* ; *Second*, 280 *dams* ; *Third*, 270 *dams* ; *Fourth*, 260 *dams*.

'Common *bandugchis* are divided into five classes, and each class into three subdivisions. *First Class*, 250, 240 and 230 *dams*. *Second Class*, 220, 210 and 200 *dams*. *Third Class*, 190, 180 and 170 *dams*. *Fourth Class*, 160, 150 and 140 *dams*. *Fifth Class*, 130, 120 and 110 *dams*.'

"Rank in the Mogul State Service" by Moreland in *J R.A.S.*, Oct. 1936 ; "Zat Rank in the Mughal Army" by Moreland, in *J.I.H.* Dec., 1936 ; and "Some Notes on Mughal Mansabs" by C. S. K. Rao Sahib, in *ibid.*, April, 1937.

1 *Ain-i-Akbari*, I, pp. 249-50.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 254.

Besides these regular troops, there were a number of miscellaneous camp-followers like the runners, wrestlers, and *Palki-bearers*. About the last the *Ain* says, 'They form a class of foot-servants peculiar to India. They carry heavy loads on their shoulders and travel through mountains and valleys. With their *Palkis, singhasans, chaudols*, and *dulies*, they walk so evenly, that the man inside is not inconvenienced by any jolting.[1] There are many in this country, but the best came from the Dakhin and Bengal. . . .The pay of a head bearer varies from 192 to 384 *dams*. Common bearers get from 120 to 160 *dams*.'[2]

Army Regulations

'When His Majesty had fixed the ranks of the army, and enquired into the quality of the horses,[3] he ordered that upright *Bitikchis* should make out descriptive rolls of the soldiers and write down their peculiar marks. Their ages, the names of their fathers, dwelling-places, and race were to be registered. A *Darogah* also was appointed whose duty it was to see that the men were not unnecessarily detained. They were to perform their duties without taking bribes or asking for remunerations. . . .

'His Majesty has also appointed five experienced officers who have to look after the condition of the men, their horses, and the stipulated amount of pay.'

Various signs were used for branding horses. 'At last, numerals were introduced, which plan best frustrates fraudulent practices. They make iron numerals, by which all indistinctness is avoided. These new signs are likewise put on the right. . . .The carefulness with which the system of marking horses was attended to, resulted at once in truthful reports regarding dead horses. . . .Horses answering the description in the rolls were even hired, and substituted for the old ones ; but as the mark was not forthcoming, the deception was detected, and the soldiers thus learnt to be honest. . . .

'The Imperial army has been divided into twelve parts each of which mounts guard for the space of one month. This gives all troops, whether near or far, an opportunity to come to Court and to partake of the liberty of His Majesty. But those who are stationed at the frontiers, or told off for any important duty, merely send in reports of their exact condition, and continue to perform His Majesty's special orders. On the first of every solar month, the guards are drawn up to salute His Majesty, as is usual on weekly parades, and are then distinguished by royal marks of favour.

'The Imperial army has also been divided into twelve other divisions, each of which is selected in turn, to come to Court for one year and do duty near the person of His Majesty.

'His Majesty generally inspects the guards himself, and takes notice of the presence or absence of the soldiers. . . .if His Majesty is prevented by more important affairs from attending, one of the Princes is ordered to inspect the guards. From predilection and a desire to teach soldiers their duties as also from a regard to general efficiency, His Majesty pays attention to the guards. If any one is absent without having a proper excuse,

1 *Cf.* Gaily O gaily we glide and we sing,
We bear her along like a pearl on a string. —Sarojini Naidu, *Palanquin-Bearers*.

2 *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, pp. 251-54.

3 'They have been divided into seven classes. The rate of their daily food has also been fixed These seven classes are *Arabs, Persian horses, Mujannas, Turki horses, Yabus, Tazis*, and *Janglah* horses.'—*Ibid., Ain* 2 : *On the Animals of the Army*, pp. 233-36.

or from laziness, he is fined one week's pay, or receives a suitable reprimand.'[1]

The Arsenal

'The Order of the Household, the efficiency of the Army, and the welfare of the country, are intimately connected with the state of this department; hence His Majesty gives it every attention, and looks scrutinizingly into its working order. He introduces all sorts of new methods, and studies their applicability to practical purposes.'[2]

'Guns are wonderful locks for protecting the august edifice of the State; and befitting keys for the door of conquest. With the exception of Turkey, there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the Government than this. There are now-a-days guns made of such a size that the ball weighs 12 *mans*; several elephants and a thousand cattle are required to transport one. His Majesty looks upon the care bestowed on the efficiency of this branch as one of the higher objects of a King, and devotes to it much of his time. *Darogahs* and clever clerks are appointed to keep the whole in proper working order. . . .

'The Imperial guns are carefully distributed over the whole kingdom, and each *Subah* has that kind which is fit for the siege of fortresses and for naval engagements. His Majesty has separate guns made, which accompany his victorious armies on their marches. . . .

Amirs and *Ahadis* are on staff employ in this branch. The pay of the foot varies from 100 to 400 *dams*.

Matchlocks are now made so strong that they do not burst, though let off when filled to the top. Formerly they could not fill them to more than a quarter. Besides, they made them with the hammer and the anvil by flattening pieces of iron, and joining the flattened edges of both sides. Some left them, from foresight, on one side open; but numerous accidents were the results, especially in the former kind. His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction: They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in the form of a roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; then they join the folds, not edge to edge, but, so as to allow them to lie one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire. They also take cylindrical pieces of iron, and piece them when hot with an iron pin. Three or four such pieces make one gun or, in the case of smaller ones, two. Guns are often made of a length of two yards; those of a smaller kind are one and a quarter yards long. . . .Bullets are also made so as to cut like a sword. . . .Several things are marked on every matchlock, viz., the weight of the raw and the manufactured iron; the place where the iron is taken from; the workman; the place where the gun is made; the date; its number. . . .

'Formerly a strong man had to work a long time with iron instruments, in order to clean matchlocks. His Majesty, from his 'practical knowledge. has invented a wheel, by the motion of which sixteen barrels may be cleaned in a very short time. The wheel is turned by a cow.'[3]

The Fleet

The department is of great use for the successful operations of the army, and for the benefit of the country in general; it furnishes means of obtaining things of value, provided for agriculture, and His Majesty's household. His Majesty, in

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 255-58.
2 *Ibid*., p. 109.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 112-15.

fostering the source of power, keeps four objects in view, and looks upon promoting the efficiency of this department as an act of divine worship.

Firstly : The fitting out of strong boats, capable of carrying elephants. Some are made in such a manner as to be of use in sieges and for the conquest of strong forts. Experienced officers look upon ships as if they were houses and dromedaries and use them as excellent means of conquest. So especially in Turkey, Zanzibar, and Europe. In every part of His Majesty's Empire, ships are numerous ; but in Bengal, Kashmir, and T'hat'ha (Sindh) they are the pivot of all commerce. . . .Along with the coast of the ocean, in the west, east, and south of India, large ships are built, which are suitable for voyages. The harbours have been put into excellent condition, and the experience of seamen has much improved. Large ships are also built at Ilahabad and Lahore and are then sent to the coast.

Secondly : To appoint experienced seamen, acquainted with the tides, the depths of the ocean, the time when the several winds blow, and their advantages and disadvantages. They must be familiar with shallows and banks. Besides, a seaman must be hale and strong, a good swimmer, kind-hearted, hard-working, capable of bearing fatigue, patient, in fact he must possess all good qualities. Men of such character can only be found after much trouble. The best seamen came from Malibar (Malabar).

Thirdly : An experienced man has been appointed to look after the rivers. . . .As he possesses experience, he settles every difficulty which arises regarding fords, and takes care that such places are not overcrowded, or too narrow, or very uneven, or full of mud. He regulates the number of passengers that a ferry boat may carry ; he must not allow travellers to be delayed, and *see that poor people are passed over gratis.* He ought not to allow people to swim across, or wares to be deposited anywhere else but at fording places. He should also prevent people from crossing at night unless in cases of necessity.

Fourthly : The remission of duties. His Majesty, in his mercy, has remitted many tolls, though the income derived from them equalled the revenue of the whole country. He only wishes that boatmen should get their wages. The State takes certain taxes in harbour places ; but they never exceed $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, which is so little compared with the taxes formerly levied, and merchants look upon harbour taxes as totally remitted.

'The following sums are levied as river tolls—For every boat Re. 1 per *kos*, at the rate of 1,000 *mans*, provided the boat and the men belong to one and the same owner. But if the boat belongs to another man and everything in the boat to the man who has hired it, the tax is Re. 1 for every $2\frac{1}{2}$ *kos*. At ferry places, an elephant has to pay 10*d*. for crossing ; a laden cart, 4*d*. ; same, empty, 2*d*. ; a laden camel, 1*d*. ; empty camels, horses, cattle with their things, $\frac{1}{2}d$. ; same, empty, $\frac{1}{4}d$. Other beasts of burden pay 1/16*d*. ; which includes the toll due by the driver. Twenty people pay 1*d*. for crossing ; but they are often taken gratis.

'The rule is that one-half or one-third of the tolls thus collected go to the state (the rest to the boatmen).

'Merchants are, therefore, well treated, and the articles of foreign countries are imported in large quantities.'[1]

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 279-82.

V. The Imperial Mint

To complete this brief survey of Akbar's administration we might add one more extract from the *Ain-i-Akbari*, about the Imperial Mint.

'As the successful working of the Mint,' writes Abul Fazl, 'increases the treasure, and is the source of despatch for every department, I shall mention a few details. . . .The success of this department lies in the appointment of intelligent, zealous and upright workmen, and the edifice of the world is built upon their attention and carefulness.' Only two officers of this department are mentioned by Abul Fazl, viz., the *Darogah* and the *Shirafi*.[1] He also gives the description of the following coins :

A. Good Coins

1. The *S'hansah* is a round coin weighing 101 *tolahs*, 9 *mashas* and 7 *surkhs*, in value equal to 100 *La'li Jalali-muhurs*. On the field of one side is engraved the name of His Majesty, and on the five arches in the border, 'the great Sultan, the distinguished Emperor, may God perpetuate his kingdom and his reign ! Struck at the capital Agra'. On the reverse is the *beautiful formula* (*Kalimah*) and the following verse of the *Qoran* : "God is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth, without measure" ; and round about are the names of the first four Califs.[2]

2. There is another gold coin of the same name and shape, weighing 97 *tolahs* and 8 *mashas*, in value equal to 100 *round muhurs*, at 11 *mashas*, each. It has the same impression as the preceding one.

3. The *Rahas* is the half of each of the two preceding coins. It is sometimes made square.

4. The *A'tmah* is the fourth part of the *S'hansah*, round and square.

5. The *Binsat*, of the same two forms as the *A'tmah*, in value equal to one-fifth of the first coin.

There are also gold coins of the same shape and impression equal to one-eighth, one-tenth, one-twentieth, one-twenty-fifth of the *S'hansah*.

6. The *Chugul* (or *Jugal*), of a square form, is the fiftieth part of the *S'hansah*, in value equal to two *muhurs*.

The description of twenty other gold coins follows. Then the *Ain* states, 'As regards gold coins, the custom followed in the Imperial Mint is to coin *La'li Jalalis*, *D'hans* and *Mans*, each coin for the space of a month. The other gold coins are never stamped without special orders.' The first of these is 10th in Abul Fazl's list, and is said to be of the same weight and value as the *Ilahi* (12 *mashas*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ *surkhs*=Rs. 10). The second was half, and the third one-fourth of the *Jalali*.

B. Silver Coins

'1. The *Rupee* is round, and weighs $11\frac{1}{2}$ *mashas*. It was first introduced in the time of Sher Khan. It was perfected during this reign, and received a new stamp, on one side "*Allahu Akbar, Jalla Jalaluhu*," and on the other the date. *Although the market price is sometimes more or less than 40 dams yet this value is always set upon it in the payment of salaries.*

2. The *Jalalah* is of a square form, which was introduced during the present reign. In value and stamp it is the same as No. 1.

3. The *Darb* is half a *Jalalah*.

4. The *Charan* is a quarter *Jalalah*.

5. The *Pandan* is a fifth of the *Jalalah*.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.
2 For alterations of these 'coin-legends' later in Akbar's reign, see *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

6. The *Asht* is the eighth part of the *Jalalah.*
7. The *Dasa* is one-tenth of the *Jalalah.*
8. The *Kala* is the sixteenth part of the *Jalalah.*
9. The *Suki* is one-twentieth of the *Jalalah.*

'The same fractional parts are adopted for the (round) *Rupee*, which is however different in form.'

C. Copper Coins

'1. The *Dam* weighs 6 *tankas*, i.e., 1 *tolah*, 8 *mashas*, and 7 *surkhs*; it is the fortieth part of the rupee. At first this coin was called *Paisah*, and also *Bahloli* : now it is known under this name (*dam*). On one side the place where it was struck is given, and on the other the date.

For the purpose of calculation, the *dam* is divided into 25 parts, each of which is called a *jetal.* This imaginary division is used only by accountants.

2. The *Adhelah* is half of a *dam.*
3. The *Paulah* is a quarter *dam.*
4. The *Damri* is one-eighth of a *dam.*'

Note. 'In the beginning of this reign, gold was coined. . . .in many parts of the Empire ; now gold coins are struck at four places only, viz., at the seat of the government, in Bengal, Ahmadabad, and Kabul. Silver and copper are likewise coined at the places, and at—Illahabad, Agrah, Ujjain, Surat, Dilli, Patna, Kashmir, Lahore, Multan, Tandah. In twenty-eight towns copper coins only are struck, viz., Ajmer, Audh, Atak, Alwar, Badaon, Banaras, Bhakhar, Bahrah, Patan, Jaunpur, Jalandhar, Hardwar, Hisar Firuzah, Kalpi, Gwalior, Gorakhpur, Kalanaur, Lakhnau, Mandu, Nagor, Sirhind, Siyalkot, Saronj, Saharanpur, Sarangpur, Sambal, Qanauj, Rantambhur.

'Mercantile affairs in this country are mostly transacted in *round muhurs, rupees* and *dams.*'[1]

Akbar's Treasures

The Flemish writer De Laet (1593-1649) states : 'The wealth of this Prince can be estimated : firstly, from the size of the territories which he controls (these form an Empire larger than that of Persia and equal to, if not greater than, that of Turkey) ; secondly, from the fact that no one in his Empire has any possessions at all except what he holds through the prince's liberality and at his pleasure, and that he himself inherits the property not only of all dead magnates, but also of inferior persons, taking for himself as much as he pleases of what they leave ; and thirdly, from the immense gifts which are bestowed upon him everyday not only by his subjects but also by foreign princes.'[2] Although De Laet really wrote this of Jahangir, his statement is equally well applicable to Akbar. Further on he observes, on the death of 'Achabar, grandfather of the prince now reigning (Shah Jahan), his treasures were carefully counted, and were found to amount in all (including gold) silver and copper, both wrought and unwrought, together with jewels and all manners of household commodities to 34 crores, 82 lacks, and 26,386$\frac{3}{4}$ rupees (i.e., to Rs. 348,226,386$\frac{3}{8}$) : of this total Rs. 198,346,666$\frac{3}{4}$ was in species of all descriptions.'[3]

This treasure included, besides fine porcelain, cloth of gold from Persia, Turkey, Guzerat and Europe ; muslins from Bengala, and woollen

1 For more particulars about Akbar's coinage, see *ibid.*, pp. 27-37.
2 J. S. Hoyland, *The Empire of the Great Mogal*, p. 107.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 107-09.

cloth from Europe, Persia, Tartary ; also books written by great authors, beautifully bound, to the number of 24,000, estimated at Rs. 6,463,731 in value," etc. Prof. Banerjee, commenting upon this, writes, "The inventory of the treasury of Akbar is a unique contribution of De Laet. It agrees with the later accounts of Mandelslo (1638) and Manrique (1649). . .Total comes to 40 millions. The purchasing power of money was six times greater than the pre-war rate, say, in 1914. In other words, the total brings us to the huge figure of £240 million sterling. Henry VII (who died in 1509) left £1,800,000 in bullion and was considered rich. Henry VIII debased the coinage, and Elizabeth left behind a debt of £400,000 and huge number of farthingales !"[1]

VI. Social and Religious Reforms[2]

With all his genius for practical achievement, Akbar was essentially an idealist and dreamer. In addition to his conquests and administrative organization described above, he also aimed at what Abul Fazl calls 'the reformation of the manners of the people'. Thus, while on the one hand, he forbade *infanticide, sati*, excessive indulgence in intoxicating drinks, cow-slaughter, etc., on the other, he encouraged widow remarriage, abolished the invidious pilgrim-tax and *jiziya*, and tried to cement the differences between the two main sections of his people—Hindus and Muslims—by setting an example of inter-communal wedding, making no distinction of caste or creed in the conferment of high titles and offices, and above all, by attempting to establish a new faith which should be the harbinger of a new world : 'For an Empire ruled by one head,' Akbar rightly considered, 'it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves, and at variance one with the other. . . .We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such fashion that they should be *one* and *all* with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. *In what way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire.*'[3]

This glorious idealism of Akbar has been much misunderstood and misrepresented. Bartoli saw in it only Akbar's 'astute and knavish policy'. Even Vincent Smith speaks of "*the fit of religious frenzy* which assailed Akbar at the beginning of May 1578," "a symptom of the intense interest in the claims of rival religions which he manifested in 1578-79 prior to the signing of the infallibility decree in September of the latter year."[4] He further declares, "The Divine Faith was a *monument of Akbar's folly*, not of his wisdom. . . .The whole scheme was the outcome of ridiculous vanity, *a monstrous growth of unrestrained autocracy.*"[5] In view of this unrestrained criticism it is necessary to go into a detailed examination of Akbar's religious and social reforms.[6]

Din-i-Ilahi

Far from being the 'monument of Akbar's folly,' the *Din-i-Ilahi*, as the new faith was called, was the crowning expression of the Emperor's national idealism. Akbar, at least in this respect, is not to be judged by the statements of the Jesuits

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12. See also A. Aziz, *op. cit.* pp. 514-20.
2 Read "Akbar's Religious Policy," by Sri Ram Sharma, in *I.H.Q.*, XIII, 2, 3, 1937.
3 According to Bartoli, cited by Smith, *Akbar*, pp. 211-12.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 163.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 222.
6 In support of the view upheld in the present volume the reader is strongly recommended to read the chapter on *Din-i-Ilahi* in *The Mughal Empire* by Mr. S. M. Jaffar. The opposite view is maintained in *C.H.I.*, IV, pp. 129-32.

alone. Being keenly disappointed in their expectations of converting the Emperor, these European missionaries became too prone to give credence to statements discrediting Akbar. To cite Badauni in confirmation of the Jesuits, is only to call in two prejudiced witnesses instead of one. A fair judge ought to make sure especially before jumping into a condemnation, that the witnesses themselves are above suspicion. We shall, therefore, consider accounts of the *Din-i-Ilahi* given by two rival witnesses, Abul Fazl and Badauni, and try to arrive at the truth on the merits of their evidence.

'Whenever, from lucky circumstances,' says Abul Fazl, 'the time arrives that a nation learns to understand how to worship truth, the people will naturally look to their King on account of the high position which he occupies, and accept him to be their spiritual leader as well. . . .A King will, therefore, sometimes observe the element of harmony in a multitude of things, or sometimes, reversely, a multitude of things in that which is apparently one ; for he sits on the throne of distinction, and is thus equally removed from joy or sorrow. Now this is the case with the monarch of the present age (Akbar). . . .He now is the spiritual guide of the nation, and sees in the performance of this duty a means of pleasing God.'[1]

This was the outlook of the age, and, as we have pointed out in our Introduction, we are not to forget that elsewhere than in India, people had not outgrown the belief *cujus regio, ejus religio.* England looked to the Tudors to save the nation, and the Tudors expected the people to behave themselves. At least under Akbar there were no 'Smithfield fires,' and the King did not seek to change the creed of a nation because he desired to get rid of an old wife in order to marry her chamber-maid !

Admitting the need for a national church, there is nothing ridiculous in conceiving a new ritual. Akbar declared himself the spiritual no less than the temporal head of the State ; but he never forced on the people any Act of Supremacy or Uniformity. 'In the magnanimity of his heart, he never thinks of his perfection.' says, Abul Fazl, 'though he is the ornament of the world. . . .Notwithstanding every strictness and reluctance shewn by His Majesty in admitting novices, there are many thousands, men of all classes, who have cast over their shoulders the mantle of belief, and look upon their conversion to the New Faith as the means of obtaining every blessing. . . .

'The members of the Divine Faith, on seeing each other, observe the following custom. One says "*Allahu Akbar*" ; and the other responds, "*Jalla Jalaluhu*". The motive of His Majesty in laying down this mode of salutation is to remind men to think of the origin of their existence, and to keep the Deity in fresh, lively and grateful remembrance.

'It is also ordered by His Majesty that, instead of the dinner usually given in remembrance of a man after his death, each member should prepare a dinner during his lifetime, and thus gather provisions for his last journey.

'Each member is to give a party on the anniversary of his birthday, and arrange a sumptuous feast. He is to bestow alms, and thus prepare provisions for the long journey.

'His Majesty has also ordered that members should abstain from eating flesh. They may allow others to eat flesh, without touching it themselves ; but during the month of their birth they are not even to approach meat. Nor shall members go near anything that they have themselves

1 *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, pp. 163-64.

slain ; nor eat of it. Neither shall they make use of the same vessels with butchers, fishers, and blrd-catchers.

'Members should not cohabit with pregnant, old and barren women; nor with giris under the age of puberty.'[1]

Badauni's Comments. Badauni was an uncompromising critic of Akbar's innovations. He was the very antithesis of Abul Fazl. He looked upon Akbar as one lost to Islam. "His historical work, entitled *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh,*" says Blochmann, "is much prized as written by an enemy of Akbar, whose character, in its grandeur and its failings, is much more prominent than in the *Akbar-Nama*, or the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* or the *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi.* It is especially of value for the religious views of the Emperor, and contains interesting biographies of most famous men and poets of Akbar's time."[2]

'In this year (987 H.),' writes Badauni, 'His Majesty was anxious to unite in his person the powers of the State and those of the Church ; for he could not bear to be subordinate of any one. As he had heard that the Prophet, his lawful successors, and some of the most powerful Kings, as Amir Timur, and Mirza Ulugh Beg, and several others, had themselves read the *Khutbah* (the Friday prayer), he resolved to do the same, apparently in order to imitate their example, but in reality to appear in the public as the *Mujtahid* of the age. Accordingly, on Friday, the first *Jumad-al-awwal* 987, in the Jami Masjid of Fatehpur, which he had built near the palace, His Majesty commenced to read the *Khutbah*. . . .These are the verses :

"The Lord has given me the Empire,
And a wise heart, and a strong arm.
He has guided me in righteousness and justice,
And has removed from thoughts everything but justice.
His praise surpasses man's understanding,
Great is His power, Allahu Akbar !"

'In the same year (987 H.), a document made its appearance, which bore the signatures and seals of Makhdum-ul-Mulk, of Sheikh Abdunnabi . . . .of Cadr Jahan, the *Mufti* of the Empire, of Sheikh Mubarik, the deepest writer of the age, and Ghazi Khan of Badakhshan, who stood unrivalled in the various sciences. . . .

The Document

"Whereas Hindustan has now become the centre of security and peace, and land of justice and beneficence, a large number of people especially learned men and lawyers have immigrated and chosen this country for their home. *Now we, the principal Ulamas, who are not only well-versed in the several departments of the law and in the principles of jurisprudence, and well-acquainted with the edicts which rest on reason or testimony, but are also known for our piety and honest intentions, have duly considered* the deep meaning, *first* of the verse of *Qoran* (*Sur.*, IV, 62) :

"*Obey God and obey the Prophet, and those who have authority among you,*' and *secondly*, of the genuine tradition ; '*Surely, the man who is dearest to God on the day of judgment, is the Imam-i' Adil ; whosoever obeys the Amir obeys Me ; and whosoever rebels against him, rebels against me,*' and *thirdly*, of several other proofs based on reasoning or testimony ; and we have agreed that the rank of a *Sultan-i-Adil* (a just ruler) is higher in the eyes of God than the rank of *Mujtahid.* Further, we declare that the King of

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 165-67.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 104, n. 2.

Islam, Amir of the Faithful, Shadow of God in the world, *Abul Fatah Jalal-uddin Muhammad Akbar Padishah Ghazi*, whose kingdom God perpetuate, is a most just, most wise, and a most God-fearing King. Should, therefore, in future, a religious question come up, regarding which the opinions of the *Mujtahids* are at variance, and His Majesty, in his penetrating understanding and clear wisdom, be inclined to adopt, *for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient* any of the conflicting opinions which exist on that point, and issue a decree to that effect, *we do hereby agree that such a decree shall be binding on us and on the whole nation.*

"Further, we declare that, should His Majesty think fit to issue a new order, we and the nation shall likewise be bound by it, *provided always that such an order be not only in accordance with some verse of the Qoran but also of real benefit for the nation,* and further, that any opposition on the part of the subjects to such an order as passed by His Majesty, shall involve damnation in the world to come, and loss of religion and property in this life.

"This document has been written with honest intentions, for the glory of God, and *the propagation of Islam, and is signed by us, the principal Ulamas and lawyers* ; in the month of *Rajab* of the year 987 of the Hijrah."

Commenting on this, Badauni writes, 'No sooner had His Majesty obtained this legal instrument, than the road of deciding any religous question was open ; *the superiority of intellect of the Imam was established, and opposition was rendered impossible. All orders regarding things which our law allows or disallows, were abolished, and the superiority of intellect of the Imam became law.*"[1]

The gravamen of Badauni's charge against the innovators was their rejection of Islamic revelation, and their intellectuality. 'The Emperor examined people,' he says, 'about the creation of the *Qoran,* elicited their belief, or otherwise, in revelation, and raised doubts in them regarding all things connected with the Prophet and the Imams. He distinctly denied the existence of Jins, of angels, and all other beings of the invisible world as well as the miracles of the Prophet and the saints; he rejected the successive testimony of the witness of our Faith, the proof for the truths of *Qoran* as far as they agree with man's reason, etc. Akbar had boldly declared, "Man's outward profession and the mere letter of Muhammadanism, without a heartfelt conviction, can avail nothing. . . .To repeat the words of the Creed, to perform circumcision, or to lie prostrate on the ground from dread of kingly power, can avail nothing in the sight of God." (E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 60-61).

In the eyes of Badauni this was unpardonable apostacy from the orthodox faith. From this moment onwards, he and the bigoted *mullas* began to execrate everything connected with the new faith ; they had nothing but imprecations and invectives against everyone connected therewith. Impotent orthodoxy raged and foamed ; it raised the head of rebellion in 1581 and died away in futile discontent. We find it still simmering in the pages of the *Muntakhab* :

'The poor (orthodox) Sheikhs who were, moreover, left to the mercies of Hindu Financial Secretaries, forgot in exile their spiritual soirces, and had no other place where to live, except mouse-holes. . . .

'In this year (988 H.) low and mean fellows, who pretended to be learned, but were in reality fools, collected evidences that His Majesty

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 184-87.

was the *Sahib-i-Zaman* who would remove all differences of opinion among the seventy-two sects of Islam. . . .The *Shiahs* mentioned similar nonsense . . . .All this made His Majesty the more inclined to claim the dignity of a prophet, perhaps I should say, the dignity of something else.'[1]

'During this time, the four degrees of faith in His Majesty were defined. The four degrees consisted in readiness to sacrifice to the Emperor "property, life, honour, and religion." Whoever had sacrificed these four things, possessed four degrees ; and whoever sacrificed one of these four, possessed one degree. All the courtiers now put their names down as faithful disciples of the throne.'[2]

Badauni has here definitely begun to caricature. Badauni was certainly not one of 'all the courtiers' who had signed away their 'property, life, honour, and religion' to the Emperor ; and he continued to live at the Court of Akbar for the remaining fifteen years of his life (989-1004 H.). He has himself mentioned only sixteen names of the courtiers who accepted the Divine Faith, to which Abul Fazl has added two. "With the exception of Birbal, they are all Muhammadans ; but to judge from Badauni's remarks the number of those that took the *Shact*, must have been much larger," says Blochmann.[3] According to Badauni's own testimony, Rajas Bhagwan Das and Man Singh declined to accept the new faith ;[4] they were not persecuted, but continued to enjoy their high privileges and position.

Badauni's mortification was further accentuated by the favours (or was it only fairness ?) shown by Akbar to deserving Hindus : 'The real object of those who became disciples,' he writes 'was to get into office ; and *though His Majesty did everything to get this out of their heads, he acted very differently in the case of Hindus*, of whom he could not get enough (?) ; *for the Hindus, of course, are indispensable* ; to them belongs half the army and half the land. Neither the Hindustanis nor the Mughals can point to such grand lords as the Hindus have among themselves. But if others than Hindus came and wished to become disciples at any sacrifice, His Majesty reproved or punished them (?). For their honour and zeal he did not care, nor did he notice whether they fell in with his views or not (!).[5]

Badauni stands self-condemned out of the words of his own mouth ; in his opinion, not merely Akbar, but everyone who deviated even a hair's breadth from the rigid orthodoxy of the Sunni creed was an apostate. His fulminations, therefore, against Akbar and Abul Fazl are worth nothing. They are the effusions of a fanatic rankling under the reforms introduced by Akbar 'with the best of intentions.' We need consider here only the nature of these reforms. Let us follow Badauni's own account of them :

'His Majesty was now (990 H.) convinced that the Millennium of the Islamic dispensation was drawing near. No obstacle, therefore, remained to promulgating the designs which he had planned in secret. *The Sheikhs and Ulamas, who, on account of their obstinacy and pride, had to be entirely discarded, were gone, and His Majesty was free to disprove the orders and principles of Islam, and to ruin the faith of the nation by making new and absurd regulations.*'[6]

1 *Ibid.*, p. 190.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 191.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 209.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 206.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 204.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 191.

New Regulations

1. 'The first order which was passed was, that the coinage should show the era of the Millennium (Ilahi Era), and that a history of one thousand years should be written, but commencing from the death of the prophet.

2. 'Other extraordinary innovations were devised as political expedients, and such orders were given that one's senses got quite perplexed. Thus, the *sijdah* or prostration was ordered to be performed as being proper for Kings ; but instead of *sijdah*, the word *zaminbos* was used.

3. 'Wine also was allowed, *if used for strengthening the body as recommended by doctors ; but no mischief or impropriety was to result from the use of it, and strict punishments were laid down for drunkenness, or gatherings, and uproars.* For the sake of keeping everything within proper limits, His Majesty established a wine-shop near the palace, and put the wife of the porter in charge of it, as she belonged to the caste of wine-sellers. The price of wine was fixed by regulations, and any sick person could obtain wine on sending his own name and the names of his father and grandfather to the clerk of the shop. . . .

4. 'Similarly. . . .the prostitutes of the realm (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number), had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called *Shaitanpurah*, or Devils-ville. *Darogah* and a clerk were also appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors knew of it. . . .

5. 'Beef was interdicted, and to touch beef was considered defiling. The reason of this was that, from his youth, His Majesty had been in company with Hindu *libertines*, and had thus learnt to look upon a cow—which in their opinion is one of the reasons why the world still exists—as something holy. Besides, the Emperor was subject to the influence of the numerous Hindu princesses of the Harem, who had gained so great an ascendancy over him, as to make him forswear beef, garlic, onions, and the wearing of a beard, which things His Majesty still avoids.

6. 'He had also introduced, though modified by his peculiar views, Hindu customs aud *heresies* into the Court assemblies, and introduces them still, in order to please and win the Hindus and their castes ; he abstains from everything which they think is repugnant to their nature, and *looks upon shaving the beard as the highest sign of friendship and affection for him* (!). Hence this custom has become very general. . . .

7. 'The ringing of bells as in use with the Christians, and the showing of the figure of the Cross. . . .and other childish playthings of theirs, were daily in practice. . . .

8. 'It was also forbidden to marry one's cousins or near relations, because such marriages are destructive of mutual love. *Boys were not to marry before the age of 16, nor girls before 14, because the offspring of early marriages were weakly.* . . .[1] No one was to marry more than one wife, except in cases of barrenness ; but in all

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 191-95 ; see also pp. 277-78.

other cases the rule was "One man, and one wife". . . .[1] If widows liked to remarry, they might do so, though this was against the ideas of the Hindus.

9. 'A Hindu girl, whose husband had died before the marriage was consummated, should not be burnt.'[2] 'If a Hindu woman wished to be burnt with her husband, they should not prevent her ; but she should not be forced.'[3]

10. 'Hindus who, when young, had from pressure become Musalmans, were allowed to go back to the faith of their fathers. *No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and everyone should be allowed to change his religion, if he liked.* If a Hindu woman falls in love with a Muhammadan, and changes her religion, she should be taken from him by force, and be given back to her family. (Similarly with a Muhammadan woman marrying a Hindu—according to the *Dabistan.*)[4] People should not be molested, if they wished to build churches and prayer-rooms or idol temples, or fire temples.'[5]

All this according to Badauni constituted blasphemy and apostacy ! It is strange that in spite of this, Vincent Smith should cite Badauni as a witness "*of the highest value*". "Badauni's interesting work," he says, "contains so much hostile criticism of Akbar that it was kept concealed during that Emperor's lifetime, and could not be published until after Jahangir's accession. The book, being written from the point of view taken by a bigoted Sunni, *is of the highest value as a check on the turgid panegyric composed by the latitudinarian Abul Fazl.* It gives information about the development of Akbar's opinions on religion, which is not to be found in the other Persian histories, but *agrees generally with the testimony of the Jesuit authors.*"[6]

On the strength of the testimony of this 'hostile' and 'bigoted Sunni witness,' Smith avers, "the general principle of toleration. . . . , while actually put in practice concerning religions other than Islam, was not acted on in matters concerning Muhammadan faith and practice. *Akbar showed bitter hostility to the faith of his father and his own youth, and actually perpetrated a persecution of Islam.*"[7]

Genesis of Akbar's Reforms

The reforms described above were not the work of a single year ; they were the product of a gradual evolution under a variety of circumstances. Akbar lived in an age of great spiritual awakening in India, as well as Europe. "The sixteenth century," writes Prof. Sinha, "is a century of religious revival in the history of the world. The grand currents of the Reformation compare favourably with the surging up of a new life in India. India experienced an awakening that quickened her progress and vitalized her national life. The dominant note of this awakening was Love and Liberalism—Love that united man to God, and therefore to his brother man, and Liberalism, born of this love that levelled down the barrier of caste, creed and calling, and took its stand on the bed-rock of human existence and essence of all religions, Universal Brotherhood. With glorious ideals it inspired the Hindu and Muslim alike, and they forgot for a time

1 *Cf.* Smith, *Akbar*, p. 256.
2 Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 205.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 207 ; E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 68-69.
4 Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
6 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 461.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

the trivialities of their creed. To the Muslim as to the Hindu, it heralded the dawn of a new era, to the Muslim with the birth of the promised Mahdi, to the Hindu with the realization of the all-absorbing love of God."[1]

Not only were the times stirring and propitious, but Akbar was also born in a family that was deeply religious. While Babur and Humayun were both men of an essentially deep faith, they took comparatively lightly the outward forms of religion, as indicated by their change of creed under political necessity. Akbar was thus early brought under the liberalizing influences of his family and country. His tutor Abdul Latif was 'a paragon of learning' and the guiding principle of his life was '*Sulh-i-kul*' or peace with all. Smith himself writes : "Akbar from early youth had been passionately interested in the mystery of the relation between God and man, and in all the deep questions concerned with that relation. 'Discourses on philosophy,' he said, 'have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected.' (*Ain.*, vol. iii, p. 386). When he came home to his capital at the beginning of 1575 he was conscious of having gained a long succession of remarkable and decisive victories which left him without an important enemy in the world as known to him. We are told at this time he 'spent whole nights in praising God. . . .His heart was full of reverence for Him who is the true giver, and from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes, he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace in a lovely spot, with his head bent over his chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn."[2]

As early as 1562, when Akbar was only twenty years of age, he had "experienced a remarkable spiritual awakening." 'On the completion of my twentieth year,' he said, 'I experienced an internal bitterness and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow.' (*Ain.*, vol. iii, p. 386). Commenting on this, Smith rightly observes, "It is impossible not to connect this access of religious melancholy with the public events which preceded it. . . .He had become conscious of the weight of the vast responsibilities resting upon his shoulders, and was forced to conclusion that he must rely on his own strength, with Divine help, to bear them. . . .*He never again placed himself under the control of any adviser, but mapped out his course, right or wrong, for himself.* . . .During the years in which he was apparently devoted to sport alone, and oblivious of all serious affairs, the young man had been thinking and shaping out a course of policy. His abolition of the practice of enslavement of prisoners of war, his marriage with the princess of Amber, and his reorganization of the finances were measures which proved that his thinking had not been fruitless. *No minister would or could have carried them through.*"[3]

In 1563, in accordance with the broad outlook which Akbar was developing, he abolished all pilgrim taxes throughout his dominions, declaring, 'it was contrary to the will of God to tax people assembled to worship the Creator, even though their forms of worship might be considered erroneous.' The following year, 1564, he also remitted the

1 The reader will do well to read this interesting article on "The Genesis of the Din-i-Ilahi," by Prof. H. N. Sinha, in the *Journal of Indian History* (Madras, Dec. 1930), pp. 306-29.
2 Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31. Read *C.H.I.*, IV, pp. 119-25.
3 Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 63.

jiziya, or poll-tax on non-Muslims,[1] although this involved a large loss of revenue.

Abul Fazl's Influence

Smith says, with great justice to Akbar, "Some writers are inclined to attribute too much influence on Akbar's policy to Abul Fazl. It is noteworthy that Akbar abolished the *jiziya* ten years before he made the acquaintance of his famous secretary. He had swept away the pilgrim tax at a still earlier date. *The main lines of his policy, directed to obliterating all differences in treatment between Muslims and Hindus, were fixed as political principles while he was still to all outward appearance an orthodox and zealous Muslim*, and long before his open breach with Islam, which may be dated in 1582, after the defeat of his brother's attempt to win the throne of India. When it is remembered that Akbar was only twenty-one or twenty-two years of age when he abolished the pilgrim tax and the *jiziya*, in defiance of the sentiments of his co-religionists and the practice of his predecessors, we may well marvel at the strength of will displayed by a man so young, who a little time before seemed to care for nothing but sport."[2]

In 1575 Akbar erected the *Ibadat-khana*, or the House of Worship, devoted to religious discussions.[3] At first it was used only by Muslim Sheikhs, Saiyids, Ulamas, and Amirs. Debates were held every Thursday night and often lasted on till Friday noon. But the petty wranglings of the Muslim divines gave no satisfaction to Akbar's genuinely thirsty soul. Let us follow Badauni's description of the state of things that made Akbar seek other fountains to slake his thirst :

'For these discussions which were held every Thursday night, His Majesty invited the Sayyids, Sheikhs, Ulamas, and grandees by turn. But as the guests generally commenced to quarrel about their places and the order of precedence, His Majesty ordered that the grandees should sit on the east side ; the Sayyids on the west side ; the Ulamas, to the south ; and the Shaikhs, to the north. The Emperor then used to go from one side to the other, and make his enquiries. . . .when all at once, one night, the vein of the neck of the Ulama of the age swelled up, and a horrid noise and confusion ensued. His Majesty got very angry at their rude behaviour, and said to me (Badauni), "In future report any of the Ulamas that cannot behave and talks nonsense, and I shall make him leave the hall." I gently said to Asaf Khan, "*If I were to carry out his order, most of the Ulamas would have to leave,*" when His Majesty suddenly asked what I had said. On hearing my answer, he was highly pleased, and mentioned my remark to those sitting near him."[4]

"The differences between the two parties of the Ulamas, one of whom denounced as heretical notions declared by the other to be the truth, confirmed Akbar in the opinion that both parties were in error, and that the truth must be sought outside the range of their bickerings."[5] He, therefore, now turned for enlightenment to Parsees, Jainas, Christians, and Hindus. Or, in the words of Abul Fazl, 'The Shahinshah's Court

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 29-30. This tax was originally instituted by Khalif Omar. In India, under Firoz Shah Tughlak, it was assessed in three grades, *viz.*, 40, 20, 10 *tankas* ; Brahmans were charged 10 *tankas* and 50 *jitals*. It was reimposed by Aurangzeb in 1679.

2 Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

3 See "Three Mughal Paintings on Akbar's Religious Discussions", by Rev. H. Heras, in the *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, III, 1 and 2 (1928), *C.H.I.*, IV, pp. 113-14.

4 Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, i, p. 171 ; E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 59-60.

5 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

became the home of the inquiries of the "seven climes," and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect."[1]

The Zoroastrians

According to Smith, Akbar probably found more personal satisfaction in Zoroastrianism, the religion of the Parsees, than in any other of the numerous religions examined by him so critically in his '*odd*, (?) detached manner.'[2] Dastur Maherjee Rana of Nausari had the privilege of initiating Akbar into the mysteries of this religion in 1578-79. They had first met near Khankra Khari during Akbar's Gujarat campaign in 1573. After his death in 1591, the famous Dastur was succeeded by his son at Akbar's Court. He was granted a *jagir* of 200 *bihgas* of land (100 acres), which was later on increased by one-half. From 1580 Akbar publicly prostrated before the sun and fire, and in the evenings when lamps were lighted, it became the practice for the whole Court to rise respectfully. According to Badauni he ordered that dead bodies should be buried with their heads towards the east (rising sun). 'His Majesty even commenced to sleep in this position.[3]

The Jains

"The evidence available," writes Dr. Hiranand Shastri,[4] "would show that Akbar learnt the *Surya-sahasra-nama* from a Jaina teacher of his. . . .The list given by Abul Fazl names three Jaina *gurus* for whom the Great Mughal had a very high regard. The *Hiravijaya Kavyam* shows that the stoppage of animal slaughter was due to the teaching of Hiravijaya Suri on whom Akbar had conferred the grand title of *Jagadguru* or the Preceptor of the World. The Adisvara temple on the holy hill of Satrunjaya near Palitana in Kathiawar has a long Sanskrit inscription written on its walls which combines the praise of this Jaina monk with that of Akbar and may well be referred to for knowning what the Great Mughal did under the noble influence of the Jaina saints. Vincent Smith has rightly remarked that 'Akbar's action in abstaining almost wholly from eating meat and in issuing stringent prohibitions, resembling those of Asoka, restricting to the narrowest limits the destruction of life, certainly was taken in obedience of his Jaina teachers.' The colophon of the commentary on the *Kadambari* would show that Akbar read the *Surya-sahasra-nama* with Bhanuchandra whom Hiravijaya Suri had left behind after his famous visit to Akbar. Siddhichandra, the joint author of the said commentary, and a disciple of Bhanuchandra, was another teacher of the Great Moghal."

The Christians

In the preceding chapter we have already dealt at length with Akbar's relations with the Jesuits from whom he desired to know the truth of Christianity. Badauni accuses Akbar of adopting the Cross 'and other childish playthings of theirs.' Smith says, "The contribution made to the debates by Christian disputants was an important factor among the forces which led Akbar to renounce (?) the Muslim religion."[5] But if the Father expected to have in Akbar an Imperial convert to their religion, they were sorely miscalculating. Yet, we cannot agree with Smith when he declares, "Probably Akbar was *never perfectly sincere* when he used expressions implying belief in the Christian religion. It may be true that *he preferred it, on the whole, to any*

1 *Akbar-Nama*, iii, p. 366.
2 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 162; read also *ibid.*, p. 165, n. 3.
3 Blochmann, *op. cit*, p. 206.
4 "Akbar as a Sun-Worshipper," *The Indian Historical Quarterly* (Calcutta, March, 1933), pp. 137-40. Also read "Jainism under Muslim Rule", by K. P. Jain, in the *Indian Antiquary*, I, 8, pp. 519-20.
5 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

other religion, but. . . .his interest lay chiefly in the study of the subject now called 'Comparative Religion,' and was *prompted by intellectual curiosity rather than by an awakened conscience.*"[1] He is nearer the truth when he says, "He went so far in relation to each religion that different people had reasonable ground for affirming him to be a Zoroastrian, a Hindu, a Jain, or a Christian. Nevertheless, he could not bring himself to accept frankly any one of the four creeds, however much he might admire certain doctrines of each, or even practise some parts of the ritual of all four."[2]

Akbar's interest in religion was deeper than the mere 'intellectual curiosity' of a student of 'Comparative Religion'. In 1578 (May), then in his thirty-sixth year, Akbar suddenly returned from a great hunt on the Jhelum, for which he had made elaborate arrangements, when in the words of Abul Fazl, 'a sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame ; the attraction of the cognition of God cast its ray.' This strange experience is confirmed by Badauni who writes, 'suddenly, all at once, a strange state and strong frenzy came upon the Emperor, and an extraordinary change was manifest in his manner to such an extent as cannot be accounted for. And everyone attributed it to some cause or other ; but God alone knoweth secrets. And at that time he ordered the hunting to be abandoned : 'Take care ; for the Grace of God comes suddenly. It comes suddenly, it comes to the mind of the wise !'[3]

Smith in his comments on this peculiar incident is characteristically sceptical (cynical ?) :

"He (Akbar) gave vent to his religious emotion by the *fantastic freak* of filling the Anuptalao tank in the palace at Fatehpur Sikri with a vast mass of coin, exceeding, it is said, ten millions of rupees in value, which he subsequently distributed.

"That is all we know about the mysterious occurrence. The information is *tantalizing in its meagreness*, but probably never gave any fully intelligible account of the spiritual storm which swept through him as he sat or lay under the tree. *Perhaps he slept and had a dream, or, as seems to be more likely, he may have had an epileptic fit.*" (!) He is perhaps nearer the mark when he confesses, "No man can tell exactly what happened. . . . when, like Dante, he was '*nel mezo del commin di nostra vita*,' 'in the middle of life's path,' and, like the poet, saw a vision, *beholding things that cannot be uttered.*"

Akbar was by nature a mystic, who sought earnestly, like his Sufi friends, to attain the ineffable bliss of direct contact with the Divine Reality—*He was not an ordinary man, and his complex nature, like that of St. Paul, Muhammad, Dante, and other great men with a tendency to mysticism, present perplexing problems.*[4]

The Hindus

Such a nature could hardly escape from the liberal idealism of the Hindus who surrounded him like the very air he breathed. His policy towards the Rajputs, the most martial section of the Hindus, has already been commented upon. He took to himself Hindu wives as symbolic of the intimate union he wished to cultivate between the two largest sections of his subjects. He exalted Rajas Man Singh, Bhagwan Das, Birbal and Todar Mal to the highest

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 255-56.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 165. Also read "Christianity at the Courts of Akbar and Jahangir" by E. F. Allnutt, in *I.H.Q.*, XII, 2 (1936), and *C.H.I.*, IV, pp. 124-25.
3 Cited by Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-69.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 169-71.

ranks given to any noble in the realm. He adopted Hindu dress and religious symbolism to such an extent as to exasperate and scandalize orthodox Muslims like Badauni. To his utter chagrin he set Badauni the task of translating into Persian the sacred books of the infidels like the *Mahabharat*.[1] "The killing of animals on certain days was forbidden, as on Sundays, because this day is sacred to the Sun. . . .to please the Hindus . . . .His Majesty abstained altogether from meat, as a religious penance, gradually extending the several fasts during a year over six months and even more, with the view of eventually discontinuing the use of meat altogether. . . .His Majesty had also one thousand and one Sanskrit names of the Sun collected, and *read* them daily, devoutly turning to the Sun (like the Hindus worshiping *Gayatri*). . . .He also adopted several other practices connected with the Sun-worship. He used to wear the Hindu mark on the forehead, and ordered the band to play at midnight and at break of day. . . .Once a year also during a night, called *Sivrat*, a great meeting was held of all *Jogis* of the Empire, when the Emperor ate and drank with the principal *Jogis*, who promised him that he should live three and four times as long as ordinary men. . . .Cheating, thieving Brahmins. . .told the Emperor that he was an incarnation (*avatar*), like Ram, Krishna, and other infidel Kings. . . .In order to flatter him, they also brought Sanskrit verses, said to have been taken from the sayings of ancient sages, in which it was predicted that a great conqueror would rise in India, who would honour Brahmins, and cows, and govern the earth with justice. *They also wrote this nonsense on old-looking paper, and showed it to the Emperor, who believed every word of it.*'[2]

Some Estimates of Akbar

To enforce the view of Akbar herein presented, we might close this brief study of Akbar with a few well-known opinions and estimates of his character and achievements.

Jahangir's Memoirs

'My father always associated with the learned of every creed and religion : especially the Pandits and the learned of India, and *although he was illiterate*, so much became clear to him through constant intercourse with the learned and wise, in his conversation with them, that *no one knew him to be illiterate* and he was so well-acquainted with the niceties of verse and prose compositions, that his deficiency was not thought of.

'Notwithstanding his kingship, his treasures and his buried wealth and past computation, his fighting elephants and Arab horses, he never by a hair's breadth placed his foot beyond the base of humility before the throne of God, and never for one moment forgot Him. He associated with the good of every race and creed and persuasion, and was gracious to all in accordance with their condition and understanding.

'He passed his nights in wakefulness, and slept little in the day ; the length of his sleep during a whole night and day was not more than a watch and a half. He counted his wakefulness at night as so much added to life'.

Col. Malleson

"Akbar's great idea was the union of all India under one head. . . . His code was the grandest of codes for a ruler, for the founder of an empire. They were the principles

1 Read "Sanskrit Scholars of Akbar's Times" by D. C. Bhattacharya in the *I.H.Q.*, XIII, 1, 1937.

2 Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-01.

by accepting which his western successors maintain it at the present day. Certainly, though his European contemporaries were the most eminent of their respective countries (Elizabeth in England and Henry IV in France), he need not shrink from comparison even with these. His reputation is built upon deeds which lived after him. . . .The foundations dug by Akbar were so deep that his son, although so unlike him, was able to maintain the Empire which the principles of his father had welded together.

"When we reflect what he did, the age in which he did it, the method he introduced to accomplish it, we are bound to recognize in Akbar one of those illustrious men whom Providence sends, in the hour of a nation's trouble, to reconduct it into those paths of peace and toleration which alone can assure the happiness of millions." (*Akbar*, pp. 196, 199-200).

Stanley Lane-Poole

"The noblest king that ever ruled in India" (p. 288). "The true founder and organizer of the Empire," "Represents the golden age of the Mughal Empire" (p. 238). "Assimilation of the Hindu chiefs was the most conspicuous feature of Akbar's reign". . . ."The remarkable points about this expansion. . . . were, *first*, that it was done with the willing help of the Hindu princes, and *secondly*, that expansion went hand-in-hand with orderly administration. This was a new thing in Indian government, for hitherto the local officials had done pretty much as it pleased them, and the central authority had seldom interfered so long as the revenue did not suffer. Akbar allowed no oppression—if he knew of it—by his lieutenants, and not a few of his campaigns were undertaken mainly for the purpose of punishing governors who had been guilty of self-seeking and peculation. Much of the improvement was due to his employment of Hindus, who at the time were better men of business than the uneducated and mercenary adventurers who formed a large proportion of the Muhammadan invaders." (pp. 259-60).

"There is no name in mediaeval history more renowned in India at the present day than that of Todar Mal, and the reason is that nothing in Akbar's reforms more nearly touched the welfare of the people than the great financier's reconstructions of the revenue system." (p. 261). "Todar Mal's order (to keep all accounts in Persian), and Akbar's generous policy of allowing Hindus to compete for the highest honours—Man Singh was the first commander of 7,000—explain two facts : *First*, that before the end of the eighteenth century the Hindus had almost become the Persian teachers of the Muhammadans ; *secondly*, that a new dialect could arise in India, the *Urdu*, which without the Hindus as receiving medium, could never have been called into existence." (*Mediaeval India*, pp. 265-66).

Edwardes and Garrett

"Akbar has proved his worth in different fields of action. He was an intrepid soldier, a great general, a wise administrator, a benevolent ruler, and a sound judge of character. He was a born leader of men and can rightly claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. . . .During a reign of nearly fifty years, he built up a powerful Empire which could vie with the strongest, and established a dynasty whose hold over India was not contested by any rival for about a century. His reign witnessed the final transformation of the Mughals from mere military invaders into a permanent Indian dynasty." (*Mughal Rule in India*, p. 53).

Vincent Smith

'The practical ability displayed by Akbar as a soldier, general, administrator, diplomatist, and supreme ruler has been shown abundantly by his whole history and does not need further exposition. The personal force of his character, discernible

even now with sufficient clearness, was overpowering to his contemporaries. . . .

"He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history. That claim rests surely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts, his original ideas, and his magnificent achievements." (*Akbar the Great Mogul*, pp. 352-53).

Ishwari Prasad

"Dr. Vincent Smith, relying upon Jesuit sources, dwells upon Akbar's artfulness and duplicity in statecraft and speaks of his 'tortuous diplomacy and perfidious action. . . . Dr. Smith forgets that Akbar's great contemporary Elizabeth lied shamelessly, and Green goes so far as to assert that in the profusion and recklessness of her lies she stood without a peer in Christendom. The vile methods and intrigues of other monarchs in France, Spain, and elsewhere are too well-known to need mention. Akbar was undoubtedly superior to his contemporaries both in intellect and character, and his policy was far more humane than theirs. Against the few acts of inhumanity and breach of faith attributed to him by Dr. Smith, it is possible to mention a hundred deeds of generosity and benevolence. *Accurate and impartial research by whomsoever conducted will reveal Akbar to have been in many respects a greater man than his European contemporaries.*" (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 436-37).

Lawrence Binyon

'His greater achievement as a ruler was to weld this collection of different states, different races, different religions, into a whole. It was accomplished by elaborate organization—Akbar had an extraordinary genius for detail—still more by the settled policy which persuaded his subjects of the justice of their ruler. Though a foreigner, he identified himself with the India he had conquered. And much of his system was to be permanent. The principles worked out by Akbar and his ministers were largely adopted into the English system of government (pp. 8-9). . . .There is something engaging in Akbar's faults and weaknesses, which were not petty, but rather belonged to the things which made him great. He was above all things human." (*Akbar*, p. 23).

He also thinks Smith "curiously unfair to his hero." *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 9, 1932, p. 415, reviewing Binyon's interesting study of Akbar, wrote of 'Akbar's religious attitude, on which our estimate of his character largely depends.'—"In this particular Mr. Binyon goes near indeed to the truth. He shows the great Emperor as liable from time to time to be overwhelmed by a sense of the emptiness of life, by a strong desire to find some sure abiding place, but seeking it in vain. Restlessly he turns from sect to sect in the faith in which he was reared. Finding no satisfaction in their dialectic, he summons the teachers of every religion within his call. Jain and Parsi, Brahman and Jesuit, each is heard with attention and respect ; but for one reason or another each fails to hold the Emperor. The Brahman is too subtle for his practical mind ; the Jesuit demands an obedience which he cannot give ; the Parsi attracts him most and he finds a ghostly comfort in that ceremonial. *Those who have seen in Akbar's religious search a mere political seeking for a faith in which his people might be united have surely seen but the surface of the truth, and have not penetrated, as Mr. Binyon does, to the man himself.*"

K. T. Shah

"Akbar was the greatest of the Mughals and perhaps the greatest of all Indian rulers for a thousand years, if not ever since the days of the mighty Mauryas. 'But, without detracting in the least from the genius of the man of the inheritance of his birth, it may yet be said that Akbar was so great, because he was so

thoroughly Indianized. His genius perceived the possibilities, and his courage undertook the task, of welding the two communities into a common Nation by the universal bond of common service and equal citizenship of a magnificent Empire. Akbar was a born master of men, and bred an autocrat in an age of despotism. It would be unjust to criticize him by the canons of another age, or from the standpoint of other ideals. Within the legitimate limits of a most searching criticism, there is much—very much indeed—in his life and outlook and achievements which must demand our unstinted, unqualified admiration, and little that could merit just censure." (*The Splendour that was Ind*, p. 30.)

E. B. Havell

"Akbar has shared the fate of all great reformers in having his personal character unjustly assailed, his motives impugned, and his actions distorted, upon evidence which hardly bears judicial examination. . . .He was neither an ascetic nor a saint of the conventional type ; but few of the great rulers of the earth can show a better record for deeds of righteousness, or more honourably and consistently maintained their ideals of religious life devoted to the service of humanity. In the western sense his mission was political rather than religious ; but in his endeavours to make the highest religious principles the motive power of State policy he won an imperishable name in Indian history and lifted the political ethics of Islam into a higher plane than they had ever reached before.

"It does not detract from his greatness as a man and ruler that his achievements fell short of his ideals—that the Din Ilahi did not accomplish the spiritual regeneration of the ruling classes or wipe off the slate all the records of previous centuries of misgovernment, and that his schemes did not embrace a full recognition of the ancient Aryan system of self-government upon which the economic strength and political greatness of India stood firm longer than has been the case with any other Empire in the world. But Akbar's endeavours to realize the Aryan ideal are still worthy of imitation both by British rulers of India and by all statesmen for whom politics is a religion rather than a game of craft and skill." (*Aryan Rule in India*, pp. 536-37.)

Sir Woolseley Haig

"The Age of Akbar has been described as an age of great rulers, and some hold that of his contemporaries, Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France, and Abbas the Great of Persia, he was not the least. Some have written of him as though he were no less than what his enemies alleged he pretended to be. But with all his faults, and they were neither few nor venial, he was by far the greatest of all who ruled India during the era of the dominance of Islam in that land. A foreigner in blood, though he happened to have been born on Indian soil, he was the only one of the long line of rulers professing Islam who even conceived the idea of becoming the father of all his subjects, rather than the leader of a militant and dominant minority, alien in faith, and to a great extent in race, to the nations of India. . . .

"In spite of his illiteracy he was far from being unlearned, nor was his intellect uncultivated, for he delighted in listening to the reading of works of history, theology, philosophy and other subjects, and of discussing afterwards what had been read, and his memory was such that he acquired through the ear a stock of learning as great as that which most of his associates could acquire through the eye. The Jesuits at his court were probably not biased in his favour, but one of them thus describes him :

'Indeed he was a great king ; for he knew that the good ruler is he who can command simultaneously, the obedience, the respect, the love,

and the fear of his subjects. He was a prince beloved of all, firm with the great, kind to those of low estate, and just to all men high and low, neighbour or stranger, Christian, Saracen, or Gentile ; so that every man believed that the King was on his side. He lived in the fear of God, to whom he never failed to pray four times daily, at sunrise, at sunset, at mid-day, and at midnight, and despite his many duties, his prayers on these four occasions, which were of considerable duration, were never curtailed. Towards his fellowmen he was kind and forbearing, averse from taking life, and quick to show mercy. Hence it was that he decreed that if he condemned anyone to death, the sentence was not to be carried into effect until the receipt of his third order. He was always glad to pardon an offender, if just grounds for doing so could be shown.' (*The Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 153-55.)

Lord Tennyson

Last but not least, Tennyson's charming colloquy "Akbar's Dream" sums up the best of Akbar in a nutshell. A few significant verses from it may be given with profit : "His tolerance of religions," writes the anonymous editor of the poet's works, "and his abhorrence of religious persecution put our Tudors to shame. . . .and his legislation was remarkable for vigour, justice, and humanity."

Akbar to Abul Fazl—

[*Before the palace at Fatehpur-Sikri at night.*]

"But come,
My noble friend, my faithful counsellor,
Sit by my side while thou art one with me,
I seem no longer like a lonely man
In the King's garden, gathering here and there
From each fair plant the blossom choicest grown
To wreathe a crown not only for the King,
But in due time for every Musalman,
Brahmin, and Buddhist, Christian and Parsee,
Thro' all the warring world of Hindustan.

Look how the living pulse of Alla beats
Thro' all His world. If every single star
Should shriek its claim : 'I only am in heaven,'
Why that were such sphere-music as the Greek
Had hardly dream'd of. There is light in all,
And light, with more or less of shade in all.
. . . . . .
I hate the rancour of their castes and creeds,
I let them worship as they will, I reap
No revenue from the field of unbelief.
I cull from every faith and race the best
And bravest soul for counsellor and friend
. . . . . .
The Christians own a Spiritual Head ;
And following thy true counsel, by thine aid,
Myself am such in our Islam, *for no*
Mirage of glory, but for power to fuse
My myriads into union under one ;
To hunt the tiger of oppression out
From office ; and to spread the Divine Faith
Like calming oil on all their stormy creeds,

And fill the hollows between wave and wave ;
To nurse my children on the milk of Truth,
And alchemise old hates into the gold
Of Love, and make it current ; and beat back
The menacing poison of intolerable priests,
Those cobras ever setting up their hoods—
One Alla ! One Khalifa !"

Read, "A Sidelight on Akbar's Genius," in *The Muslim University Journal*, Vol. III, 1 (1936).

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CHAPTER 7

Fruition of the Empire

'No person is permitted to make or sell wine or any other prohibited liquor which occasions inebriety, though I myself am addicted to wine-bibbing.' —INSTITUTES OF JAHANGIR

'Nur Jahan managed the whole affairs of the realm. . . . . .and nothing was wanting to make her an absolute monarch but the reading of the *khutba* in her name.'

—TATIMMA-I-WAQIAT-I-JAHANGIRI

THE reign of Jahangir (1605-27) saw the fruition of the Empire which Akbar had so gloriously rebuilt out of the slender resources left to him by his ill-fated father. The past half-century of remarkable reconstruction had established the Empire on secure foundations, which were not to be shaken at least for a century, in spite of numerous rebellions and wars of succession. More than anything else, Akbar's policy of conciliation and concord, begun with his marriage with the Amber princess, had in Dr. Beni Prasad's words, "symbolized the dawn of a new era in Indian politics ; it gave the country a line of remarkable sovereigns ; it secured to four generations of Mughal Emperors the services of some of the greatest captains and diplomats that medieval India produced."[1] Add to this, the legacy of peace and wealth that Akbar had bequeathed to his immediate successor, and we have a fairly complete picture of the favourable auspices under which Jahangir opened his prosperous career.

However, as the character of our history at each stage is but the reflex of the Emperor's own character, we find reflected in this period also the personal vices and virtues of Jahangir and his consort.

It is convenient to divide our study under the following heads : I. Early Career : A Resume ; II. Accession and Outlook ; III. Wars of Conquest ; IV. Nur Jahan and Reactions ; V. Jahangir and the Europeans ; and VI. Achievements and Failures of Jahangir.

I. Early Career : A Resume

The early career of Prince Salim up to the death of Akbar, already traced under the previous reign, may be here briefly recounted :

1 *History of Jahangir*, p. 2.

1. Birth

Salim was born on Wednesday noon, August 30, 1569, in the thirteenth year of Akbar's reign, Akbar was at that time twenty-seven years of age. Salim's mother was the Rajput princess (daughter of Raja Bhar Mal of Amber) whom Akbar had married in January, 1562. All previous children of the Emperor having died in their infancy, he had besought the blessings of the famous Sheikh Salim Chishti, after whom the new child was called Muhammad Sultan Salim.[1] Of the other children, Prince Murad was born on June 7, the same year, and Prince Daniyal on September 9, 1572. Both died in their prime of youth owing to excessive drinking.[2]

2. Education

Though Akbar was himself illiterate, he never neglected the education of his children. After their circumcision on October 22, 1573, the princes were placed under the guardianship of the best scholars and tutors of the age. The most notable of these, who moulded the character and intellect of Salim at a very impressionable age (in 1582), was 'Abdur Rahim Khan,' the son of Bairam Khan. 'One of the first minds of the age,' he was a 'master of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Sanskrit and Hindi. . . .A vigorous prose-writer and a facile versifier, he perpetuated his name in contemporary literature.' His translation of Babur's *Memoirs* into Persian has already been mentioned. Under his able guardianship, Prince Salim 'learnt Turkish which served him later as the medium of conversation with John Hawkins and as the means of confidential consultation with one of his servants, when held in custody by Mahabat Khan. He picked up a fair acquaintance with Hindi and delighted in Hindi songs. He developed a somewhat poetic disposition, paraded his skill in versification, and sowed his talk with poetic quotations.'[3] By nature as well as nurture Salim possessed a strong and rivile constitution, which however was later spoilt by excessive indulgence and drink.

3. Probation

According to the wise custom of the dynasty, the princes were early associated with high public duties in order to train them for high responsibilities. But this practice was not without its dangers. Holding offices of the highest rank in the provinces, with practically unlimited resources at their command, often tickled their ambition beyond the bounds of loyalty, and evoked in them a keen desire for premature independence. Thus, in the year of crisis, 1581, both Salim and Murad were placed in command, though nominal, of large divisions of the army. Following this, Salim was placed in similar charge of the departments of justice and public ceremonial.[4]

1 'I never heard my father, whether in his cups or in his sober moments, call me Muhammad Salim or Sultan Salim, but always Shaikhu Baba.'—Jahangir.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 97, 114.

3 'As I have a poetical disposition, I sometimes intentionally, sometimes involuntarily, compose couplets and quatrains.'—Jahangir ; Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

4 How, in the face of such examples, European writers often misrepresent Mughal history, is illustrated by the following passage in W. Crooke's *The N. W. Provinces of India*, pp. 102-03 :

'His (Akbar's) immediate descendants, when they were educated at all, were trained in the old Mussalman style—the recitation of the *Koran*, quibbles of theology the dull verbiage of legal subtleties were their mental food. In early boyhood they lived amidst the vain gossip and squalid intrigues of vicious women who filled the harem. As they grew up, the jealousy of rival queens forbade their taking a leading part in the politics of the capital. The herd of knavish flatterers and adventurers, the palace gang, were averse to their acquiring a competent knowledge of administration. A prince who took his proper part in the council of the State was suspected of intriguing against the monarch ; so he was often packed off to a distant province where the same influences opposed his training. The local viceroy acted as his leader, and took care to hood wink him and prevent him from meddling in the conduct of

4. Marriages

At the age of fifteen Salim was betrothed to his cousin, Man Bai, daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das of Amber. The marriage took place on February 13, 1585, the marriage portion being fixed at two crores of *tankas*. Both the Hindu and Muslim wedding ceremonies were observed. A daughter was born on April, 26, 1586 ; she was named Sultan-un-nisa Begam. Although she lived up to sixty years of age (d. 1646), she played no part in history. The second child, Prince Khusru, born on August 6, 1587, was destined for a more prominent though tragic role. Man Bai came to be called Shah Begam after this. She committed suicide, in a fit of melancholia, in 1604, when, according to Inayatulla, Salim 'remained for some days absorbed in grief for her loss'.[1]

Meanwhile, Salim's seraglio had grown considerably. In 1586 he had married Jagat Gosain or Jodh Bai (daughter of Udai Singh) and others. According to Father Xavier, in 1597 Price Salim had no less than twenty 'iawful wives'. His marriage with Mihar-un-nisa (Nur Jahan) will be dealt with later. "Concubines raised the harem to the monstrous number of 300."[2] Prince Parvez was born of Sahib-i-Jamal on Oct. 2, 1589. Khurram (meaning Joyous ; Shah Jahan) was born on Jan. 5, 1592, of Jagat Gosain (Jodh Bai). Shahryar was born of a concubine in 1605.[3]

5. Promotion

In 1577 Salim was elevated to the rank of 10,000, while Murad and Daniyal held only ranks of 7,000 and 6,000 respectively. In 1585 they received other insignia, and promotion to 12,000, 9,000, and 7,000 in order. But though during the next thirteen years Prince Salim lived in close association with Akbar, "the prevailing mist of political intrigue and chicane gradually clouded their relation, estranged their hearts, and ultimately involved them in a bitter wrangle."[4]

6. Revolt

The story of Salim's revolt has already been recounted in detail in its proper context. As early as 1591, he showed an indecent haste to succeed to his father's power and position. Badauni accuses him of poisoning Akbar ; but, says Beni Prasad, "the suspicion was unjust, but the illness (of Akbar) was a serious one. As a vacancy of the throne came within the range of possibility, Salim set his agents to watch the movements of his brother Murad."[5] The latter died of his own excesses on May 2, 1599.

When Akbar left for the south, Salim was in charge of the north, and particularly commissioned to invade Mewar, But he misused this confidence and chose to rebel. His revolt kept the Empire in trepidation for five years, but it never seriously jeopardized the stability to the government. Akbar's personality and his brilliant successes had won him the enthusiastic admiration and affection of his subjects. His vast resources in men, money and materials, were more than enough to stamp out any rising within a short time. But his paternal tenderness kept him from

affairs. He was better pleased to see him waste his time in dissipation than to educate him in statecraft.'

'Such facile writing,' says Beni Prasad, 'compounded of ignorance and prejudice, is responsible for much of the prevalent misconception of Mughal history.'—*History of Jahangir*, pp. 25-26 n., 63.

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 112.
2 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 36.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

making short work with Salim. The Prince, on his part, was also aware of the weakness of his position and shrank from carrying matters to extremes. He hesitated, and temporized, and occasionally even shook off the influence of his favourites and submitted to his father.

Nevertheless, in 1601, he had assumed independence, set up a mock Court at Allahabad, appropriated 30 lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Bihar, and bestowed *jagirs* and titles on his supporters. He had gathered together a force of 30,000 men, with the only object of 'paying his respects to his father' ! But Akbar's dignified self-assurance soon brought him to his senses and he was conciliated with the governorship of Bengal and Orissa. Here is Inayatulla's testimony :

> When the Emperor was at Akbarabad (Agra), the Prince wrote to request the honour of an audience, and proceeded so far as Etawa for the purpose ; but here doubts were suggested to him by some ill-inclined persons and he feared to advance any further. His Majesty was no sooner made aware of this circumstance, than he wrote to the Prince, that "if he were earnest in his wish to pay his respects, he ought to display his confidence by doing so *alone*, and dismiss his attendants to their *jagirs* ; if, on the contrary, suspicion withheld him, he had better retire to Allahabad, there to reassure his heart, and repair to Court when he was able to do so with full trust and confidence." The Prince, alarmed at this kind yet disdainful communication, instantly despatched *Mir Sadr-i-Jahan*, who was the chief judiciary of the Imperial dominions, and His Majesty's agent with the Prince, to his august father, charged with the most submissive apology, and referring to the Mir's own observation in testimony of his sense of duty and allegiance. He then set towards Allahabad, and meanwhile an Imperial *farman* was issued, investing him with the government of Bengal and Orissa, and directing him to despatch his officers to take possession of those two provinces. Raja Man Singh was, at the same time, ordered to transfer the provinces, and to return to Court.[1]

Despite this, however, Salim again lapsed into his rebellious ways. This occasioned the summoning of Abul Fazl from the south, and his shameful assassination by the agent of the intractable Prince. Details thereof have already been given. This tragedy was enacted in August, 1602.

7. Reconciliation

Though Salim deserved condign punishment, "the father and statesman in Akbar overcame the judge."[2] Daniyal was fast sinking into the grave on account of his own vices. Salim's children were too young to supersede him. Besides, Salim was still the favourite of the harem. So, as Inayatulla has recorded, "The Sultana Salima Begam, having interceded between His Majesty and the young Prince Salim, reconciled the monarch to the wonted exercise of paternal affection, while at the same time she also procured for Salim the pardon of Akbar's august mother. When the Prince approached the capital, that venerable matron proceeded some days' journey to meet him, and brought him to her own private abode. Even His Majesty, to conciliate his illustrious son, advanced several steps to receive him. . . .After a short interval, His Majesty conferred on him the royal diadem, which is the main source of ornament to the Court and sovereignty, and the chief light of the pomp of royalty."[3]

1 *Takmila-i-Akbar-Nama*, E. & D., VI, p. 105.
2 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 108-09.

8. Plots to supersede Salim

In 1603, when he was asked for a second time to march on Mewar, Salim again prevaricated and temporized. Finally, he made towards Allahabad under the pretext of collecting forces ; and soon reverted to his incorrigible ways. There was evidently no end to Akbar's sorrows in his fast declining age. His great courtiers and friends had died one after another : Birbal in 1586, followed closely by Todar Mal and Bhagwan Das ; Sheikh Mubarak (father of Abul Fazl and Faizi) in 1593 ; Faizi in 1595, Abul Fazl in 1602. In this forlorn state, Akbar's mind was tortured by disappointment at the ungrateful and treasonable conduct of his heir-apparent. Naturally, the thoughts of the ambitious, under these circumstances, turned to Prince Khusru (Salim's eldest son). He was the nephew of Raja Man Singh, and son-in-law of Mirza Aziz Koka—two of the most powerful grandees of the Empire. Khusru was seventeen years of age, handsome in appearance, agreeable in manners, and possessed an irreproachable character. He was only too glad to find such eminent champions. But it is impossible to say how far Akbar countenanced this plot to supersede his favourite son.

He made one last attempt (in Aug., 1604) to overawe him into submission, or compel him into final surrender. But the gods intervened. Inclement Nature impeded the progress of his arms, the imminent death of his aged mother Maryam Makani necessitated his sudden retreat to Agra.

Prince Salim was quick to apprehend the danger he was in. He found it expedient to follow his father to the capital, to share in the family bereavement. After the interchange of ceremonial graces, Akbar reprimanded him severely and placed him in confinement under the care of physicians. Wine and evil company had deranged his mind, and hence he was deprived of both for a while. Salim passed ten long days in humiliation and repentance. Close on the heels of these events came Akbar's last illness, and finally death on October 17, 1605.

9. Failure of Plot

Of the conspiracy that surrounded Akbar's death-bed we have already spoken. Only the main circumstances may be here recounted. In the end the plot to supersede Salim was frustrated in the following manner, as described by Azad Beg :

> 'During the Emperor's illness the weight of affairs fell upon the Khan-i-Azam (Mirza Aziz Koka), and when it became evident that the life of that illustrious sovereign was drawing to a close, he consulted with Raja Man Singh, one of the principal nobles, and they agreed to make Sultan Khusru Emperor. They were both versed in business and possessed of great power, and determined to seize the Prince (Salim), when he came, according to his daily custom, to pay his respects to Court. This conspiracy was revealed to Salim by Mir Zaia-ul-Mulk Kazwini. So that, through the endeavours of that faithful friend and sincere well-wisher, the arrow of those perfidious enemies missed its mark. . . .
>
> 'When the raw attempt of those wretches had thus been brought to light. . . .they were obliged to throw off all dissimulation. . . .The Khan-i-Azam and Raja Man Singh sat down, and calling all the nobles began to consult with them, and went so far as to say, "The character of the high and mighty Prince Sultan Salim is well-known, and the Emperor's feelings towards him are notorious ; for he by no means wishes him to be his successor. We must all agree to place Sultan Khusru upon the throne."
>
> 'When this was said, Saiyid Khan, who was one of the great

nobles, and connected with the royal house, and descended from an ancient and illustrious Mughal family, cried out, "Of what do you speak, that in the existence of a Prince like Salim Shah, we should place his son upon the throne. *This is contrary to laws and customs of the Chaghatai Tartars, and shall never be.*". . . .The assembly broke up, and each went his own way.

'Raja Ram Das Kachhwaha, with all his followers, immediately went to guard the treasury, and Murtaza Khan left the fort, and retiring to his own residence, took steps to assemble the Saiyids of Barah and his own followers. . . .People began to flock in, each striving to be the first to arrive (where Prince Salim was), till at last, in the evening, the Khan-i-Azam came in great shame and paid his respects. The Prince took not the least notice of his ill-conduct, and bestowed all royal kindness upon him.

'When Man Singh saw the change in the aspect of affairs, he took Sultan Khusru with him to his own place, and prepared boats, intending to escape the next day to Bengal. . . .Although the royal heart (of Salim) was vexed at hearing this, yet he sent Madhav Singh (Man Singh's brother) to reassure and bring him back. . . .His Majesty (Jahangir) gave his promise, with the utmost grace and kindness, that no harm should happen to him from any one. . . .The next day Raja Man Singh came to Court, and brought Sultan Khusru to the feet of his royal father. His Majesty treated him with the greatest kindness, and clasping him to his bosom, kissed his face. When His Majesty had concluded that business, he passed some days in mourning and distributing alms, till at last the day arrived for him to ascend the throne."[1]

II. Accession and Outlook

1. Accession

According to Dr. Beni Prasad, Salim mounted his father's throne in Agra Fort on Tuesday, Oct. 24, 1605, when he had completed thirty-six years of this age.[2] The *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*, however, says : 'On Thursday, the 8th *Jumad-as-Sani*, 1014 *Hijra* (12th October, 1605), I ascended the throne at Agra, in the thirty-eighth year of my age.[3]

He assumed the name and title of Nur-ud-din Muhammad Jahangir Padshah Ghazi, and in the words of Asad Beg, began to win the hearts of all the people and to rearrange the withered world. He honoured many of the greatest nobles and powerful ministers and brave youths with honourable titles and acceptable dignities ; for the consolation of the hearts of his people he suspended the Chain of Justice with golden bells, and removed the rust of oppression from the hearts of his people. . . .In the first few days he repealed and gave up all transit duties and fees, the poll-tax on Hindus and tax on orphans' property, and remitted them throughout the whole of the hereditary dominions. He also remitted and removed, root and branch, the whole of the duties and imposts levied on the produce of the sea or of mines, so that throughout the whole of Hindustan, and wherever the jurisdiction of the Emperor extended, no one could so much as name them."[4]

1 *Wikaya*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 163-74.
2 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 129, 131, 132 n. 6.
3 E. & D., *op cit*, p. 284.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

2. Comment

A word of comment is needed on the bestowal of some of the 'honourable titles and acceptable dignities' referred to above. Under the circumstances that heralded the new regime there were bound to be some *parvenus* who came to the fore only on account of indiscriminate support of their patron. The most notorious example of this was the promotion of Bir Singh Bundela, the murderer of Abul Fazl. He was raised to the 'dignity' of a commander of 3,000. On the other hand, Abdur Rahman Khan, the son of the murdered victim, was worthily elevated though, in the first instance, only to the rank of 2,000. A third accession to the nobility worthy of mention is Mirza Ghiyas Beg, a Persian Adventurer who was destined to become famous as *Itimad-ud-daulah*, the father of Nur Jahan. At present he was only a commander of 1,500. Khan-i-Zaman Aziz Koka and Raja Man Singh suffered inevitable eclipse.

With regard to the Chain of Justice, there was nothing preposterous about it, despite its being called 'silly' by Jahangir's European critics. Dowson writes : "In allusion to the *silly chain of justice* which the Emperor tells us he fastened from the palace at Agra to a stone pillar near the Jumna. . . .It does not appear that it was ever shaken, and probably was never meant for anything but parade." However, he further points out that "the practice was a mere imitation of what was attributed to one of the early Chinese Emperors, Yu-to ; and Raja Anangapal had already done the same at Delhi."[1] There is nothing more "silly" in this than in the symbolic use of the mace to keep order in the British House of Commons, or the representation of the globe on the sceptres of kings, and a pair of scales, etc., as emblems of justice.'[2]

3. The Twelve Institutes

'I established twelve ordinances to be observed, and to be the common rule of practice throughout my dominions.

1. *Prohibition of cesses* (*zakat*). I forbade the levy of duties under the names of *tamgha* and *mir-bahri*, together with the taxes of all descriptions which the *jagirdars* of every *suba* and *sarkar* had been in the habit of exacting for their own benefit.

2. *Regulation about highway robbery and theft.* In those roads which were the scenes of robbery and theft, and in those portions of roads which were far from habitations, the *jagirdars* of the neighbourhood were to build a *Sarai* or a mosque, and they were to sink a well, to be the means of promoting cultivation, and to induce people to settle there. If these places were near to *khalsa* lands the Government officials were to carry out these provisions.

3. *Free inheritance of property of deceased persons. Firstly*—No one was to open the packages of merchants on the roads without their consent. *Secondly*—When any infidel or Musalman died in any part of my dominions, his property and effects were to be allowed to

1 *Ibid.*, p. 262 n. Vincent Smith also calls it "a piece of silly make-believe."—*O.H.*, p. 375. Read "The Chain of Justice" by H. C. Ray-Chaudhury, in *Indian Culture*, VII, 1, July, 1940, pp. 1-2.

2 'The first order which I issued was for the setting up of a Chain of Justice, so that if the officers of the courts of Justice should fail in the investigation of the complaints of the oppressed, and in granting them redress, the injured persons might come to this chain and shake it, and so give notice of their wrongs. I ordered that the chain should be made of pure gold, and be thirty *gaz* long, with sixty bells upon it. The weight of it was four Hindustani *mans*, equal to thirty-two *mans* of Irak. One end was firmly attached to a battlement of the fort of Agra, the other to a stone column on the bank of the river.' (*Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., *op. cit.* p. 284.)

descend by inheritance, without interference from any one. When there was no heir, then officers were to be appointed to take charge of the property and to expend it, according to the law of Islam, in building mosques and *sarais*, in repairing broken bridges and in digging tanks and wells.

4. *Of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquors.* Wine and every sort of intoxicating liquor is forbidden, and must neither be made nor sold, although, I myself have been accustomed to take wine, and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the 38th year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. . . .

5. *Prohibition of the taking possession of houses, and of cutting of the noses and ears of criminals.* No one was to take up his abode in the dwelling of another. I made an order prohibiting every one from cutting off the noses or ears of criminals for any offence, and I made a vow to heaven that I would never inflict this punishment on any one.

6. *Prohibition of ghasbi.* The officers of the *khalsa* lands and the *jagirdars* are not to take the lands of the *raiyats* by force, and cultivate them on their own account. The collectors of the *khalsa* lands and the *jagirdars* are not without permission to form connexions with the people in their districts.

7. *Building of hospitals and appointment of physicians to attend the sick.* Hospitals were to be built in large cities, and doctors were to be appointed to attend the sick. The expenses were to be paid from the royal treasury.

8. *Prohibition of slaughter of animals on certain days.* In imitation of my honourable father, I directed that every year from the 18th *Rabi-ul-awal*, my birthday, no animals should be slaughtered for a number of days corresponding to the years of my age. In every week, also, the days were to be exempted from slaughter : Thursday, the day of my accession, and Sunday, the birthday of my father.

9. *Respect paid to Sunday.* He (my father) used to hold Sunday blessed and to pay it great respect, because it is dedicated to the great Luminary, and because it is the day on which the creation was begun. Throughout my dominions this was to be one of the days in which killing animals is interdicted.

10. *General confirmation of mansabs and jagirs.* I issued a general order that the *mansabs* and *jagirs* of my father's servants should be confirmed, and afterwards I increased the old *mansabs* according to the merit of each individual. . . .

11. *Confirmation of aima lands.* The *aima* and *madad-ma'ash* lands throughout my dominions, which are devoted to the purposes of prayer and praise, I confirmed according to the terms of the grant in the hands of each grantee. Miran *Sadr-i-jahan*, who is of the purest race of Saiyids in Hindustan, and held the office of *Sadr* in the days of my father, was directed to look after the poor every day.

12. *Amnesty for all prisoners in forts and in prisons of every kind.* All prisoners who had been long confined in forts or shut up in prisons, I ordered to be set free.'[1]

Sir Henry Elliot's comments[2] on those ordinances give a wholly

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 284-87.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 493-516.

distorted picture of Jahangir and the Mughals. The prospects of a reign, so well begun, were marred by the rebellion of the Emperor's eldest son, Prince Khusru.

4. Khusru's Revolt

Khusru was a very popular figure. Terry describes him as 'a gentleman of very lovely presence and a fine carriage, so exceedingly beloved of the common people, that as Seutonious writes of Titus, he was *amor et deliciae, & c.*, the very love and delight of them. . . .He was a man who contended himself with one wife, which with all love and care accompanied him in all his straits, and therefore, he would never take any wife but herself. though the liberty of his religion did admit of plurality.'[1] "With all his personal charm, natural talents, fine education and blameless life," Beni Prasad writes, "he was an immature youth of fiery temper and weak judgment—just the type of mind, which, joined with the advantage of high station and popularity, forms the most convenient point for intrigue and conspiracy."[2]

On April 6, 1606, evening, he escaped from semi-confinement, under the pretext of visiting his grandfather Akbar's tomb ; really he made his way to the Punjab gathering troops with the help of Mirza Hasan (son of the powerful noble Mirza Shah Rukh).

Although the rebellious prince was only following in the footsteps of his father, the reflections of Jahangir on his recalcitrance are worthy of notice, if only as a sample of the change that authority brings over the character and outlook of persons. 'In the first year after my accession,' he writes, 'Khusru, influenced by the petulance and pride which accompany youth, by his want of experience and prudence, and by the encouragement of evil companions, got some absurd notions into his head. . . .They never reflected that sovereignty and government cannot be managed and regulated by men of limited intelligence. The Supreme Dispenser of Justice gives this high mission to those whom He chooses, and it is not everyone that can becomingly wear the robes of royalty. The vain dreams of Khusru and his foolish companions could end in nothing but trouble and disgrace."[3]

An alarm was raised, and the pursuit began. 'I despatched Sheikh Farid Bokhari on the service, directing him to take all the *mansabdars* and *ahadis* he could collect. I determined that I myself would start as soon as it was day. . . .The news came in that Khusru was pressing forward to the Punjab, but the thought came to my mind that he might perhaps be doing this as a blind, his real intention being to go elsewhere. Raja Man Singh, who was in Bengal, was Khusru's maternal uncle, and many thought that Khusru would proceed thither. But the men who had been sent out in all directions confirmed the report of his going towards the Punjab. Next morning I arose, and placing my reliance on God, I mounted and set off, not allowing myself to be detained by any person or anything. . . .

'My distress arose from the thought that my son, without any cause or reason, had become my enemy, and that if I did not exert myself to capture him, dissatisfied and turbulent men would support him, or he would of his own accord go off to the Uzbegs or Kazilbashes, and thus dishonour would fall upon my throne.'[4]

There is little interest in the details of the struggle. It terminated within three weeks (April 6-27, 1606). The governor of Lahore refused to

1 Cited by Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 376.
2 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-40.
3 *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 291.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 292-98.

open the gates for the rebel Prince, who was captured while trying to cross the Chenab.

'Before the defeat of Khusru, an order had been issued to all the *jagirdars*, road-keepers, and the ferrymen in the Punjab, informing them of what had happened, and warning them to be careful.'[1]

'On the 3rd of *Muharram* 1015 A.H., Khusru was brought into my presence in the garden of Mirza Kamran, with his hands bound and a chain on his leg, and he was led up from the left side, according to the rule of Chengiz Khan. . . .I attributed my success gained in this expedition to Sheikh Farid, and I dignified him with the title of *Murtaza Khan.* To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the rebels should be impaled thereon, and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment. The landholders between the Chenab and Behat who had proved their loyalty, I rewarded by giving to each one of them some lands as *Madad-ma'ash.*'[2]

Guru Arjun, the head of the Sikh community, was sentenced to death, as an accomplice of the rebel Prince, and his property, including his hermitage, was confiscated. His offence consisted in giving Rs. 5,000 to Khusru, which the Guru justified on grounds of his *dharma* and gratitude for past kindness received from Akbar, 'and not because he was in opposition to thee.' Jahangir, in the first instance, had only fined him two lakhs of rupees, and ordered him to expunge from the *Granth Sahib* passages opposed to the Hindus and the Musalmans. But to this Guru Arjun replied : 'Whatever money I have is for the poor, the friendless and the stranger. If thou asketh for money thou mayest take what I have ; but if thou asketh for it by way of fine, I shall not give thee even a *kauri* (shell), for a fine is imposed on wicked, worldly persons, and not on priests and anchorites. And as to what thou hast said regarding the erasure of hymns in the *Granth Sahib*, I cannot erase or alter an iota. . . .The hymns which find a place in it are not disrespectful to any Hindu incarnation or Muhammadan prophet. It is certainly stated that prophets, priests, and incarnations are the hand-work of the Immortal God whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and destruction of falsehood, and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune.'

Commenting on this Dr. Beni Prasad observes : "The melancholy transaction has been represented by Sikh tradition as the first of the long series of religious persecutions which the Khalsa suffered from the Mughal Emperors. In reality, it is nothing of the kind. Without minimizing the gravity of Jahangir's mistake, it is only fair to recognize that the whole affair amounts to a single execution, due primarily to political reasons. No other Sikhs were molested. No interdict was laid on the Sikh faith. Guru Arjun himself would have ended his days in peace if he had not espoused the cause of a rebel."[3] V. A. Smith also writes, "The punishment, it will be observed, was inflicted as a penalty for high treason and contumacy, and was not primarily an act of religious persecution."[4]

Khusru himself was blinded and imprisoned ; subsequently he partially

1 *Ibid.*, p. 299.
2 *Ibid* , p. 301.
3 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-51.
4 Smith, *op cit.*, p. 376 Also see "Jahangir's Relation with the Sikhs", K. P. Mitra, *I H.Q.*, XXI, 1, pp. 44-48 ; and A. C. Banerjee, *I H.Q.*, XXI, 2, II, 135-36, 1945.

recovered his sight, but not his liberty.[1] He was destined to be a pawn in the political game, ultimately to be disposed of under very tragic and suspicious circumstances.

III. Wars of Conquest

The principal wars under Jahangir were those leading to the final subjugation of Mewar in 1614, the conquest of Ahmadnagar in 1616, the capture of Kangra in 1620, and the loss of Kandahar in 1622. There were also a few others relating to minor conquests and insurrections which will be related in due course.

1. Mewar

"No community that ever existed can boast of a more romantic history, of more heroic exploits, of a prouder sense of honour and self-respect than the Rajputs of medieval India. . . .As one glides through the Rajput tradition, the mind staggers at the heights of valour, devotion, and altruism to which humanity can soar. The Rajput spirit appears in its very quintessence in the chequered annals of Mewar. . . .Their (Sisodia's) intimate knowledge of the crags and defiles, narrow, obscure passes and hidden, mysterious pathways, was of the highest value to the Rajputs in their days of adversity. But for them, the history of Mewar might have run a different course.

"Through Mewar, or close to her boundary, passed the highways of commerce between the fertile Gangetic plains and the emporiums of trade on the Western coast. So long as Mewar was independent, the merchants of the Delhi Empire could not expect on these highways adequate security of person and property or freedom from vexatious tolls. That was one reason why Mughal Emperors could never reconcile themselves to the idea of an independent Mewar. There was, of course, the imperialistic motic which prompted the extinction of the last relics of Rajput independence, but in fairness to the Mughals it is necessary to emphasize the economic cause which has generally been overlooked by historians."[2]

We have already traced the history of the Rajputs under Akbar. It will not, however, be out of place here to recall to mind Col. Tod's oft-quoted eulogium :

"Had Mewar possessed her Thucydides or her Xenophon, neither the wars of the Peloponnesus nor 'the Retreat of the Ten Thousand,'

1 The blinding of Khusru was the result of another insurrection attempted in his favour. The plot was hatched when Jahangir had been away in Kabul, to assassinate him on one of his hunting expeditions and place Khusru on the throne. There were, however, too many conspirators and the whole plan was betrayed to Jahangir. The ring leaders were caught and executed. The prince was further victimized as a result of the excessive solicitude of his well-wishers. The *Intikhab-i-Jahangir-Shahi* gives the following account of the blinding :

'His Majesty ordered Prince Khusru to be deprived of his sight. When the wire was put in his eyes, such pain was inflicted on him that it is beyond all expression. The Prince, after being deprived of sight, was brought to Agra ; and the paternal love again revived. The most experienced physicians were ordered to take measures to heal the eyes of the prince, that they might become as sound as they were before. One of the physicians of Persia, Hakim Sadra by name, undertook to cure the Prince within six months. By his skill, the Prince recovered his original power of vision in one of his eyes, but the other remained a little defective in that respect, and also became smaller than its natural size. After the lapse of the assigned time, the Prince was presented to His Majesty, who showed the physician great favour, and honoured him with the title of *Masih-uz-Zaman*.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 448-49.

Beni Prasad observes, "After weighing all available evidence, my conclusion is that the version of the *Intikhab-i-Jahangiri*, comes nearer the truth than any other. The author writes with inside knowledge."—*History of Jahangir*, pp. 165-66 and n.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 218-19.

would have yielded more diversified incidents for the Historic Muse, than the deeds of this brilliant reign (of Pratap) amid the many vicissitudes of Mewar. Undaunted heroism, inflexible fortitude, that which keeps honour bright, perseverance with fidelity such as no nation can boast, were opposed to a soaring ambition, commanding talents, unlimited means, and the fervour of religious zeal ; all, however, insufficient to contend with one unconquerable mind. There is not a pass in the alpine Aravalli that is not sanctified by some deed of Pratap—some brilliant victory and oftener some glorious defeat. Haldighat is the Thermopylae of Mewar ; the field of Dewir her Marathon."

But all this was to suffer eclipse in the present reign. On the banks of the Peshola, the dying Pratap, like Hemilcar to Hannibal, had sworn his son and nobles 'by the throne of Bappa Rawal' to eternal enmity with the Mughals. Amar Singh, however, though undoubtedly great in many ways, was obliged to bow his proud head before Khurram.

First Expedition. On his accession, Jahangir, as if to make amends for his own derelíction in his father's regime, immediately despatched an army of 20,000 horses against Mewar, under the command of Prince Parviz and Asaf Khan (Jaffar Beg)—not to be confounded with the more famous brother of Nur Jahan. The armies encountered each other at Dewir ; the engagement is one of the disputed battles in history. Both sides claimed the victory.[1] But, whatever be the truth, on account of the situation created by Khusru's rebellion, Parviz and his forces were recalled to the capital : "all was stopped by the unhappy outbreak of Khusru,' writes Jahangir. 'I was obliged to pursue him to the Punjab, and the capital and interior of the country were denuded of troops. I was obliged to write to Parviz, directing him to return to protect Agra and the neighbourhood, and to remain there ; so the campaign against the Rana was suspended.'[2]

Second Expedition. The second expedition was sent two years later (1608) under the promising command of Mahabat Khan. The entire force consisted this time of 12,000 horses, 500 *tehadis*, 2,000 musketeers, 60 elephants, 80 pieces of small artillery mounted on camels and elephants. Twenty lakhs of rupees were allotted for expenses. Yet, while the Mughals won sporadic victories, they failed to make effective headway in the enemy's country.

The next year (1609) Mahabat Khan was replaced by Abdullah Khan in command. The latter is described as 'a valorous soldier, a rash commander, and a cruel and ruthless sort of man.' From Kumbhalmir (25°9′ N. and 70°35′ E., 40 miles North of Udaipur city ; 3,568 ft. above sea-level), the rock-fortress built by Rana Kumbha (1443-58), he made such a dash upon Amar Singh, that the latter came near to losing his life. The war went on with varying fortunes on either side, until the recall of Abdullah Khan to the South on account of the exigencies of the Deccan campaign (to be noticed presently).

After a short experiment with Raja Basu, the command finally (1613) came to Khan-i-Azam Aziz Koka (Khusru's father-in-law)—'one of the hypocrites and old wolves of this State' (as Jahangir called him)—and Prince Khurram. The two inevitably quarrelled, and the former was recalled and placed in confinement in the fort of Gwalior (April 1614). Khurram's charge against him was that he was 'spoiling matters simply on

1 *Ibid.*, p. 227.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 336.

account of the connexion he had with Khusru' and that his presence was 'in no way fitting'. However, he was soon set free.

The Last Campaign. Khurram, now left in absolute command, conducted the campaign with consummate ability. He reduced the Rana to great straits by devastating his country and cutting off his supplies. In fact, Amar Singh found himself in the same plight as his father in 1579-80. In the words of Jahangir, 'Being helpless, he resolved to succumb, and to do homage. He sent his maternal uncle Subh Karan, and Hardas Jhala, one of his most trusty and intelligent servants, praying my son to overlook his offences, and to give him an assurance of safety under the princely seal ; he would then wait upon him in prison to pay homage, and would send his son and heir-apparent to the Imperial Court, so that he might be classed among the adherents of the throne like all other *rajas*. He also begged that on account of old age he might be excused from proceeding to Court. . . .My son wrote me the particulars in a despatch.

'Rana Amar Singh, and his ancestors, relying upon the security of his mountains and his home, had never seen one of Kings of Hindustan, and had never shown obedience : but now in my fortunate reign he had been compelled to make his submission.'[1] Jahangir graciously accepted the submission and even restored Chitor to the Ranas, but with the express condition that it should neither be fortified afresh, nor even repaired.

In utter humiliation Rana Amar Singh, some time after, abdicated in favour of his eldest son Karan Singh ; the Rana ever after remained loyal to the Mughals until the blind fanaticism of Aurangzeb again drove Rana Raj Singh into open rebellion. Meanwhile, Karan Singh was placed 'in the right hand of the circle in the *darbar* and presented with a superb dress of honour and a jewelled sword. In March, 1615, at the next *Nauroz* celebrations, he received the rank of 5,000 *zat* and *sawar* ; and what is more, two life-size equestrian statues of Amar Singh and Karan were made, in appreciation of their valour, and set in the palace garden within view of the *jharokha* (window) at Agra.[2] When Karan left for his home, he received by way of a farewell gift a horse, a special elephant, a dress of honour, a string of pearls of the value of Rs. 50,000 and a jewelled dagger worth Rs. 2,000. Jahangir calculated that 'from the time of his waiting on me till he obtained leave, what he had, in the shape of cash, jewellery, etc., was of the value of Rs. 2,00,000 with 110 horses, five elephants, in addition to what my son Khurram bestowed on him at various times.'[3] But what of the loss of dignity and freedom ? The proud Rana could never be compensated.

2. Ahmadnagar

It will be remembered that Akbar had hastily concluded his Deccan campaign with the siege of Asirgarh (1601), on account of Salim's rebellion in the north. Since then, Malik Ambar, an able Abyssinian in the service of Ahmadnagar, had done much to consolidate the position of Nizam Shahi in the south. He had both military and administrative talent, and had remodelled the revenue system of his state on the principles of Raja Todar Mal. He was a master of the military tactics of the Marathas, and took the fullest advantage of the political situation as well as of the peculiar strategic resources of his own country and men. He now set himself the task of recovering the dominion lost to the Mughals.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 339.
2 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 246 n. 60.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 245-46 n. 59.

Burhanpur was the Mughal head-quarters in the south. There the puppet, Prince Parviz held his petty court ; or, as Sir Thomas Roe puts it, 'the prince hath the name and state, but the Khan (Khanan) governs all. From 1608-15 the inane campaign dragged on, noble succeeding noble as commander ; but all equally futile. The war was carried on two fronts : (1) against the enemy, and (2) within the Mughal camp itself (viz., of mutual recrimination among the nobles !) From 1608-10 the Khan-Khanan was in command : from 1610-12 Khan Jahan Lodi with the assistance of Khan Zaman, Man Singh and Abdullah Khan (of Mewar Fame). At the end of this period the Khan-Khanan was again appointed to the southern command. This time he retrieved his position, mainly on account of disunity in the enemy's camp. He was continued till 1616, when Prince Khurram, ambitious to win fresh laurels, took his place.

Towards the close of October, 1616, Khurram's camp equipage started from Ajmer for the Deccan. Next month the Prince was honoured with the title of Shah or King "which no Timurid prince had ever received,"[1] and loaded with presents he set out on his grand campaign. In Roe's estimate one of the swords he received was valued at Rs. 1,00,000, and another dagger was worth Rs. 40,000. Jahangir also prepared to move south, on Tuesday, Nov. 10, 1616. The whole pageant of his march has been well described by Sir Thomas Roe and Terry, his chaplain, who were eye-witnesses. The former says, 'the vale showed like a beautiful city,' and ruefully adds, 'I was unfitted with carriage and ashamed of my provision ; but five years allowance would not have furnished me with one indifferent suit, sortable to others. . . .So I returned to my poor house.' The latter writes of the camp royal 'which indeed is very glorious, as all must confess who have seen the infinite number of tents, or pavilions there pitched together, which in a plain make a show equal to a most spacious and glorious city. These tents, I say, when they are all together, cover such a quantity of ground, that, I believe it is five English miles at the least, from one side of them to the other, very beautiful to behold from some hill, where they may be all seen at once."[2]

The Imperial camp reached Mandu (lat. 22° 20′ N., long. 75° 28′ E., 1,944 ft. above sea-level) after four months, on March 6, 1617,[3] where a splendid abode had been prepared for the reception at a cost of Rs. 3,00,000.

Prince Khurram, who marched in advance, was joined by Karan Singh (of Mewar) with 1,500 Rajput horses. They reached Burhanpur on March 6, 1617.[3] But in spite of the pompous equipage, or because of it, the Mughals won their objective without striking a blow. Peace was restored on the restoration of the Balaghat territory, recently seized by Malik Ambar, the delivery of the keys of Ahmadnagar and other strongholds, and the payment of tribute by the Deccan chiefs.

Shah Khurram returned to the Imperial camp at Mandu on October 12, 1617, with treasures and 'offerings, such as had never come in any reign or time.' "Altogether his presents were estimated at Rs. 22,60,000."[4] 'After he had performed the dues of salutation and kissing the ground,' writes Jahangir, 'I called him up into the *jharokha*, and with exceeding kindness and delight rose from my place and held him in the embrace of affection. In proportion as he strove to be humble and polite, I increased my favours and kindness to him and made him sit near me.' He was,

1 *Ibid.*, p. 267.
2 See *ibid.*, pp. 267-72.
3 This obvious conflict in dates needs to be resolved.
4 For details see *ibid.*, p. 281.

besides, promoted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *zat* and *sawar*, and honoured with the title of Shah Jahan or King of the World.

The Khan-Khanan, Abdur Rahim Khan (son of Bairam Khan) was appointed Governor of Berar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar, and his eldest son, Shah Nawaz Khan, was put in charge of 10,000 horses in the newly ceded territory. Altogether 30,000 cavalry and 7,000 musketeers were left in the Deccan under reliable officers, and due provision was made for both the defence and administration of these provinces.

But this was only a truce and no permanent pacification of the Deccan. So long as the astute and intrepid Malik Ambar was alive, there could be no lasting peace. No sooner than the Imperial arms were even partially withdrawn, or the political situation become favourable, he reasserted his strength. By 1620 he practically won back all that he had lost by the previous treaty. This necessitated sending Shah Jahan once more against him. Similar results followed (1621). 'After much entreaty on the part of the rebel,' writes Jahangir, 'it was settled that besides the territory which was formerly held by the Imperial officers, a space of fourteen *kos* beyond should be relinquished and a sum of 50 lakhs of rupees should be sent to the Imperial treasury.'[1]

Still later, in 1623, both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar sought Imperial aid, each against the other. Mahabat Khan preferred the former, which inevitably entailed hostility with the latter. Finally, Malik Ambar died in 1626, and the Deccan problem remained as unsolved as ever. The impression Malik Ambar had made, even on his enemies, is indicated by the following appreciation of him by Mutamad Khan, the Mughal courtier-chronicler :

'Intelligence now arrived of the death of Ambar the Abyssinian, in the 80th year of his age, on 31st *Urdibihist*. This Ambar was a slave, but an able man. In warfare, in command, in sound judgment, and in administration, he had no rival or equal. He well understood the predatory (*kazzaki*) warfare, which in the language of the Dakhni is called *bargi-giri*. He kept down the turbulent spirits of that country, and maintained his exalted position to the end of his life, and closed his career in honour. History records no other instance of an Abyssinian slave arriving at such eminence.[2]

3. Kangra

This a beautiful and well-fortified region in north-eastern Punjab, impregnable on account of its geographical configuration. (Lat. 31° 20′ and 32° 58′ ; long. 75° 39′ and 78° 35′). The *Shash Fat-i-Kangra* thus refers to the fort and its history :

> 'The fort of Kangra is very lofty, and stands on a high hill. Its buildings are very beautiful. It is so old that no one can tell at what period it was built. This fort is very strong; in so much that no king was ever able to take it; and it is unanimously declared by all persons acquainted with the history of the ancient *Rajas*, that from the beginning up to this time, it has always remained in the possession of one and the same family. The fact is also confirmed by the histories of the Muhammadan kings who have reigned in this country. From A.H. 720, or the commencement of Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din's power, to the year 963, when the Emperor Akbar became master of the whole country of Hindustan, the fort has been besieged no less than 52 times by the most powerful kings and rulers, but no one has been able

1 *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 380.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 428-29.

to take it. Firoz, who was one of the greatest Kings of Delhi, once laid siege to this fort, but it baffled all his efforts ; for at last he was contented with having an interview with the *Raja*, and was obliged to return unsuccessful. In the reign of the Emperor Akbar, one of his greatest nobles, Hasan Kuli Khan Turkoman, entitled Khan-Jahan, Governor of the province of Bengal, attacked this fort, at the head of a numerous army, after he was appointed to the government of the Punjab ; but notwithstanding a long siege, he also failed in taking it....It was destined to fall into the hands of the mighty army of the Emperor Jahangir, under the influence of whose prosperous star all difficulties were overcome, and all obstacles removed.'[1]

The task was accomplished by Raja Bikramjit acting under the command of Shah Khurram. 'He took possession of all the treasures which had been amassed by the *Rajas* of that place from ancient times. From these riches he distributed rewards to the nobles and officers of the army, and what remained, after all the expenses, he sent to the Emperor, with a report on the victory which was thus achieved. His Majesty, on receiving the information of this conquest, offered thanks to the Great Creator of the Universe, and distributed a large sum in alms among the poor and the needy.'[2]

'On Monday, 5th *Muharram*, the joyful intelligence of the conquest of the fort of Kangra arrived. . . .When this humble individual,' writes Jahangir, 'ascended the throne, the capture of this fort was the first of all his designs. He sent Murtaza Khan, Governor of the Punjab, against it with a large force, but Murtaza died before its reduction was accomplished. Chaupar Mal, son of Raja Basu, was afterwards sent against it : but that traitor rebelled, his army was broken up, and the fall of the fortress was deferred. Not long after, the traitor was made prisoner, and executed and went to hell, as has been recorded in the proper place. Prince Khurram was afterwards sent against it with a strong force, and many nobles were directed to support him. In the month of *Shawwal*, 1029 H., his forces invested the place, the trenches were portioned out, and the ingress of provisions was completely stopped. In time the fortress was in difficulty, no corn or food remained in the place, but for four months longer the men lived upon dry fodder, and similar things which they boiled and ate ; but when death stared them in the face, and no hope of deliverance remained, the place was surrendered on Monday, *Muharram* 1, 1031 (November 16, 1620).

'The extreme heat of Agra was uncongenial to my constitution. . . . and as I had a great desire for the air of Kangra. . . .I went to pay a visit to the fortress. . . .After passing over about half a *kos* (from Bahlum) we mounted to the fort, and then by the grace of God prayers were said, the *khutba* was read, a cow was killed, and other things were done, such as had never been done before from the foundation of the fort to the present time. All this was done in my presence, and I bowed myself in thanks to the Almighty for this great conquest which no previous monarch had been able to accomplish. I ordered a large mosque to be built in the fortress.'[3]

Kandahar, on account of its situation and importance, both commer-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 526. For details of the conquest, which are very interesting, see *ibid.*, pp. 518-26.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 525-26.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 374-75 ; 381-83.

cial and military, was a constant source of friction between the Mughals and the Persians. It had been conquered, as we have seen, by Babur in 1522, and kept by his sons, Humayun and Kamran. It slipped away in 1558, but was reacquired by Akbar in 1594. The revolt of Khursu, at the commencement of the present reign, gave the Persians an opportunity, and Shah Abbas (1587-1629) instigated the chiefs of Khorasan and others to attack Kandahar. But the Mughal commander of the fort, Shah Beg Khan, proved more than a match for the Persians. Besides, reinforcements from India soon arrived (1607), to the utter discomfiture of the enemy.

4. Kandahar

Foiled in this indirect attempt, Shah Abbas feigned indignation at the mischievous activities of his subjects, declared the attack was unauthorized, professed sincere friendship towards Jahangir, and hoped that the unfortunate occurrence would leave no unpleasantness behind. Jahangir naively accepted these diplomatic protestations of his astute neighbour, went to Kabul, directed a futile campaign against the predatory tribes of Bangash, ordered repair of the roads from Kandahar to Gazni, and engaged himself in some beneficent activities, abolished certain customs duties at Kabul, planted trees and improved gardens, and set out for Lahore in August, 1607, after a sojourn of eleven weeks. These events occurred between the rebellion of Khusru and the plot to assassinate Jahangir that we have already mentioned.

In the meanwhile, Shah Abbas, who never gave up his designs upon Kandahar, tried to cover up his sinister intentions by the exchange of diplomatic embassies, gifts, and other graces. Thus, he sent Persian ambassadors to the Mughal Court in 1611, 1615, 1616, and 1620, loaded with alluring presents and letters containing fulsome and studied flattery. A sample may be here given for more than the amusement it affords :

> 'May the flower-bed of sovereignty and rule and the mead of magnificence and exalted happiness of His Honour of heavenly dignity, of sunlike grandeur, the King whose fortune is young, of Saturn-like majesty, the renowned Prince, possessing the authority of the spheres, the Khedive, the world-gripper (Jahangir) and country-conquering sovereign, the Prince of the exaltedness of Sikandar, with banner of Darius, he who sits in the pavilion of greatness and glory, the possessor of the (seven) climes, the increase of the joys of good fortune and prosperity, adorner of the gardens of happiness, decorator of the rose-parterre, lord of the happy conjunction (of the planets), the opener of the countenance, the perfection of Kinghood, expounder of the mysteries of the sky, the adornment of the face of learning and insight, index of the book of creation, compendium of human perfections, mirror of the glory of God, elevator of the lofty soul, increaser of good fortune and of the beneficent ascension, sun of the grandeur of the skies, the shadow of the benignity of the Creator, he who has the dignity of Jamshid among the stars of the host of heaven, lord of conjunction, refuge of the world, river of the favours of Allah, and fountain of unending mercy, verdure of the plain of purity, may his land (lit. surface) be guarded from the calamity of the evil eye ; may his fountain of perfection be preserved in truth, his desire and love ; the tale of his good qualities and benevolence cannot be written.'[1]
>
> These compliments were only a camouflage ; behind the smoke-screen

1 Cited by Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-39, n. 2.

of fine phrases the Shah was mobilizing mischief. When he thought that the time had come, owing to the internal situation in India, he did not hesitate to strike an effective blow. Kandahar was once more besieged in 1621, and finally taken by the Persians in 1622. Jahangir thought of elaborate preparations of war, which he hoped to carry right to the Persian capital ; but all this miscarried on account of Shah Jahan's rebellion. Here is Jahangir's description of the situation :

'A despatch arrived from the son of Khan Jahan, reporting that Shah Abbas, King of Persia, had laid siege to the fort of Kandahar with the forces of Irak and Khurasan. I gave orders for calling troops from Kashmir, and Khwaja Abul Hassan *Diwan* and Sadik Khan *Bakshi* were sent on in advance of me to Lahore, to organize the forces as the princes brought them up from the Dakkhin, Gujarat, Bengal and Bihar, and as the nobles came from their *jagirs* and assembled, and then to send them on in succession to the son of Khan Jahan at Multan (where the forces were to be concentrated). Artillery, mortars, elephants, treasure, arms, and equipments were also to be sent on thither. . . . For such an army 100,000 bullocks or more would be needed. . . .But Zain-ul-Abidin whom I had sent to summon Khurram (who was to be placed in command) returned and reported that the Prince would come after he had passed the rainy season in the fort of Mandu. *When I read and understood the contents of the Prince's letter, I was not at all pleased or rather I was displeased.*'[1]

After the capture of Kandahar, the Shah had the temerity to write to Jahangir, declaring that Kandahar had rightly belonged to the Persians and that Jahangir ought to have voluntarily surrendered it to him, and expressing at the same time that 'the ever vernal flower of union and cordiality (between the two sovereigns) would remain in bloom and (that) every effort be made to strengthen the foundations of concord.'[2]

5. Minor Conquests

Before we proceed to consider the circumstances and details of Shah Jahan's revolt, we might briefly describe some of the minor conquests under Jahangir.

In 1610, a Muslim youth named Qutb had tried to impersonate Prince Khusru and create trouble in Patna. He was soon executed and there was an end of the affair. But more formidable was the commotion further east. The refractory Afghans in Bengal had never been fully subjugated. In 1599 under their leader, Usman Khan, they had rebelled against Man Singh's grandson Maha Singh. Though Man Singh, when he returned to the province temporarily, subdued them, they still continued to give trouble in the earlier years of Jahangir's reign. The frequent change of governors afforded the rebels ample opportunities. Finally, in 1608, when Islam Khan was appointed to this eastern province, he changed his head-quarters from Rajmahal to Dacca (then called Jahangirnagar), so as to be able to deal with the rebels effectively. Peaceful overtures having proved futile, a grand campaign was organized under the command of Sujaat Khan. Finally, the Afghans fighting bravely, and almost recklessly, were conquered. On April 1, 1612, Jahangir received the glad tidings of the victory, attested by the head of Usman, 'the last of the brave Afghans.' Thereafter, Jahangir treated the Afghans with great clemency and promoted them to some of the highest ranks in the Imperial hierarchy.

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 383.
2 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 350.

Khurda, in Orissa, with its famous temple of Jagannath, was subdued after brave resistance by its Raja Purshotam Das, who was obliged to yield and send his daughter to the Imperial harem. This was effected by Raja Kalyan, son of Raja Todar Mal, in 1611. In 1615 Khokhara, in the wilds of Bihar, was captured from its ruler Durjan Sal, because of its valuable diamond mines which were declared a state monopoly. The conquest was effected by Ibrahim Khan (brother of Nur Jahan), on whom was bestowed the title of *Firoz Jang* with the rank of 4,000. In 1617, Purshottam Dev of Khurda again rebelled, and his territory was finally annexed to the Empire by Mukarram Khan, the Governor of Orissa. This brought the Mughal Frontier on this side to the borders of Golconda. In the same year, the tribes of Jam and Bhara in Cutch were subdued by Raja Bikramjit whom the *Shash Fat-i-Kangra* calls 'an old, brave, and experienced chief, who was very faithful to the throne. . . .for whom the Prince (Shah Jahan) had used every endeavour to obtain advancement, the gold of whose friendship, when tried by the touch-stone had turned out pure and red', etc.[1] In 1620, Kishtwar, to the south of Kashmir, with its rich fruits and saffron was taken from its *Raja*, who rebelled and was again subdued in 1622. This state, though it was small, yielded a revenue of Rs. 1,00,000.

IV. Nur Jahan and Reactions

Now we come to the most interesting part of Jahangir's story. All the remaining events, as well as some of those we have already narrated, are to be connected with the advent of Nur Jahan. She forms as it were the pivot or the principal hinge on which the history of the rest of the reign turns. The rebellions of Shah Jahan and Mahabat Khan were primarily reactions of the workings of Nur Jahan's influence. "No figure in mediaeval history," observes Beni Prasad, "has been shrouded in such romance as the name of Nur Jahan calls to the mind. No incident in the reign of Jahangir has attracted such attention as his marriage with Nur Jahan. For full fifteen years that celebrated lady stood forth as the most striking and most powerful personality in the Mughal Empire." But, as regards the many romantic legends that have gathered round her name, he very properly says, "It is all very fascinating but it is not history. Sober history unfolds a tale lacking in such a picturesque romance, but full of human interest."[2]

The best reliable and brief account of Nur Jahan's history is contained in the following passage from Mutamad Khan's *Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri*.

> 'Among the great events that occurred during this interval (sixth year of the reign) was the Emperor Jahangir's demanding Nur Jahan Begam in marriage. This subject might be expanded into volumes, but we are necessarily confined to a limited space in thus describing the strange decrees of Fate. Mirza Ghiyas Beg, the son of Khwaja Muhammad Sharif, was a native of Teheran. Khwaja Muhammad was, first of all, the *wazir* of Muhammad Khan Taklu, governor of Khurasan. After the death of Muhammad Khan, he entered the service of the renowned King Tahmasp Safawi, and was entrusted with the *wazirship* of Yazd. The Khwaja had two sons Aka Tahir and Mirza Ghiyas Beg. . . .After the death of his father (1577), Mirza

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 521.
2 *History of Jahangir*, pp. 170-7

Ghiyas Beg, with two sons and a daughter, travelled to Hindustan. On the road, as he was passing through Kandahar, by the blessing of God, another daughter was born to him. In the city of Fatehpur, he had the good fortune to be presented to the Emperor Akbar. In a short time owing to his devotion to the King's service, and his intelligence, Mirza Ghiyas Beg was raised to the office of *diwan* or superintendent of the household. He was considered exceedingly clever and skilful, both in writing and in transacting business. He had studied the old poets, and had a nice appreciation of the meaning of words ; and he wrote *shikasta* in a bold and elegant style. His leisure moments were devoted to the study of poetry and style, and his generosity and beneficence to the poor was such that no one ever turned from his door disappointed. In taking bribes, however, he was very bold and daring. When His Highness the Emperor Akbar was staying at Lahore, Ali Kuli Beg Istajlu, who had been brought up under Shah Ismail II, having come from the kingdom of Irak, became included among the number of the royal servants, and, as Fath ordered it, married that daughter of Mirza Ghiyas Beg who had been born in Kandahar. Afterwards in the reign of Jahangir, he received a suitable *mansab*, and the title of *Sher-Afgan* was conferred on him. He next received a *jagir* in the province of Bengal, and departed thither to take possession. His murder of Kutb-ud-din Khan (Governor of Bengal) and his own death have already been related.[1] After the death of Kutb-ud-din, the officials of Bengal, in obedience to royal command, sent to Court the daughter of Ghiyas Beg, who had been exalted to the title of *Itimad-ud-daula*, and the King, who was greatly distressed at the murder of Kutb-ud-din, entrusted her to the keeping of his own royal mother. There she remained some time without notice. Since, however, Fate had decreed that she should be the Queen of the World and Princess of the Time, it happened that on the celebration of New Year's Day in the sixth year of the Emperor's reign (March, 1611), her appearance caught the Emperor's far-seeing eye, and so captivated him that, he included her among the inmates of his select *harem* (May, 1611). Day by day her influence and dignity increased. First of all she received the title of *Nur Mahal*, "Light of the Harem," but was afterwards distinguished by that of *Nur Jahan Begam*, "Light of the World." All her relations and connexions were raised to honour and wealth. . . .No grant of lands was conferred upon any woman except under her seal.

It was reported that Sher-Afgan 'was insubordinate and disposed to be rebellious. When Kutb-ud-din was sent to Bengal (Aug., 1606) he was directed to look after Sher-Afgan : if he was found to be loyal and dutiful, he was to be maintained in his *jagir* ; but if not, he was to be sent to Court, or to be brought to punishment if he delayed to proceed thither. Kutb-ud-din formed a bad opinion of his actions and way of life. When he was summoned to appear before the viceroy, he made unreasonable excuses, and cherished evil designs. Kutb-ud-din made a report upon his conduct to the Emperor, and the Imperial order was given for sending him to Court ; the viceroy was also directed to carry out the instructions he had received, and to bring Sher-Afgan to punishment if he manifested any disloyalty. On receiving this command Kutb-ud-din immediately proceeded to Burdwan (March, 1607) which was the *jagir* of Sher-Afgan.' Suspecting 'there was a design against him,' Sher-Afgan in the course of conversation, 'before any one could interfere,' ran his sword into the viceroy's belly and slew him. 'Pir Khan Kashmiri, a brave officer, galloped against Sher-Afghan and struck him on the head with a sword, but Sher-Afghan returned it so fiercely that he killed his assailant at a blow. The other attendants now pressed forward in numbers, and despatched Sher-Afghan with their swords.' —*Iqbal-Nama-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 402-03.

In addition to giving her the titles that other kings bestow, the Emperor granted Nur Jahan the rights of sovereignty and government. Sometimes she would sit in the balcony of her palace, while the nobles would present themselves, and listen to her dictates. Coin was struck in her name, with this superscription : "By order of the King Jahangir, gold had a hundred splendours added to it by receiving the impression of the name of Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam." On all *farmans* also receiving the Imperial signature, the name "Nur Jahan, the Queen Begam," was jointly attached. At last her authority reached such a pass that the King was such only in name. Repeatedly he gave out that he had bestowed the sovereignty on Nur Jahan Begam, and would say, "I require nothing beyond a *sir* of wine and half a *sir* of meat." It is impossible to describe the beauty and wisdom of the Queen. In any matter that was presented to her, if a difficulty arose, she immediately solved it. Whoever threw himself upon her protection was preserved from tyranny and oppression ; and if ever she learnt that any orphan girl was destitute and friendless, she would bring about her marriage, and give her a wedding portion. It is probable that during her reign no less than 500 orphan girls were thus married and portioned.'[1]

1. Controversy

Plain and unvarnished as this tale is, there has been a great controversy over the alleged crime of Jahangir. He has been charged with the murder of Sher-Afgan, which he is believed to have brought about in order to marry Mihrunnisa. It is said, on the strength of various legends, including a statement in De Laet who says that Jahangir was in love with Mihrunnisa "when she was still a maiden, during the lifetime of Achabar (Akbar), but she had already been betrothed to the Turk Cheer Affeghan (Sher-Afgan), and hence his father would not allow him to marry her, although he never entirely lost his love for her."[2] But Dr. Beni Prasad has very ably made out a case acquitting Jahangir, which seems quite plausible. "An attentive study of contemporary authorities," he contends, "and of the well-established facts themselves knocks the bottom out of the whole romance, and the characters of Jahangir and Nur Jahan appear in a truer and more favourable light." His main line of argument may be briefly stated thus :

(*a*) No contemporary chronicler has made the charge against the Emperor.

(*b*) Even the chroniclers of Shah Jahan's reign, who had antipathies towards Nur Jahan, do not as much as hint at it.

(*c*) Contemporary European writers, although they record many another Court scandals, hardly impute the crime to Jahangir.

(*d*) If Jahangir had been early in love with Mihrunnisa, Akbar would not have appointed Sher-Afgan in the service of Salim, and the latter would not, under such circumstances have promoted his rival in love.

(*e*) Nur Jahan from her known character, would not have submitted to the yoke of her husband's assassin ; on the contrary there is reason to believe she sincerely reciprocated Jahangir's passionate love for her.[3]

Dr. Ishwari Prasad's criticism of this is rather weak and unconvincing: "The improbabilities of the story itself, on which he (Beni Prasad) dwells at length," he writes, "are of little value in helping us to form a correct

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 403-05.
2 Hoyland & Banerjee, p. 181.
3 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-82.

judgment. The evidence of the Emperor's innocence adduced by Dr. Beni Prasad is of a negative character, and we cannot lightly brush aside the positive assertions of later historians, who were in a better position to state the truth in a matter like this than their predecessors. There are other considerations which militate against the theory of innocence." These are according to him :

(*a*) On mere suspicion the Emperor need not have authorized Kutb-ud-din to punish Sher Afgan ; the cause of the royal displeasure was not even communicated to him."

(*b*) Jahangir, "who is usually so frank," does not say a word on this incident, "for the obvious reason that no man would relate scandals about himself."

(*c*) Jahangir's silence about his marriage, "the most momentous event in his career, is wholly unintelligible."

(*d*) "His account of Sher-Afgan's death is entirely devoid of a mention of Nur Jahan."

(*e*) Why were not Mihrunnisa and her daughter entrusted to the care of her father Itimad-ud-daula ? Why were they kept at Court ?

(*f*) Finally, against the possible question why the impetuous lover did not marry her all at once, but waited for four long years, he answers that, Jahangir did not or could not marry all at once, because of the widow's natural dislike on the one hand and Jahangir's desire to allay suspicion, on the other.

But after all, he concludes with the observation, "A careful perusal of contemporary chronicles leaves upon our minds the impression that the circumstances of Sher-Afgan's death are of a highly suspicious nature, *although there is no conclusive evidence to prove that the emperor was guilty of the crime.*"[1]

2. The Junta

The rise of Nur Jahan led to a reshuffling of the political equation within the Empire. Her relations, particularly her father Itimad-ud-daula, and her brother Asaf Khan, came into prominence as much by her influence as by their own undoubted personal abilities. The merits of the former have already been described. From 1611, the year of Nur Jahan's marriage, to 1619, he had steadily risen in power and position, until he ranked only next to Prince Khurram. From the rank of 2000+500 in 1611, he had risen to 7000+5000 in 1616, and 7000+7000 in 1619. Asaf Khan also similarly rose from 500+100 up to 1611, to 5000+3000 in 1616, and 6000+6000 in 1622. He was an accomplished man of letters, as well as a man of political and administrative craft. Dr. Beni Prasad says, "As a financier, he stood unsurpassed in the Mughal empire."[2] The marriage of his daughter, Arjumand Banu Begam, with Prince Khurram, in 1612, undoubtedly heightened his prestige as well as power. This prince, both by circumstance and ability, was marked out to be the heir-apparent. His services to the empire have already been described in detail, up to his revolt on the eve of the Kandahar campaign in 1621. Mewar, Ahmadnagar, Kangra, proclaimed his glory to the four corners of the Empire. He had now been raised to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *zat* and 20,000 *sawar*, with the additional title of *Shah Jahan*, and the *jagir* of Hisar Firoza.

1 Ishwari Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 493-96.
2 *History of Jahangir*, p. 187.

Speaking of the political importance of the marriage of the niece of Nur Jahan with Prince Khurram, Dr. Beni Prasad observes, "It symbolized the alliance of Nur Jahan, Itimad-ud-daula and Asaf Khan with the heir-apparent. For the next ten years this clique of four supremely capable persons practically ruled the empire. What has been called Nur Jahan's sway is really the sway of these four personages."[1]

The period of Nur Jahan's influence is usually considered in two divisions : (i) 1611-22, when her parents were still alive and exercised a wholesome restraint upon her ambitions ; and (ii) 1622-27, when Jahangir himself was more or less an invalid, and full vent was given to party strife and faction. In the first period also, Khurram and Nur Jahan were in alliance ; in the second, they were antagonistic to each other. The marriage of Shahriyar (born 1605) with Nur Jahan's daughter by Sher-Afgan, Ladli Begam, in 1620, introduced a fresh complication.

Under these circumstances, the division of the Court into parties was inevitable. At first, there were only two : the junta and its opponents ; later, when the junta itself broke up, there were more. Mahabat Khan throughout played an important role as an indefatigable opponent of the *parvenus*, as he considered Nur Jahan's relations and those whom he had exalted. In other words, he stood forth as the champion of the older nobility, and at one time went to the extent of advising the Emperor against the party in power. The author of the *Intikhab-i-Jahangir-Shahi* says :

> "At this time the influence of Nur Jahan Begam had attained such a height that the entire management of the Empire was entrusted to her hands. Mahabat Khan thought proper therefore to represent as follows : That to His Majesty and all the world it is well known that this servant Mahabat Khan was brought up only by His Majesty, and *that he has no concern with anybody else.* Everyone knows that Mahabat Khan presumes much upon His Majesty's kindness ; *and he now begs truly and faithfully to represent what he thinks proper, instigated by his loyalty, and for the sake of His Majesty's good name. . . .The whole world is surprised that such a wise and sensible Emperor as Jahangir should permit a woman to have so great an influence over him.* . . .He also added, that in his opinion, it was now very advisable to liberate Prince Khusru from prison, and deliver him to one of the confidential servants of the throne. . . .His Majesty should reflect that affairs had now assumed a new aspect, and the safety of His Majesty's person, and the tranquillity and peace of the country seem to depend upon the life of the Prince.'

It is clear from this passage that Mahabat Khan also championed the cause of the popular and pathetic Prince Khusru, adding another candidate to the party-struggle that was brewing at the Court. But his bold counsel appears to have been taken all in good part by the Emperor, though its effect was ephemeral. The writer above cited closes with the observation, 'The Emperor acted in some measure upon the advice of Mahabat Khan, till he arrived in Kashmir ; but the influence of Nur Jahan Begam had wrought so much upon his mind, that if 200 men like Mahabat Khan had advised him simultaneously to the same effect, their words would have made no permanent impression upon him.'[1]

With such candour Mahabat Khan could not expect to get on well at Court in opposition to the junta. From 1605-10 he had risen from 1500

1 *Ibid.*, p. 191.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 451-52.

to 4000+3500 in his rank. Then came Nur Jahan. Till 1622 he received no promotion whatsoever. On the contrary he was driven from the Deccan to the frontiers of Afghanistan, wherever the most strenuous service was needed. For such a one to stand up for the unfortunate Prince Khusru was to spoil his case. Though Jahangir for a time relented towards his eldest born, and allowed him some liberty, the junta contrived to undo him. Shah Jahan was then in the good books of Nur Jahan. Lest the prospects of the younger (Shah Jahan) should be suddenly marred by some whimsical turn in the Emperor's affection, they contrived to transfer the prisoner, at first to Asaf Khan's custody, and thence to Shah Jahan's. The latter, in utter disregard of all human feeling, got his eldest brother out of the way by methods in which Mughal princes were becoming more and more adept. Before he would proceed on service in the Deccan, in 1620, Shah Jahan insisted on taking his ill-starred brother with him. In January, 1622, Jahangir received a report from Shah Jahan, writing from Burhanpur, that 'Khusru died of a colic' !

De Laet gives the following description of this strange 'colic' :

"Xa-Ziahan (Shah Jahan), who was at Brampore (Burhanpur), and was acting as the jailor to his brother Gousrou (Khusru), began to make a plot whereby he might be able to get rid of his brother without incurring the suspicion of having murdered him. He took into his confidence Ganganna (Khan Khanan) and his most faithful Omerau, and then departed on a hunting expedition. His slave Reza, who had been commissioned to commit the crime, knocked at dead of night upon the door of prince Gousrou's bedroom, pretending that he and the companions whom he had brought with him were the bearers of robes and letters from the King, and that they had instructions to set the prince at liberty. The prince did not believe this story. However, Reza broke open the door, struck down the prince, who was unarmed, strangled him, placed his corpse back on his bed, and shut the door once more. . . .

"Xa-Ziahan returned to the city, and sent letters to his father announcing his brother's death. . . .On receiving the news the king mourned deeply for the death of his son. . . .He summoned the father-in-law of Gousrou, Ghan Asem (Khan-i-Azam), condoled with him, and committed to his charge his grandson Sultan Bolachi (Bulaqi, who was made a commander of 10,000 horses) in order that he may be responsible for his education."[1]

Khusru's body had been hastily buried at Burhanpur in May, 1622. At Jahangir's desire it was disinterred, and carried to Agra in June, 1622, whence it was taken to Allahabad, there to be deposited by the side of his mother's tomb in Khuladabad (now known as Khusru Bagh). "His figure," observed V. A. Smith, "shadowy though it be, is one of the most interesting and pathetic in Indian history."[2]

Meanwhile, Jahangir's health was failing. Repeated visits to Kashmir and other health-resorts, the treatment of distinguished physicians, and the affectionate and wholesome attention of Nur Jahan, did him little good. Though he continued to live till 1627, it was already certain that he had played out his part. Effective power must now pass on to other hands. More than anybody else, both Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan were keenly aware of the possible developments, and as Beni Prasad puts it, "In a single

1 Hoyland & Banerjee, pp. 198-99. For a discussion on this incident see Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-34.
2 Smith, *O.H.*, p. 376.

empire there was no room for two such masterful spirits as Nur Jahan and Shah Jahan." She therefore cast about for a more pliant instrument, and found one ready in Shahriyar, the *Nashudani* (good for nothing). "The tender age (16), docile nature, feeble mind, and imbecile character of Shahriyar marked him out as the proper instrument for a masterful lady."[1] His marriage with Nur Jahan's daughter (1620-21) has already been mentioned. At this time also Nur Jahan lost the wise direction and the restraining influence of both her parents who died one after another in 1621 and 1622. The time had evidently come for a reshuffling in the political arena.

The spirited and ambitious Shah Jahan saw clearly that his chance lay in vigorous action. That is why, in 1621, he refused to be diverted into the futile Afghan campaign ; that is why also he got rid of his possible rival Khusru in 1622 ; and finally, that was also the reason for his sudden rebellion in the Deccan. It was more than evident that Jahangir had come to know of his perfidious conduct towards Khusru ; it was more likely that Nur Jahan would press for Shahriyar's candidature. On Shah Jahan's refusal to go to the frontier (a reasonable occasion to embroil the Emperor with him), she had put Shahriyar in command, and on his failure had also invited Sultan Parviz (Jahangir's second son) from Bihar, where he was governor. Civil war became thus inevitable.

Civil War

(a) *Shah Jahan's Revolt.* The details of this revolt are of little interest. But Jahangir's lament over it is worth citation on account of its pathos :

'Intelligence now arrived,' he says 'that Khurram had seized upon some of the *jagirs* of Nur Jahan Begam and Prince Shahriyar. . . .I have been offended by his delaying at the fort of Mandu, and by his improper and foolish statements in his letters, and I had preceived by his insolence that his mind was estranged. Upon hearing of this further intelligence, I saw that, notwithstanding all the favour and kindness I had shown him, his mind was perverted. I accordingly sent Raja Roz-afzum, one of my oldest servants, to inquire into the reasons of this boldness and presumption. I also sent him a *farman*, directing him to attend to his own affairs and not to depart from the strict line of the duty. He was to be content with the *jagirs* that had been bestowed upon him from the Imperial Exchequer. I warned him not to come to me, but to send all the troops which had been required from him for the campaign against Kandahar.[2] If he acted contrary to my commands, he would afterwards have to repent . . . .Letters arrived from Itibar Khan and other of my officers whom I had left at Agra, stating that Khurram persisted in his perverse course, and perferring the way of disobedience to the path of duty, had taken a decided step on the road to perdition by marching upon Agra. . . .A letter from Asaf Khan also arrived, stating that this ungrateful son had torn away the veil of decency, and had broken into open rebellion ; that he (Asaf Khan) had received no certain intelligence of his movements, so, not considering it expedient to move the treasure, he had set out alone to join me.'

> 'On receiving their intelligence, I crossed the river at Sultanpur, and marched to inflict punishment on this ill-starred son (*Siyahbakht*). I issued an order that from this time forth he should be called "wretch" (*be doulat*). . . .The pen cannot describe all that I have done

1 Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p 318.

2 Jahangir was exasperated by the temerity of Shah Abbas, to which reference had been made. He felt therefore goaded to try conclusions with the insolent Shah of Persia. But Shah Jahan's conduct put an end to all such schemes.

for him, nor can I recount my own grief, or mention the anguish and weakness which oppress me in this hot climate, which is so injurious to my health, especially during these journeys and marchings which I am obliged to make in pursuit of him who is no longer my son. Many nobles, too, who have been long disciplined under me, and would now have been available against the Uzbecks and the Kazilbashes have through this perfidy, met with their due punishment. May God in His mercy enable me to bear up against all these calamities ! What is most grievous for me to bear is this, that this is the very time when my sons and nobles should have emulated each other in recovering Kandahar and Khorasan, the loss of which so deeply affect the honour of this empire, and to effect which this "wretch" is the only obstacle, so that the invasion of Kandahar is indefinitely postponed. I trust in God that I may be shortly relieved of this anxiety !

'On the 1st *Isfandarmuz*, I received a letter from Itibar Khan, informing me that the rebel had advanced with all speed to the neighbourhood of Agra, my capital, in the hope of getting possession of it before it could be put in a state of preparation. On reaching Fatehpur, he found that his hope was vain, so he remained there. He was accompanied by Khan-Khanan (Mirza Abdur Rahman Khan) and his son ; and by many other *amirs* who held office in the Dakhin and in Gujarat, and had now entered the path of rebellion and perfidy. . .The rebels took nine *lacs* of rupees from the house of Lashkar Khan, and everywhere they seized upon whatever they found serviceable in the possession of my adherents. Khan-Khanan who had held the exalted dignity of being my tutor, had now turned rebel, and in the 70th year of his age had blackened his face with ingratitude. But he was by nature a rebel and traitor. His father (Bairam Khan), at the close of his days, had acted in the same shameful way towards my revered father. He had but followed the course of his father, and disgraced himself in his old age—

"The wolf's whelp will grow a wolf,
E'en though reared with man himself."

'After I had passed through Sirhind, troops came flocking from all directions, and by the time I reached Delhi, such an army had assembled that the whole country was covered with men as far as the eye could reach. Upon being informed that the rebel had advanced from Fatehpur, I marched to Delhi.'[1]

The remaining events may be briefly narrated. The rebels were defeated at Balochpur, to the south of Delhi (1623), and Shah Jahan at first retired into Malwa and thence into the Deccan. He sought in vain the help of Malik Ambar, and then fled to Bengal *via* Telingana. He occupied Bihar and captured the great fortress of Rohtas. But at Allahabad, found the Imperial officers too alert (1624). Again he came back to the Deccan with better hopes of gaining support from Malik Ambar. He did form an alliance with him against Mahabat Khan who had sided with Bijapur as already stated. In 1625, however, he was seized with an illness. 'The error of his conduct,' as Muhammad Hadi puts it, 'now became apparent to him, and he felt that he must beg forgiveness of his father for his offences. So with this proper feeling he wrote a letter to his father, expressing his sorrow and repentance, and begging pardon for all faults past

1 *Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 383-85.

and present. His Majesty wrote an answer with his own hand (March 1626) to the effect that if he would send his son Dara Shikoh and Aurangzeb to Court, and would surrender Rohtas and the fortress of Asir, which were held by his adherents, full forgiveness should be given him, and the country of the Balaghat should be conferred upon him. Upon reading this Shah Jahan deemed it his duty to conform to his father's wishes ; so, notwithstanding the love he had for his sons, he sent them to his father, with offerings of jewels, chased arms, elephants, etc., to the value of 10 *lacs* of rupees.' He wrote to Muzaffar Khan directing him to surrender Rohtas to the person appointed by the Emperor and then to come with Sultan Murad Baksh. He also wrote to Hayat Khan directions for surrendering Asir to the Imperial officers. Shah Jahan then proceeded to Nasik.[1]

Thus, ended the futile rebellion after three years of bloodshed and wastage in men and money, to nobody's advantage but the considerable distraction and weakening of the empire. The victories of the Imperial forces had been mainly due to the exertions of indefatigable Mahabat Khan, acting in unison with Prince Parviz. But his success was his undoing. Nur Jahan was watching with jealousy his increasing power and prestige. She could brook nobody's rise within the empire. His association with Prince Parviz was particularly dangerous in her eyes. She, therefore, set about humiliating Mahabat Khan, and in the result, again plunged the country in civil war.

(b) *Mahabat Khan's Coup.* Mahabat Khan and Prince Parviz were together in the Deccan at Burhanpur. Nur Jahan's first stunt was to separate the two. So Mahabat was appointed Governor of Bengal, and his place with Parviz was to be taken by Khan Jahan. But the Prince was unwilling to part with the general who had become the prop of all his hopes. Parviz was the eldest son of the Emperor, now alive, and since the discomfiture of Shah Jahan, he had built definite hopes of succeeding to his father. Nevertheless, the Empress Begam was equally determined to have her own way. So a peremptory *farman* came from the Imperial head-quarters ordering Mahabat Khan either to proceed to Bengal or to come to the Court at once. He chose the latter course, but marched with 4,000 seasoned Rajputs. Meantime various malicious charges had been framed against Mahabat Khan, impugning his personal integrity : 'Mahabat Khan,' it was said, 'had not as yet sent to Court the elephants obtained in Bengal, and he had realized large sums of money due to the State, and also from *jagirs*.' What was more ridiculous, 'Mahabat Khan had, without the royal permission, affianced his daughter to the son of Khwaja Umar Naksha-bandi. The Emperor made a great noise about this. He sent for the young man, and having treated him with great insult and harshness, he gave orders for binding his hands to his neck, and for taking him bare-headed to prison. Fidai Khan was directed to seize what Mahabat Khan had given to the youth, and place it in the Imperial treasury.'[2]

Mahabat Khan was not the man to put up with these calculated affronts. The Emperor at that time had just come from Kashmir, and was about to start for Kabul, with Nur Jahan, Asaf Khan, and all his Court. The abiding place of the Emperor was on the bank of the river Behat, and Asaf Khan, notwithstanding the presence of such a brave and daring enemy, was so heedless of his master's safety, that he left him on that side of the river, while he passed over the bridge to other side, with

1 *Tatima-i-Waqiat-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 396.
2 *Iqbal-nama-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 419-20.

the children and women, and the attendants and the officers. He sent over also the baggage, the treasury, the arms etc., even to the very domestics.

'Mahabat Khan perceived that his life and honour were at stake, and that he had no resource, for he had not a single friend left near the Emperor. With 4,000 or 5,000 Rajputs who had sworn fidelity to him, he proceeded to the head of the bridge. There he left nearly 2,000 horsemen to hold it, and to burn the bridge rather than allow any one to pass over. Mahabat Khan then proceeded to the royal quarters.'

Here, Mutamad Khan who was present in Jahangir's camp at the moment, gives further details of how Mahabat Khan proceeded to take possession of the Emperor ; throughout he acted with great caution and strength, but never disrespectfully towards Jahangir. To proceed with Mutamad's account :

> 'The servants who were in attendance on His Majesty informed him of this daring action. The Emperor then came out, and took his seat in a *Palki* which was in waiting for him. Mahabat Khan advanced respectfully to the door of the *Palki*, and said, "I have assured myself that escape from the malice and implacable hatred of Asaf Khan is impossible, and that I shall be put to death in shame and ignominy. I have, therefore, boldly and presumptuously thrown myself upon Your Majesty's protection. If I deserve death or punishment, give the order that I may suffer it in your presence."
>
> 'The armed Rajputs now flocked in, and surrounded the royal apartments. There was no one with His Majesty but Arab Dastghaib . . .and a few other attendants. The violent entrance of the faithless dog (meaning Mahabat Khan) had alarmed and enraged His Majesty, so he twice placed his hand on his sword to cleanse the world from the filthy existence of that foul dog. But each time Mansur Badakhshi said, "This is a time for fortitude, leave the punishment of this wicked faithless fellow to a just God : a day of retribution will come." His words seemed prudent, so His Majesty restrained himself. In a short time the Rajputs occupied the royal apartments within and without, so that no one but the servants could approach his Majesty.'[1]

Having thus secured the Emperor, Mahabat Khan realized that he ought not to allow his powerful enemies to escape. Nur Jahan thought at first that Jahangir had gone a-hunting ; but when she came to know of the real situation, she summoned the chief nobles, including her brother Asaf Khan, and addressed them in reproachful terms. "This," she said "has all happened through your neglect and stupid arrangements. What never entered the imagination of any one has come to pass, and now you stand stricken with shame for your conduct before God and man. You must do your best to repair this evil, and advise what course to pursue." With one mind and one voice they all advised that on the morrow the forces should be drawn out, and that they should pass over the river with her to defeat the rebel and deliver His Majesty. The attempt proved unsuccessful in spite of the great heroism displayed by Nur Jahan. Mutamad graphically describes the scene :

> Horsemen and footmen, horses, camels, and carriages, were in the midst of the river, jostling each other, and pressing to the opposite shore. . . .Seven or eight hundred Rajputs, with a number

1 *Iqbal-nama-i-Jahangiri*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 419-22.

of war-elephants in their front, occupied the opposite shore in firm array. Some of our men, horse and foot, approached the bank, in a broken and disordered condition. The enemy pushed forward their elephants, and the horsemen came from the rear, dashed into the water, and plied their swords. Our handful of men, being without leaders, turned and fled, and the swords of the enemy tinged the water with their blood. The Begam Nur Jahan had in her litter the daughter of Shahriyar, whose *anka* (or nurse) was the daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan. The *anka* received an arrow in her arm, and the Begam herself pulled it out, staining her garments with blood. The elephant on which the Begam was riding received two sword-cuts on the trunk ; and when he turned round, he was wounded three times behind with spears. The Rajputs rushed after him with their drawn swords, and his driver urged him on into the deep water. The horsemen then had to swim, and becoming afraid of being drowned, they turned back. The elephant swam to shore, and the Begam proceeded to the royal abode. . . .Asaf Khan, who was the cause of this disaster, and whose folly and rashness had brought matters to this pass, when he found that he could make no longer any resistance to Mahabat Khan, fled with his son Abu Talib, and 200 or 300 horse, *bargirs,* and servants, to the fort of Atak, which was in his *jagir*, and closed the fortress. . . .Mahabat Khan sent a large party of the royal *ahadis* (guards), with some of his own followers and the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood, under the command of his son Bihroz and a Rajput, to invest Atak. They reduced the fort, and Asaf Khan bowed to Fate, and bound himself by promise and oath to uphold Mahabat."[1]

By this bold *coup de main*, Mahabat Khan had secured possession of all the important personages in the empire and became the virtual dictator. But it is very strange that within a very short time the tables should have been turned against him. It was entirely due to the cleverness and diplomacy of Nur Jahan. Our historian says, 'Nur Jahan Begam worked against him both in private and in public. She maintained a number of followers, and attached them to herself by money and promises. In time Hushiar Khan, the eunuch, in compliance with her letters, got together about 2,000 men in Lahore, and proceeded to meet her. A considerable number of men had also got together round the royal escort.'

The exact details of the reversal are rather obscure. Our chronicler only says, 'His Majesty determined to hold a review of the cavalry. He gave orders that all the soldiers, old and new, should form in two lines, from the royal abode as far as they would extend. He then directed Buland Khan, one of his attendants, to go to Mahabat Khan, and tell him that His Majesty was holding a review of the Begam's troops that day. It would be better therefore for him to postpone the usual parade of the first day, lest words should pass between the two parties and strife ensue. After Buland Khan, he sent Khwaja Abul Hasan to enforce his wish more strongly, and to urge Mahabat to go on a stage. The Khwaja, by cogent reasons, prevailed upon him ; and, casting off all insolence and improper exercise of power, he went on first. His Majesty followed close after, and making no stay at the first stage, he made two stages into one, and passed over the river to Rohtas, where he found a Court ready to receive him.'[2] Mahabat Khan does not seem to have been so naive a fellow as to be

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 422-28.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 430.

taken in so easily. The fact appears to be that he had acted too deferentially towards his Imperial prisoners from the very start ; this gave them the necessary opportunity to make the utmost of their royal prestige. Besides, Mahabat Khan, in the face of the jealousy he evoked in the hearts of the other nobles by his sudden and unexpected success, could not hope to hold on for long. If he had near him some prince of the Imperial family, he might have rallied round him forces that now he had no chance of invoking. His *coup* was the result of a sudden impulse that had occurred to him on the spur of the moment, carried out mainly as a measure of self-defence. He had neither the heart nor the resources to carry it through to its logical conclusion, viz., a revolution. He was not another Sher Khan driving out the Emperor into exile, and establishing his own dynasty ; he was a loyal servant trying to create an impression by means of a stratagem. So, when majesty recovered itself he recoiled and mechanically carried out its behests.

These events happened in 1626. Meanwhile Shah Jahan had proceeded to Thatta, to fish in troubled waters, and failing all, to go to Persia with a view to recovering his lost position with the assistance of Shah Abbas. But owing to the difficulties he met with on the way, and his own illness, he determined to return to the Deccan. 'Being weak and ill,' writes Mutamad, 'he was obliged to travel in a *palki*. He now received intelligence of the death of Prince Parviz[1] (Oct. 28, 1626), and this hastened his movements. He pursued the route which Mahmud of Ghazni had taken when he plundered Somnath. Passing by Rajpipliya, he arrived at Nasik Tirbang (Trimbak) in the Dakhin, where he had left his stores and equipage. . .At this time (also) died, in the seventy-second year of his age, Khan-Khanan, son of Bairam Khan, one of the greatest nobles of the late Emperor Akbar, who had rendered honourable services and gained important victories.'[2]

Mahabat Khan had been ordered to release Asaf Khan and others, and to march against Shah Jahan in Thatta. He chose instead to join forces with the disappointed Prince. Mutamad says, 'He concealed himself for some time in the hills of the Rana's country, and then sent persons to Shah Jahan to express contrition. The Prince received his apologies kindly, called him to his presence, and treated him with great favour and kindness.'[3]

(c) *Death of Jahangir.* Alarmed at this dangerous combination, Nur Jahan was preparing to suppress them, when the illness and death of Jahangir, on Oct. 28, 1627, changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Emperor had been ill in Kashmir. 'He was unable to ride on horeback, but was carried about in a *palki*. His sufferings were great. . . .He lost all appetite for food, and rejected opium, which had been his companion for forty years. He took nothing but a few cups of the grape.' He then started on his way back to Lahore. 'On the way he called for a glass of wine ; but when it was placed to his lips, he was unable to swallow. Towards night he grew worse, and died early on the following day, the 28th *Safar*, 1037 A.H., in the 22nd year of his reign.'[4]

V. Jahangir and the Europeans

Before we can appreciate the results of Jahangir's reign and his

1 This death also is ascribed to Shah Jahan's poisoning, on the strength of a later accusation by Aurangzeb ; see Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 418 n. 9.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 433-34.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 434.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 435.

character, it is necessary to review briefly his relations with the Europeans who throw ample light upon both. It would be convenient to consider these under three separate heads : (*a*) the Portuguese ; (*b*) the Jesuits ; and (*c*) the English.

(a) The Portuguese

The Portuguese power in India was definitely on the decline, due to a variety of reasons. Perhaps[1] two important causes of this were their religious intolerance and the absorption of Portugal by Spain, between 1580 and 1640. Other European powers like the Dutch and the English were fast out-stripping them in the East. Particularly, their piratical activities[2] brought them into active conflict with the Mughal Empire.

In spite of Jahangir's desire to maintain friendly relations with them, which made him send an embassy to Goa in 1607 and 1610 (under Father Pinheiro and Mukarrab Khan), their audacity became intolerable. In 1613 the Portuguese seized four Imperial vessels containing about three millions worth of goods, near Surat. Since their Viceroy was not amenable to reason, Mukarrab Khan, then Governor of Surat, inflicted a naval defeat on the Portuguese, in alliance with the English sea-captain Downton. This was followed by a very vigorous campaign against Portuguese settled within the Empire, and the withdrawal of all privileges granted to them previously. The Portuguese, wherever they could be caught hold of, were arrested, and even Father Jerome Xavier was placed under the custody of Mukarrab Khan. The churches at Agra and Lahore were forcibly closed. This brought the Portuguese to their senses, and they soon opened negotiations with the Emperor. Father Xavier was released to discuss peace terms, but the Portuguese proposals were not wholly acceptable to Jahangir : prisoners were to be released, the Emperor was to be content with taking the Portuguese property already seized as indemnity, and the Dutch and English were to be excluded from all privileges.[3] However, thanks to the efforts of the Jesuits, harmony was restored between the Portuguese and the Empire in September, 1615.[4] In 1623, when Shah Jahan, in the course of his rebellion, sought their assistance from Hugli, they refused it, but, on the contrary, they served as gunners in the Imperial army under Ibrahim Khan.

(b) The Jesuits

Jahangir, as we have seen, had come very early into contact with the Jesuits during his father's lifetime. He had formed a close friendship with Father Ridolfo Aquaviva, head of the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court. During his revolt, as a Prince, when he set up his mock court at Allahabad, he had sought without success a mission from Goa. He had bestowed several favours and gifts, like a silver image of the infant Jesus upon the Jesuits and their church. He had even worn round his neck a locket containing portraits of the

1 See Rev. Heras, *The Decay of Portuguese Power in India* (Bombay, 1928), pp. 34-40.

2 Prof. Sarkar gives the following description of the horrors perpetrated by the pirates (both native and Feringi) from a contemporary Persian source : They pierced the hands of their victims, and 'passed thin canes through the holes, and threw them one above another under the deck of their ships. In the same manner as grain is flung to fowl, every morning and evening they threw down from above uncooked rice to the captives as food. On their return to their homes they employed the few hard-lived captives that survived, in tillage and other tasks, according to their power, with great disgrace and insult. Others were sold to the Dutch, English and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan.'—*Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 123-24.

3 A copy of this draft, with Fr. Xavier's signature, is said to be in the Goa archives.

4 For the text of treaty, see Rev. Heras, *Jahangir and the Portuguese*. (Report of the 9th meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission Lucknow, 1926).

Saviour and the Virgin, marked his letters with Christian symbols, contributed large sums for the erection of churches, and 'exhibited most edifying devotion' towards the Christian faith. The fathers of the Society Jesus had an 'elegant and commodious' church at Lahore, as well as a *collegium* or 'priests' residence, "a comfortable building equipped with varandahs and upper and lower rooms, suitable respectively for use in the cold and hot seasons. Each dapartment of the mission work had its appropriate and convenient accommodation as in European colleges. At Agra about twenty baptisms took place in 1606, and when Jahangir was on his way to Kabul he accepted a Persian version of the Gospels and permitted the Fathers to act publicly with as much liberty as if they were in Europe. When the Emperor returned to Agra he took two of the priests with him, leaving one at Lahore to look after the congregation there. Church processions with full Catholic ceremonial were allowed to parade the streets and cash allowances were paid from the treasury for church expenses and the support of the converts."[1]

The most remarkable indication of Jahangir's interest in the Jesuits was, perhaps, his permitting them to baptise his own nephews (sons of the late Prince Daniyal). "The Princes clothed in Portuguese costume and wearing crosses of gold round their necks, proceeded on elephants from the palace to the church through streets packed with eager spectators. A large cortege from the Court accompanied them and some sixty Christians—including Poles, Venetians and Armenians—joined the procession on horseback. Even the Englishman, Hawkins, who was then in Agra, put aside his Protestant prepossessions for the day and rode at the head of the procession with St. George's flag carried before him 'to the honour of the English nation.' At the church the Princes were received with every sign of rejoicing and the bell was rung with such violence that it broke. The ceremony itself was impressive and the demeanour of the Princes brought tears to the eyes of the spectators. When baptised, they were given, as was then the practice, new names of a European complexion."[2] King Phillip III of Spain received these tidings with great enthusiasm, and personally addressed a letter to Jahangir thanking him for his friendliness towards the Christians. But after all this fuss, in five years' time the Princes 'gave their crucifixes again to the Jesuits', i.e., abjured their Christian faith, and in the words of a Jesuit writer, 'rejected the light and returned to the vomit.'[3]

After the death of Father Xavier in 1617, and of Pinheiro in the following year, their places were taken by Fathers Corsi and Joseph de Castro. In addition to their evangelical work they were in the position of an 'agent for the Portugals'. The former has been described as 'a great column of the Mission,' and both had unique opportunities of coming into close contact with the Emperor. Corsi first came to Agra in 1604, and de Castro ten years later. The former died at the capital in 1635; the latter at Lahore, in 1646. Although both of them were Italians, their political activities were directed towards furthering the interests of the Portuguese at Court as against those of the English. Sir Thomas Roe, who arrived in India in September, 1615, in a letter written a year later, describes, 'how the Portugals have crept into this kingdome and by what corners they gott in; the entrance of the Jesuits, their entertainment,

1 Smith, *O.H.*, pp. 377-78; *Akbar*, pp. 261, 291-92. Rs. 10 a day were paid to Fr. Xavier and smaller sums to others.
2 Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Grand Moghul*, pp. 72-73.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

priviledges, practises, ends and the growth of their church, where of they sing in Europe so loud prayses and glorious successes.' In spite of his obvious Protestant bias and opposing political interests, mutual relations between Roe and Corsi were according to Sir Edward Maclagan, good and creditable to both.[1]

(c) The English

The first Englishman to appear before Jahangir was Captain William Hawkins, who arrived at Surat (in his ship *Hector*) in August, 1608, with a letter from James I, King of Great Britain, asking for trade facilities.[2] He brought with him a gift of 25,000 gold pieces, and was well received by the Emperor (April, 1609), in spite of the opposition of the Jesuit Father Pinheiro who represented Portuguese interests at the Mughal Court. Hawkins could speak Turki and Persian and hence needed no interpreter. The bitter hostility that existed between the English and the Portuguese, on account of their rivalry at Jahangir's Court, is clearly discernible in the statements of Hawkins. He alleges that Father Pinheiro had bribed Mukarrab Khan to kidnap him (Hawkins), and that he had described England as a dependency of Portugal. 'The Jesuits here,' he writes from Agra (1609), 'do little regard their masses and their church matters for studying how to overthrow my affairs.' Finally, he calls them 'madde dogges, labouring to work my passage out of the world,' and says that they had to be warned by the Emperor, that if aught happened to Hawkins, they would be held responsible. When a Protestant follower of Hawkins died at Agra, the Jesuits refused to allow him to be buried in the Christian cemetery. When Hawkins married an Armenian Christian lady, 'to avoid being poisoned,' they declined to perform the ceremony unless he acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope.[3] Later, however, their relations slightly improved. But, none the less, when Hawkins left India, in 1611, in disgust, his mission had been thoroughly discredited on account of the Jesuits, and Father Xavier represented that some ultramontane heretics had attempted to disturb the happy progress of the Catholic faith in Mogor, but that the King on discovering their perfidy had banished them from the country.'[4]

The next Englishman of note to appear at the Court of Jahangir was one Paul Canning, who too appears to have come to Agra (1612) with a further letter from King James. His experience was no better than that of his predecessor. English accounts still speak of 'those prattling, juggling Jesuits,' and their great influence at the Court. 'The lying Jesuits,' we are told, were 'feeding the king daily with presents and strange toys,' and poisoning his mind against the English. But the strained relations between the Empire and the Portuguese, to which reference has already been made, changed the whole situation for the time being (1613-15). The Jesuits with the Portuguese stood thoroughly discredited. It was at this time, when they were still 'in deep disgrace with the king and people,' that the third English 'ambassador', William Edwards came from Surat (1615) also with a letter from King James. But the most important and the most famous

1 *Ibid*,, p. 85-86.
2 'It was a singular situation,' observes Lane-Poole, 'for a bluff sea-captain to find himself, in an unknown land, called upon to meet a great Emperor about whom absolutely nothing was known in England. There was nothing to suggest the most distant dream that in two centuries and a half the slight introduction Hawkins was then effecting between England and India would culminate in the sovereignty of a British Queen over the whole empire where the "Light of the World" and her imperial husband then reigned.' *Medieval India*, pp. 299-300.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

of the English representatives was Sir Thomas Roe. Smith describes him as 'a gentleman of good education, a polished courtier, and trained diplomatist, well qualified for the task assigned to him, which was the negotiation of a treaty giving security to English trade.'[1] He was accompanied (since 1616) by his chaplain Terry, whose account 'is far superior to that of Roe, as a description of the country and Government.'[2] He too met with difficulties similar to those of his predecessors : "when he had hopes of a speedy decision on his request, Roe found objections raised at the last moment 'a jesuitical bone' as he said, 'cast in overnight.'[3] His own draft of the treaty he wanted to negotiate provided for the free access of the English to all ports belonging to the great Mughal, including those of Bengal and Sind, and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs ; they were to be allowed to buy and sell freely, to rent factories, to hire boats and carts, and to buy provisions at the usual rates ; while other articles directed against the confiscation of the effects of deceased factors, the obnoxious claims to search the persons of the merchants on going ashore, the opening of presents intended for the King, delays in the custom-house and other similar abuses. On the part of the English, Roe was willing to engage that they should not molest the ships of other nations, 'except the enemies of the said English or any other that shall seek to injure them,' and that their factors while residing ashore, should 'behave themselves peaceably and civilly,' that they should do their best to procure rareties for the Great Mughal, and should furnish him (upon payment) with any goods or furnisher of war that he could reasonably desire, and that they should assist him against 'any enemy to the common peace'. The Portuguese were to be admitted to 'enter into the said peace and league,' should they be willing, but if they did not do so within six months, the English were to be permitted to treat them as enemies and make war upon them at sea, 'without any offence to the said Great King of India."[4] Roe did not succeed in this, though he remained in India for over three years and went about with Jahangir in his southern tour (Mandu and Ahmadabad), and finally left India on February 17, 1619.[5]

1 'Roe had come to complete what Hawkins had only partly succeeded in effecting. The English agents and traders were still in a humiliating situation, subject to all kinds of indignities, possessing no recognized or valid rights, and obliged to sue and bribe for such slight facilities as they could win. Their chiefs, the agents of the East India Company, had brought scorn upon their nation by "kotowing" the Moghal dignitaries cringing to insult, asserting no trace of dignity ; and had even "suffered blows of the porters, base Peons, and beene thrust out by them with much scorne by head and shoulders without seeking satisfaction." Englishmen were flouted, robbed, arrested, even whipped in the streets. It was evident that a different manner of man (than Hawkins or Edwards) was needed to retrieve the indignity done to our name and honour.'—Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-06. Sir Roe according to the Directors of the E. I. Co., was a man of a pregnant understanding, well-spoken, learned, industrious and of a comely personage.

2 Smith, *O.H.*, pp 382-83.

3 Maclagan, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

4 Foster (Intro., pp. xx-xxi), cited by Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49.

5 Roe wrote : 'Neyther will this overgrowne Eliphant (Mughal Emperor) descend to Article or bynde himseif reciprocally to any Prince upon terms of Equality, but only by way of favour admit our stay.' All that Jahangir could assure him was 'you shall be sure of as much priviledge as any stranger.' The ambassador says of the Mughal officials : 'their Justice is generallie good to strangers ; they are not rigorous except in searching for things to please, and what trouble we have is for hope of them, and by our own disorders.' He warned the Company : 'A war and trafique are incompatible. By my consent, you shall no way engage yourselves but at sea, where you are like to gayne, as often as to loose. It is the beggaring of the Portugale, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territoryes, that he keepes souldiers that spends it ; yet his garrisons are meane. He never profitted by the Indyes since he

He had arrived at Surat (Swally Road) on September 18, 1615. Although his mission was a failure he has recorded with grace the manner of his reception as well as departure from the Great Mughal. 'I had required, before my going,' he writes, 'leave to use the customs of my country, *which was freely granted,* so that I would perform them punctually. When I entered within the first rail, I made a reverence ; entering in the inward rail, another ; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little gallery overhead ; ambassadors, the great men and strangers of equality, within the innermost rail under him, raised from the ground, covered with canopies of velvet and silk, underfoot laid with gold carpets, the meaner men representing gentry, within the first rail, the people without, in a base court, but so that all may see the King. This setting out hath so much affinity with a theatre, the manner of the King in his gallery ; the great men lifted on a stage, as actors, the vulgar gazing on, that an easy description will inform of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull interpreter, welcoming me to the brother of my master. I delivered His Majesty's letter translated ; and after my commission, whereon he looked curiously, after my presents which were well received. He asked some questions ; and, with a seeming care of my health (Roe had just recovered from an illness), offered me his physicians, and advising me to keep my house till I had recovered strength, and if, in the interim, I needed anything, I should freely send him and obtain my desires. *He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace* if by the Christians I were not flattered, *than ever was shown to any ambassador either of the Turk or Persian or other whatsoever.*'

VI. Achievements and Failures of Jahangir

The character and achievements of Jahangir are more difficult to assess than those of any of his predecessors or successors. He was indeed, as Vincent Smith has characterized him, 'a strange compound of tenderness and cruelty, justice and caprice, refinement and brutality, good sense and childishness.' But, if a balance were to be struck, between the credit and debit side of his life, there is little doubt, his assets were far greater than his liabilities. To enter upon a detailed discussion of this subject would take us far beyond our limits ; but the reader will not find it difficult to draw illustrative material from what has been said already and what follows. Jahangir's love of ease, his self-indulgence in drink and love, his caprice and cruelty, and his superstition and childishness are notorious ; but his love of justice, religious toleration, energy where a situation demanded it, wisdom in the recognition of merit' whether in fine arts or in politics, are all worthy of due appreciation and praise. Whatever the faults of his youth, which clung to him through later life, the period of his rule as Emperor was a continuous and honest striving to maintain and extend the principles and dominions of his great father ; no ruler could do better, and Jahangir is to be understood in this light, if he is to be understood at all. The judgments of his contemporaries as well as modern critics will bear out what we have said :

defended them. Observe this well. It hath been also the error of the Dutch, who seek Plantation here by the sword. They have a woonderful stocke, they proule in all Places, they Posses some of the best ; yet ther dead Payes Consume all the gayne. Lett this bee received as a rule that if you will Profitt, seek it at Sea, and in quiett trade ; for without controversy it is an error to affect garrisons and Land warrs in India.'

Lane-Poole

"When he (Jahangir) ascended the throne in 1605, at the age of thirty-seven, his character, never wanting in certain indolent good-nature, had mellowed. He had become less savage and more sober; by day he was the picture of temperance, at night he became exceeding 'glorious'[1]. . . .Jahangir carried his daylight sobriety so far as even to publish an edict against intemperance, and emulated his far more contemptible 'brother' James of Great Britain by writing a Persian counterblast against tobacco.[2] In spite of his vices, which his fine constitution supported with little apparent injury almost to his sixteenth year, he was no fool; he possessed a shrewd intelligence, and he showed his good sense in carrying on the government and principle of toleration inaugurated by Akbar. He was not deficient in energy when war was afoot; he was essentially just when his passions were not thwarted; and he cultivated religious toleration with the easy-going indifference which was the key-note of his character. The son of an eclectic philosopher, and a Rajput princess, he professed himself a Muslim, restored the Muhammadan formulas of faith which Akbar had abandoned on the coinage, and revived the Hijra chronology, whilst preserving for regnal years and months the more convenient solar system. But he followed his father's policy towards the Hindus, and was equally tolerant towards Christians." (*Medieval India*, pp. 298-99).

Elphinstone

"Jahangir's first measures were of a much more benevolent and judicious character than might have been expected of him. He confirmed most of his father's old officers in their stations; and issued edicts, remitting some vaxatious duties which had survived Akbar's reforms, forbidding the bales of merchants to be opened by persons in authority without their free consent, directing that no soldiers or servants of the State should quarter themselves on private houses, abolishing the punishments of cutting off ears and noses, and introducing other salutary regulations. Notwithstanding his own notorious habits he strictly forbade the use of wine, and regulated that of opium; subjecting all offenders against his rules to severe punishment."

Regarding Nur Jahan's influence over Jahangir, he says, "Though her sway produced bad consequences in the end, *it was beneficial on the whole.* Her father was a wise and upright minister; and it must have been, in part at least, owing to her influence that a great improvement took place in the conduct of Jahangir after the first few years of his reign. He was still capricious and tyrannical, but he was no longer guilty of such barbarous cruelties as before; and although he still carried his

1 'I myself have been accustomed to take wine,' writes Jahangir, 'and from my eighteenth year to the present, which is the thirty-eighth year of my age, have regularly partaken of it. In early days, when I craved for drink I sometimes took as many as twenty cups of double distilled liquor. In course of time it took great effect upon me, and I set about reducing the quantity. In the period of seven years I brought it down to five or six cups. My times of drinking varied. Sometimes I began when two or three hours of the day remained, sometimes I took it at night and a little in the day. So it was until my thirteenth year, when I resolved to drink only at night, and at present I drink it only to promote digestion of my food.'—*Waqiat*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 285. Sir Thomas Roe relates how he was asked by Jahangir to drink: 'I drank a little, but it was more strong than ever I tasted, so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed, and called for raisins, almonds, and sliced lemons, which were brought me on a plate of gold and bade me eat and drink what I would, and no more.'—Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 100.

2 'As the smoking of tobacco had taken very bad effect upon the health and mind of many persons, I ordered that no one should practise the habit. My brother Shah Abbas (King of Persia), also being aware of its evil effects, had issued a command against the use of it in Iran.—Janangir : *Waqiat*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 351.

excess in wine to the lowest stage of inebriety, yet it was at night, and in his private appartments. In occupations which kept him all day before the eyes of his subjects, he seems to have supported his character with sufficient dignity, and without any breaches of decorum. Nur Jahan's capacity was not less remarkable than her grace and beauty; it was exerted in matters proper to her sex, as well as in state affairs. The magnificence of the Emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangement. She contrived improvements in the furniture of apartments; introduced female dresses more becoming than any in use before her time; and it is a question in India whether it is to her or her mother that they owe the invention of *attar* of roses.[1] One of the accomplishments by which she captivated Jahangir is said to have been her facility in composing extempore verses." (*History of India*, pp. 550-51, 555-56).

Vincent Smith

"Terry truly observes: 'Now for the disposition of that King (Jahangir), it never seemed unto me to be composed of extremes; for sometimes he was barbarously cruel, and at other times he would seem to be exceeding fair and gentle.' He was capable of feeling the most poignant grief for the loss of a grandchild, and often showed pleasure in doing little acts of kindly charity. His writings are full of keen observations on natural objects. He went to Kashmir nearly every hot season, and recorded a capital description of the country, carefully drawing up a list of the Indian birds and beasts not to be found in the Happy Valley. He loved fine scenery, and would go into ecstasies over a waterfall. He thought the scarlet blossom of the *dhak* or *palas* tree 'so beautiful that one cannot take one's eyes off it,' and was in raptures over the wild flowers of Kashmir."

Then after commenting on Jahangir's love of fine arts,[2] Smith

1 '*Atr* of roses, the most excellent of perfumes, was discovered in my reign. The mother of Nur Jahan Begam conceived the idea of collecting the oil which rises to the surface when rose-water is heated, and this having been done, the oil was found to be a most powerful perfume.'—Jahangir in *Waqiat*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, p. 338.

2 'This day,' writes Jahangir, 'Abul Hasan, a painter, who bore the title of *Nadir-uz-Zaman*, drew a picture of my Court, and presented it to me. He had attached it as a frontispiece to the *Jahangir-Nama*. As it was well worthy of praise, I loaded him with great favours. He was an elegant painter, and had no match in his time. If the celebrated artists Abul Hai and Bihzad were now alive, they would do him full justice for his exquisite taste in painting. His father, Aka Raza, was always with me while I was a Prince, and his son was born in my household. However, the son is far superior to the father. I gave him a good education, and took care to cultivate his mind from his youth till he became one of the most distinguished men of his age. The portraits furnished by him were beautiful. Mansur is also a master of the art of drawing, and he has the title of Nadir-ul-Asli. In the time of my father and my own, there have been none to compare with these two artists. I am very fond of pictures, and have such discrimination in judging them, that I can tell the name of the artist (on seeing his work), whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each.'—*Waqiat*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VI, pp. 359-60. The editor also cites the following observation from Catrou's *History of the Mogul Dynasty*, p. 178.—'In this time there were found, in the Indies, native painters who copied the finest of our European pictures with a fidelity that might vie with the originals. He was partial to the sciences of Europe, and it was this which attached him to the Jesuits.'

Sir T. Roe also confirms. Roe had presented Jahangir a picture, which he said his own artists could exactly copy: 'At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his workman, and showed me six pictures, five made by his man, all pasted on one table, so like that I was by candle-light troubled to discern which was which; I confess beyond all expectation: yet showed my own and the difference which were in art apparent, but not to be judged by the common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyful and cracked like a Northern man.' —*Embassy*, Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 98.

quotes the Emperor's *Memoirs* on his sense of justice,[1] and proceeds : "His religion is not easy to define. Grave Sir Thomas Roe roundly denounced him as an atheist, but he was not exactly that. He sincerely believed in God, although he did not frankly accept any particular revelation or subscribe to any definite creed. . . .He had not the slightest desire to persecute anybody on account of his religion. It is true that he passed severe orders against the Jains of Gujarat, whom his father had so greatly admired, but that was because for some reasons or other he considered them to be seditious. . . .His personal religion seems to have been a vague deism, either taught by heretical Muhammadan Sufis, or the very similar doctrine of certain Hindu sages.[2] . . . .The material for discourse

1 Referring to a capital sentence passed on an influential murderer, Jahangir observes : 'God forbid that in such affairs I should consider Princes, and far less that I should consider *Amirs*.' Terry speaks of the 'round and quick' justice which 'keeps the people in such order that there are not many executions !' Hawkins found that by the time he personally saw the Emperor and complained to him about his ill-treatment at Surat, Jahangir had already got the official report and taken the first steps towards justice. 'If the local officials were guilty of justice,' Hawkins observes, 'it is well if they escape with the loss of their lands.'

2 *Note on Jahangir's religious policy.*—But for a few lapses, Jahangir's religious policy was, in the main, a continuation of his father Akbar's, based on principles of wide toleration. The exceptions were mostly due to religion and politics being inseparable in life. The prosecution of the Sikh Guru Arjun and of Man Singh the Svetambar Jain leader at Ahmadabad (who, at the time of Khusru's rebellion, declared that Jahangir's empire would come to an end in two years) are not indicative of the general policy. The Sikhs as a community were not persecuted by Jahangir ; the ordinances against the Jains were later withdrawn. Likewise were the Christians 'persecuted' on account of the follies of the Portuguese, but no sooner than peace was restored, they were once more restored to the royal favour. Terry observes : 'All religions are tolerated and their priests held in high esteem. Myself often received from the Mughal himself the appellation of Father with other many gracious words, with place among the best nobles.' Pietro Della Valle (1623-24) says, that the Hindus and Muslims 'live all mixed together and peaceably, because the grand Mughal. . . .makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other, and both in his court and armies, and even among men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration.'

Nevertheless, if Jahangir felt that the preaching of any religious teacher had harmful consequences on the Empire, he did not hesitate to interfere. Two instances, both Muslim, are on record : the Afghan Sheikh Ibrahim Baba was imprisoned in Chunar (1606) for his activities were 'disreputable and foolish' and he had gathered together a large following of Afghans near Lahore ; in 1619, similarly, Sheikh Ahmad, a celebrated Muslim divine of Sirhind, who claimed to be the *Mahadi*, was imprisoned at Gwalior, and placed in the custody of a Rajput. Sheikh Ahmad had written a book called the *Maktubat* which was judged to contain 'many unprofitable things,' calculated to drag people 'into infidelity and impiety. Two years later the Sheikh recanted and was released ; he was not only set free but also given a dress of honour and considerable sums of money more than once.' (Beni Prasad, p. 433).

Jahangir's interest in deserving *Sadhus* and *fakirs* was remarkable. In 1618-19, he wrote of Jadrup : "On Saturday for the second time, my desire for the company of Jadrup increased. After performing the midday devotions,. . . .I ran and enjoyed his society in the retirement of his cell. I heard many sublime words of religious duties and knowledge of divine things. Without exaggeration, he sets forth clearly the doctrines of wholesome Sufism, and one can find delight in his society. He is sixty years of age. He was 22 when, forsaking all external attachments, he placed the foot of determination on the high-road of asceticism, and for 38 years he had lived in the garment of nakedness... God Almighty has granted him an unusual grace, a lofty understanding, an exalted nature, and keen intellectual powers, etc. . . . .On Wednesday I again went and bade him good-bye. Undoubtedly parting from him weighed upon my mind which desires the truth.' Sir Thomas Roe records another instance of a *Fakir's* visit to Jahangir : 'This miserable wretch, clothed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with ashes, His Majesty talked with for about an hour, with such familiarity and show of kindness that it must needs argue a humality not easily found among kings. The beggar sate where his (Jahangir's) son dare not do. . . .and after many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old

on Jahangir's interesting personality is so abundant that it would be easy to write at large on the subject." (*O.H.*, pp. 387-89).

Ishwari Prasad

"Jahangir is one of the most interesting figures in Mughal history. The ordinary view that he was a sensual pleasure-seeker and a callous tyrant does him less than justice. All accounts agree that he was intelligent, shrewd, and capable of understanding the most complex problems of the state without any difficulty. . . . There is much in his character that deserves to be condemned, but there is a great deal that entitles him to be placed among the most fascinating personalities of Indian History."[1] (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, pp. 524-30).

Beni Prasad

"Jauntily to dismiss him (Jahangir) as a hard-hearted, fickle-minded tyrant, soaked in wine and sunk in debauch, as more than one modern writer has done, is at once unscientific and unjust. His fame has been eclipsed by the transcendent glory of his father and the dazzling splendour of his son. His memory has suffered from the implicit faith reposed in historical forgeries and travellers' tales. His career has been viewed and judged in isolated passages.

"From a review of his life as a whole, he comes out sensible, kind-hearted man, with strong family affections and unstinted generosity to all, with a burning hatred of oppression and passion for justice. On a few occasions in his career as Prince and Emperor, he was betrayed, not without provocation, by fits of wrath into individual acts of barbarous cruelty. But as a rule, he was remarkable for humanity, affability and open hand. . . .

wretch, not being nimble, he took him up in his arms, which no cleanly body durst have touched, embracing him ; and three times laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him and all of us, and me, in admiration of such virtue in a heathen prince. *Which I mention with envy and sorrow that we, having the true vine, should bring forth crabs and a bastard stock grapes* ; that either our Christian princes had this devotion and that this zeal were guided by a true light of the Gospel.'

1 Here is a delightful portrait of Jahangir from the pen of Hawkins : 'Now here I mean to speak a little of his manners and customs in the Court. First in the morning, about the break of day, he is at his beads with his face turned to the westward. The manner of his praying, when he is in Agra, is in a private fair room, upon a goodly set stone, having only a Persian lamb-skin under him. At the upper end of this stone, the pictures of our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone ; so he turneth over his beads and saith 3200 words according to the number of beads, and then his prayer is ended. After he hath done, he showeth himself to the people, receiving their salams or good-morrows, unto whom multitudes resort every morning for this purpose. This done, he sleepeth two hours more, and then dineth, and passeth his time with his women ; and at noon he showeth himself to the people again, sitting till three of the clock, viewing and seeing his pastimes and sports made by men and fighting of many sorts of beasts, every day sundry kinds of pastimes.

'Then at three of the clock all the nobles in general, that be in Agra and are well, resort unto the Court, the King coming forth in open audience, sitting in his seat royal, and every man standing in his degree before him, his chiefest sort of nobles standing within the red rail, and the rest without. . . .The King heareth all causes in this place and stayeth some two hours everyday.

'Then he departeth towards his private place of prayer ; his prayer being ended, four or five sorts of very well dressed and roasted meals are brought him, of which as he pleaseth eateth a bit to stay his stomach, drinking once of his strong drink. Then cometh forth into a private room, where none can come but such as himself nominateth (for two years I was one of his attendants there). In this place he drinketh other three cup-fulls, which is the portion that the physicians allot him. This done he eateth opium, and then he ariseth, and being in the height of his drink, he layeth him down to sleep, everyman departing to his own home. And after he hath slept two hours they awake him and bring his supper to him ; at which he is not able to feed himself ; but it is thrust into his mouth by others ; and this is about one of the clock ; and then he sleepeth the rest of the night.'—*Relations*, Lane-Poole (*Contemporary Sources*, pp. 88-89.)

"Sir Henry Elliot has drawn up a strong indictment of Jahangir and argued in particular, that his celebrated institutes were neither original in conception nor effective in practice. The first charge may be admitted at once, but is it a charge at all? Originality in administrative organization is extremely rare. Neither Akbar nor Sher Shah had much of it. The test of a statesman consists not in originality but in adoption and adaptation of ideas and practices. It is true, again, that the imperial ordinances were not uniformly carried out, but the responsibility rests with the inherent circumstances of the case. No Government in the middle ages, with a large area under its jurisdiction, could make its authority effectively felt on the borders. Until his health failed him, Jahangir exerted himself manfully to shield his subjects from the oppression of his officers. . . .

"Jahangir's reign, on the whole, was fruitful of peace and prosperity to the empire. Under its auspices, industry and commerce progressed, architecture achieved notable triumphs ; painting reached its high-water-mark ; literature flourished as it had never done before : Tulsidas composed the *Ramayan*, which forms at once the Homer and the Bible, the Shakespeare and the Milton of the teeming millions of Northern India. A host of remarkable Persian and vernacular poets all over the country combined to make the period the Augustan age of mediaeval Indian literature. *The political side of Jahangir's history is interesting enough but its virtue lies in cultural development.*" (*History of Jahangir*, pp. 430-38).

GENEALOGY

JAHANGIR (1605-27)

Khusru (d. 1622)	Parviz (d. 1626)	Shah Jahan (1627-58 ; d. 1665)	Shahriyar (executed, 1628)
Dara Shikoh (executed, 1659)	Shuja (disappeared, 1660)	Aurangzeb (1658-1707)	Murad (executed, 1661)

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CHAPTER 8

Golden Age of the Empire

"Shah Jahan. . . .is not 'the virtuous sovereign with hardly a blemish on his character' depicted by contemporary Indian chroniclers, nor on the other hand, is he the monster of moral depravity described by some European travellers."

—SIR WOLSELEY HAIG

"The expenditure of former reigns was not a fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly assumed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors."

—LUBB-AT-TAWARIKH

THE thirty years of Shah Jahan's rule found the Empire at its zenith, in point of prosperity though not in extent. On the whole, they were years of peace and plenty, with few internal disturbances of any formidable character : the only wars, whether successful or otherwise, were those of aggression, and intended to extend the boundaries of the Empire. Until the Empire was convulsed by the War of Succession, following on the illness of Shah Jahan, it had held forth the promise of a most glorious epoch in the history of India. But events soon showed that there were worms infolded in the gilded tomb, and all that glistered was not gold. The failure of Imperial arms on the north-west frontier, the destruction of temples by Shah Jahan, and the internecine feuds that were brewing—all indicated an unhappy augury for the future of the Empire. The reign of Shah Jahan which had commenced with crime was not destined to end without it. Though Shah Jahan was of a more staid character than his father, his rule was not without contrasts : it was an epoch of *grandeur not altogether unmixed with symptoms of decay.* It was both glorious and portentous at one and the same time.

The principal phases may be classified under the following heads : I. Early Life and Accession ; II. Rebellions and Minor Conquests ; III. Badakhshan and Khandahar ; IV. The Deccan ; V. War of Succession ; and VI. The Golden Age.

I. Early Life and Accession

1. Early Life

The early career of Shah Jahan has been too clearly delineated in the last chapter to need repetition; yet a few important details may be enumerated here. He was born on Thursday, January 5, 1592 at Lahore. His mother was the Rajput

Princess (daughter of Raja Udai Singh of Marwar) variously called Jagat Gosain, Jodhbai, and Manmati, Salim had married in 1586. He had been christened *Khurram* or *'the joyous'* and brought up under the care of Akbar's childless wife Ruquiah Begam. Although he had no dearth of literary teachers, the young Prince, from the very beginning, showed a decided turn for more practical pursuits. In spite of his sharp wits and strong memory he was more at home with the bow and arrow, swordsmanship and riding, than with Persian and Turki. About his sixth year he suffered from small-pox, the recovery from which delighted Akbar so much that the occasion was celebrated with alms-giving and the setting free of some prisoners. In 1606, Prince Khurram was first entrusted with responsibilities of a public character, when he was left in nominal charge of the capital (with of course a Council of Regency) during Jahangir's absence in pursuit of the rebellious Prince Khusru. In 1607, he received the rank of 8,000 *Zat* and 5,000 *Sawar* with a flag and drums ; the same year he was betrothed to Arjumand Banu Begam, the daughter of Asaf Khan, more famous as *Mumtaz-i-Mahal*, the lady of the Taj. This was followed by his nomination to the *Sarkar* of *Hisar Firoza* which was the virtual declaration of his succession to the throne. Two years later, he was again betrothed ; this time a daughter of Mirza Muzaffar Husain Safavi (of the house of Shah Ismail of Persia). This marriage strangely enough took place in 1610, whereas that with the former fiance was celebrated only two years later, in 1612. In addition to these, Khurram married a third wife, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan (grandson of Bairam Khan), in 1617.

His children of any note were all by his second and most celebrated wife, Mumtaz Begam ; they were fourteen in all, out of whom only seven survived : (1) Jahanara Begam was born at Ajmer, in 1614 ; (2) Dara Shikoh, in the same city, in 1615 ; (3) Shah Shuja, also at Ajmer, in 1616 ; (4) Roshanara Begam, at Burhanpur, in 1617 ; (5) Aurangzeb, at Dauhad on Oct. 24, 1618 ; (6) Murad Baksh at Rohtas, in 1624 ; and (7) Gauhanara Begam at Burhanpur, in 1631.

2. Political Career

"The history of Jahangir's reign," writes Dr. Saksena, "is mainly a record of the brilliant victories won by Prince Khurram. . . .His charming manners, his stern rules of conduct, his devotion to duty, and his dashing courage, all combined to ensure for him a successful career. Contrast gave him a superiority over his brothers and rivals whose failure more than once added to his glory. He had never to wait for an opportunity ; it came to him automatically."[1]

(*a*) *Mewar.* Khurram's first great triumph was against Mewar in 1614. It was an illustration of his pluck and tactics, he had eminently succeeded where other veterans had failed. It is strange that Vincent Smith should describe him as 'wanting in skill as a military leader'.[2] Dr. Saksena is truer in his observation that the subjugation of Mewar enhanced the glory of the Mughal Empire, and that, by this victory, Khurram's 'reputation as a general of consummate skill and ability was established beyond doubt ; and he was marked out as the rising star'.[3]

(*b*) *Deccan.* The second great chance of his life came to Khurram when he was appointed to the southern command (161-617), in superses-

Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shah Jahan of Delhi*, p. 15.
Smith, *O.H.*, p. 416.
Saksena, *loc. cit.*, p. 17.

sion to his elder brother Parviz and other reputed generals. Already raised to the dignity of 20,000 *Zat* and 10,000 *Sawar*, Khurram was now given the title of *Shah*, never before bestowed on any Mughal Prince, and placed in full charge of the Deccan. 'Mewar revealed him as a skilful general, and the Deccan as a clever statesman.'[1] He was further exalted to the unprecedented rank of 30,000 *Zat* and 20,000 *Sawar* and given the title of *Shah Jahan*. Then followed gifts and offerings 'such as had never come in any reign or time ' (amounting in all to Rs. 22,60,000). Finally, Shah Jahan was given charge of the province of Gujarat (1618), in recognition of his meritorious services.

(*c*) *Kangra*. To crown all, the operations carried on unsuccessfully against Kangra, since 1615, gave Shah Jahan his third opportunity. He won his laurels again at this place towards the close of 1618.

(*d*) *Deccan again*. The first triumph of Shah Jahan in the Deccan was really a piece of good luck for him, but it secured no permanent peace for the Empire. The corruption and quarrels of the Mughal officers, on the one hand, and the courage and cleverness of Malik Ambar, on the other, had resulted in reversing the tables against the Empire, since the withdrawal of Shah Jahan in 1617. He was, therefore, again called to the South in 1621, and once more his tact and courage triumphed. But, as we have observed in the previous chapter, his success was his undoing.

(*e*) *Rebellion*. Suspicion of Nur Jahan's jealousy drove him to indiscretion. When he was called to lead the campaign against Kandahar, he thought it more prudent to rebel. The circumstances and course of his insurrection have already been described. 'His rebellion,' as Dr. Saksena has well expressed, 'was a clash of two powerful ambitions each trying to subdue the other.'[2] It was also a great blunder, because by his rashness he played into the hands of his enemies. His grave misconduct, though he tried to 'clothe his immodest acts in the garment of apology' cost him the unique position to which he had climbed up in the Empire. But though baffled, his usual good luck once more came to his rescue. The death of Jahangir at *Rajauri* on Sunday, October 29, 1627, was a boon to Shah Jahan. Although he was far away in the Deccan at that time, he briskly made his way to the throne.

3. Accession

There was a quick shuffling of the cards at the Imperial headquarters. In the words of the *Badshah-nama* (of Abdul Hamid Lahori) : 'Nur Mahal, who had been the cause of much strife and contention, now clung to the vain idea of retaining the reins of government in her grasp, as she had held them during the reign of the late Emperor. She wrote to *Nashudani* (Shahriyar), advising him to collect as many men as he could, and hasten to her.' On the other hand, Nur Jahan's brother Asaf Khan was equally alert. He 'determined that, as Shah Jahan (his son-in-law) was far away from Agra, it was necessary to take some steps to prevent disturbances in the city, and to take possession of the princes (sons of Shah Jahan) Muhammad Dara Shikoh, M. Shah Shuja, and M. Aurangzeb, who were in the female apartments with Nur Mahal. They, therefore, resolved that for some few days they would raise to the throne Bulaki (Dawar Bakhsh) the son of Khusru, who, by Nur Mahal's contrivance, had been placed with *Nashudani*.'[3]

1 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
3 *Badshah-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 5-6.

Mutamad Khan narrates the sequel in same detail : 'Nur Jahan Begum sent several persons to bring her brother (Asaf Khan) to her ; but he made excuses, and did not go. Asaf Khan now sent Banarasi, a swift runner, to Shah Jahan, with intelligence of the death of Jahangir ; and as there was no time for writing, he sent his signet ring as a guarantee. Next day the royal retinue came down from the mountains to Bhimbar. There the funeral ceremonies were performed, and the corpse was sent on under escort to Lahore, where it was interred in a garden which Nur Jahan had made.

'When the nobles and officers of the State became aware that Asaf Khan han resorted to the stratagem of proclaiming Dawar Bakhsh, in order to secure the accession of Shah Jahan, and that Dawar was, in fact, a mere sacrificial lamb, they gave their support to Asaf Khan, and did whatever he said. So the *Khutba* was read in Dawar Bakhsh's name near Bhimbar."

Shahriyar, in the meantime, had assumed the royal title at Lahore. 'He seized upon the royal treasure and everything belonging to the State which was in Lahore. To secure troops and supporters, he gave to everyone what he asked for, and in the course of one week he distributed 70 *lacs* of rupees among the old and new nobles, in the hope of securing his position.' A clash was, therefore, inevitable. The rival forces met three *kos* away from Lahore, and 'at the first attack Shahriyar's mercenaries, unable to face the old and loyal servants of the State, broke, and fled. . . . unable to understand his position and danger, Shahriyar fell back and entered the fortress, thus placing his own foot in the trap. Next day the nobles arrived, ...Shahriyar fled for refuge into the female apartments of the late Emperor. A eunuch brought him out, and he was led bound to the presence of Dawar Bakhsh. After making the regular bows and homage, he was placed in confinement, and two or three days afterwards he was blinded. . . .Tahimuras and Hoshang, sons of Prince Daniyal, were also taken and confined. Asaf Khan wrote to Shah Jahan, informing him of the victory. . . .

'Shah Jahan sent a *farman* to Yamin-ud-daula Asaf Khan, to the effect that it would be well if Dawar Bakhsh the son, and *Nashudani* the useless brother of Khusru, and the sons of Prince Daniyal, were all sent out of the world. . . .' On the 2nd *Jumad-al-awwal*, 1057 A.H. . . . by general consent Shah Jahan was proclaimed at Lahore and the *Khutba* was read in his name. Dawar Bakhsh, whom the supporters of Shah Jahan had deemed it advisable to set up in order to prevent disturbapces, was now cast into prison. On the 26th *Jumad-al-awwal*, Dawar, his brother Garshas, Shahriyar, and Tahimuras and Hoshang, sons of the deceased Prince Daniyal, were all put to death.'[1]

1 *Iqbal-nama-i-Jahangir*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 435-38. Dawar (Bulaki), according to some, escaped and lived for some years longer. Saksena, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-88.

The ruthless philosophy underlying these wholesale political murders is very frankly stated by Md. Salih Kambu, the historian of Shah Jahan's reign : 'It is entirely lawful,' he writes, 'for the great sovereigns to rid this mortal world of the existence of their brothers and other relations, *whose very annihilation is conducive to common good. And as the leaders, spiritual and temporal, justify the total eradication of the rival claimants to the fortunate throne (therefore) on grounds of expediency and common weal*, and upon the suggestion of such wise counsellors Sultan Khusru whom the Emperor Jahangir had, in an hour of drunkeness, handed over to Shah Buland Iqbal (Shah Jahan) was *translated*, on Monday 22nd February, 1621, *from the ditch of prison to the plains of non-existence.* To avoid suspicion, the dead body of the late prince was taken with due honour and respect round the city of Burhanpur. The nobles and officers accompanied the hearse chanting prayers, and muttering incantations. He was buried

'Shah Jahan ascended the throne at Agra on the 18th *Jumad-as-sani*, 1037 A.H. (4th Feb., 1628), with the tittle of Abul Muzaffar Shahab-ud-din Muhammad Sahib Kiran-i-Sani.'[1]

The coronation was attended with a lavishness quite characteristic of the monarch who is still remembered as Shah Jahan 'the magnificent.' The Imperial couriers carried the news of the accession to the most distant corners of the Empire. Poets, astrologers, learned and pious men, all received their due rewards. The Empress Mumtaz Mahal herself got a present of 20,000 *asharfis*, and Rs. 6,00,000, together with an annuity of Rs. 10,00,000. Jahanara Begam received 1,00,000 *asharfis*, and Rs. 4,00,000, with an annual allowance of Rs. 6,00,000. Rs. 8,00,000 were distributed among the Princes and Princesses of the Imperial family. The loyal officers and nobles were equally well rewarded, the disloyal were degraded. Among the most notable Mahabat Khan was promoted to the rank of 7,000 *Zat* and 7,000 *Sawar*, and made *Khan-khanan*. Above all was Asaf Khan exalted to the dignity of 8,000 *Zat* and *Sawar*, called 'uncle', allowed him to kiss the Emperor's feet (a unique privilege), entrusted with the Emperor's signet ring, and made the *Vakil* of the Empire.

II. Rebellions and Minor Conquests

There were two great rebellions at the commencement of Shah Jahan's reign, one Hindu and another Muslim. The first was that of Jajhar Singh. son of the notorious *Bir Singh Dev Bundela* ; the second was of *Khan Jahan Lodi*, Jahangir's officer whom we have met with already. The former started in the first year of Shah Jahan's reign (1628), and with a break, continued to defy the Emperor until 1635, when he met with the fate usual for rebels. The latter broke out in the second year of the reign (1629), and after a short interval of restless peace, found the leader defeated and decapitated (1631).

The Portuguese also created some trouble in the eastern provinces and were ruthlessly suppressed. These as well as other disturbances and conquest will be noticed in due course.

1. The Bundela Revolt

The account of this rebellion by Abdul Hamid Lahori, in his *Badshah-nama*, is interesting.

'Jajhar Singh was son of Raja Nar Singh Deo Bundela, who rose into notice by killing Shaikh Abul Fazl. . . .After the accession of Jahangir to the throne, Nar Singh Deo rose into favour and distinction through this wicked deed. But his evil nature was unable to bear his prosperity, and towards the end of the reign of Jahangir he became disaffected and oppressed all the *zamindars* in his neighbourhood. . . . He died three or four months before Jahangir and was succeeded by his son Jajhar Singh. *The wealth and property which Nar Singh had amassed without labour and without trouble unsettled the mind of his worthless successor Jajhar*, and at the accession of Shah Jahan, ... he left the capital Agra, and proceeded to Undcha (Orcha), his stronghold, where he set about raising forces, strengthening the forts, providing munitions of war and closing the roads.

'A force was accordingly sent against him under the command

in Alamganj on the night of Wednesday.' *Salih*, Vol. I, p. 137 and pp. 163-65, cited by Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

It will be remembered that the death of Parviz, too, is plausibly attributed to Shah Jahan.

1 *Badshah-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII p. 6.

of Mahabat Khan Khan-khanan. [The Imperial forces[1] converged upon Undcha and] Jajhar Singh, having no hope of escape, waited upon Khan-khanan and made his submission. . . .

'His Majesty in the second year of his reign pardoned the misdeeds of this turbulent man, and sent him on service in the Dakhin. After a while he took leave of Mahabat Khan Khan-khanan, the ruler of the Dakhin, and retired to his own country, leaving behind him his son Bikramjit, entitled Jag-raj, and his contingent of men.

'On reaching home he attacked Bim Narain, *zamindar* of Garha, and induced him by a treaty and promise to surrender the fort of Chaura-garh (70 miles west of Jabalpur—*Ain-i-Akbari*, I, p. 367). Afterwards, in violation of his engagement, he put Bim Narain and a number of his followers to death, and took possession of the fort, with all the money and valuables it contained.

'Bim Narain's son accompained Khan Jahan to Court from Malwa, taking with him an offering, and he made known to the Emperor what had happened. A *farman*, was then sent to Jajhar Singh, charging him with having killed Bim Narain, taking possession of Garha, without the authority of the Emperor, and directing him to surrender the territory to the officers of the Crown, or else give up the *jagirs* he held in his own country, and to send to Court ten *lacs* of rupees in cash out of the money which had belonged to Bim Narain.

'He got notice of this *farman* from his *vakils* before it arrived, and being resolved to resist, he directed his son Bikramjit to escape with his troops from the Balaghat, whither he had gone with Khan Jahan, and to make the best of his way home. The son acted accordingly.'

The military operations need not be followed in detail. Prince Aurangzeb was in nominal command of 20,000 troops directed to reduce the rebels. Raja Devi Singh, one of the rivals of Jajhar, was with the Imperial army.

'Notwithstanding the density and strength of his forests, Jajhar was alarmed at the advance of the Imperial forces, and removed his family, his cattle and money, from Undcha to the fort of Dhamuni, which his father had built. On the east, north and south of this fort there are deep ravines, which prevent the digging of mines or the running of zigzags. On the west side a deep ditch had been dug twenty Imperial yards wide, stretching from ravine to ravine. . . .' When the army in pursuit approached Dhamuni, Jajhar fled to Chauragarh. 'Before leaving he blew up the buildings round the fort of Dhamuni, and left one of his officers and a body of faithful adherents to garrison the fort.' He did the same at Chauragarh, 'and then went off with his family and such goods as he would carry to the Dakhin. . . .When pressed hard by the pursuers, Jajhar and Bikramjit put to death several women whose horses were worn out, and then turned upon their pursuers. . . .Although they fought desperately, they were beaten and fled into the woods. . . .The hot pursuit allowed the rebels no time to perform the rite of *Jauhar*,

1 One division of the Imperial army marched from the capital under Mahabat Khan, another came from Kanauj under Firoz Jung, and a third proceeded from the south under Khan Jahan. The total strength of these forces was 27,000 horse, 6,000 foot, 1,500 musketeers.

which is one of the benighted practices of Hindustan. In their despair they inflicted two wounds with a daggar on Rani Parbati, the chief wife of Raja Nar Singh Deo, and having stabbed the other women and children with swords and daggers, they were about to make off, when the pursuers came up and put many of them to the sword. . . .Durgabhan, son of Jajhar, and Durjan Sal, son of Bikramjit, were made prisoner[1]. . . .The royal army then encamped on the edge of the tank. . . .While they rested there, information was brought that Jajhar and Bikramjit. . . .after escaping from the bloody conflict, had fled to hide themselves in the wilds, where they were killed with great cruelty by the Gonds who inhabit that country. . . .Khankhanan rode forth to seek their bodies, and having found them, cut off their heads and sent them to Court. . . .When they arrived, the Emperor ordered them to be hung up over the gate of Sehur.'

'On arriving at Chanda, the Imperial commanders resolved to take tribute from Kipa, chief *zamindar* of Gondwana,. . . .and he consented to pay five *lacs* of rupees as tribute to the government, and one *lac* of rupees in cash and goods to the Imperial commanders. . . .On the 13th *Jumad-as-sani* the Emperor proceeded on his journey to Undcha, and on the 21st intelligence arrived of the capture of the fort of Jhansi, one of the strongest in the Bundela country.'[2]

But the irresistible Bundelas were not subdued. Another leader arose in Champat Rai of Mahoba. In 1639 his depredations and incursions into Mughal territory made the road to the Deccan very insecure. Abdullah Khan was directed by Shah Jahan to round up the rebels. But Champat Rai played the Robinhood. He had the fullest support of his people. In 1642, through the agency of Pahad Singh, a son of Bir Singh Dev, he was temporarily brought under the Imperial yoke. But his more famous son, Raja Chhatrasal, again challenged the Imperial authority under Aurangzeb.

Another exactly similar rebellion took place in Mau Nurpur in 1639. Its *zamindar*, Jagat Singh, was a loyal servant of the Empire, but his son Rajrup proved recalcitrant. Jagat Singh's secret sympathy with his rebellious son involved him in a war with the Imperial authorities. However, unlike the Bundela revolt, this insurrection ended in reconciliation. After nearly three years' hostilities, Jagat Singh submitted in March, 1642, and ended his life as a loyal servant of the Crown.

Dr. Saksena, after pointing out the close parallelism between the two rebellions, observes : "The only difference is that in one case the entire line of the rebels was extirpated, in the other they were cherished and pardoned. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the case of the Bundelas, their wealth excited the cupidity of the Moghul Emperor, and this, it was impossible to obtain without extinguishing their existence; while

1 Later, the same chronicler (Lahori) states, 'By the Emperor's order they were made Musalmans by the names of Islam Kuli and Ali Kuli, and they were both placed in the charge of Firoz Khan Nazir. Rani Parbati, being severely wounded, was passed over ; the other women were sent to attend upon the ladies of the Imperial palace .

'Udaibhan, the son of Jajhar, and his younger brother, Siyam Dawa, who had fled to Golkonda, were made prisoner by Kutb-ul-Mulk, and were sent in custody to the Emperor. They arrived on the 7th *Shawwal*. The young boy was ordered to be made a Musalman, and to be placed in the charge of Firoz Khan Nazir, along with the son of Bikramjit. Udaibhan and Siyam Dawa, who were of full age, were offered the alternative of Islam or death. They chose the latter, and were sent to hell.'

2 *Badshah-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 6-7 and 47-50.

in the case of Jagat Singh there was no such temptation, and once the latter agreed to the demolition of his forts, Shah Jahan did not consider it necessary to go any further, since the rebels had become harmless."[1]

2. Khan Jahan's Rebellion

Khan Jahan Lodi was a son of Daulat Khan Lodi, one of Akbar's officers. He held the rank of 5,000 and was successively governor of Gujarat and the Deccan in the reign of Jahnagir. But like many another Afghan under Mughal dominance he still cherished dreams of independence. Unfortunately he was also guilty of peculation. Never heartily loyal to the Mughal Emperor, he had surrendered Balaghat to the 'Nizamshah for a paltry 3,00,000 rupees.[2] After the sudden death of Jahangir, and the temporary uncertainty of succession, he vaguely imagined a great opportunity to assert himself in the South. Shah Jahan, when he ascended the throne, sent for him, and for a time seemed to have won him over. But the sullen nobleman proved incorrigible. He was jealous of Mahabat Khan, whose promotion as *Khan-khanan* he looked upon as a supersession of his own claims. He was also disappointed at what he considered to be a cold reception at Court. He soon began to suspect even his personal safety and feared he might well be called upon to answer for his peculation. Under these circumstances, he determined to seek refuge in flight. He effected this on the night of October 5, 1629. The following is Lahori's account of his insurrection :

> 'After the death of Jahangir, and before the accession of Shah Jahan, Khan Jahan Lodi entered upon a dangerous and disloyal course. . . .He formed an alliance with Nizam-ul-Mulk, and gave up to him the Balaghat in the Dakhin, the revenue of which amounted to 55 *krors of dams*. But Sipadha Khan, who held Ahmadnagar, bravely and loyally refused to surrender that city.'
>
> Then Khan Jahan 'marched with a large force to Mandu, with the intention of taking possession of Malwa', but the news of Shah Jahan's accession 'brought him to a sense of his folly and wickedness. Raja Gaj Singh, Raja Jai Singh, and other distinguised Rajputs who had accompanied him to Mandu, parted from him when they heard of Shah Jahan having arrived at Ajmer. Thereupon Khan Jahan wrote a letter of contrition and submission, in the hope of obtaining forgiveness.
>
> 'A royal *farman* was sent in answer, informing him that he was confirmed in the governorship of the Dakhin, and directing him to return at once to Burhanpur. He then retired from Malwa to Burhanpur, and engaged in the duties of his office. But when it was reported that the country of Balaghat, which Khan Jahan had given to Nizam-ul-Mulk, still remained in his possession, and had not been recovered, the Emperor appointed Mahabat Khan to the governorship of the Dakhin. Khan Jahan then returned to court.' There, in spite of reassurances from the Emperor, he remained sullen and moody. Lahori says, 'Fortune was aggrieved with him, and so his perverse temper prevented him from appreciating the Emperor's kindness.' Hence his flight above referred to.
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> 'As soon as the Emperor was informed of it, he sent Khwaja Abul Hasan. . . .in pursuit of the fugitive. Unmindful of the smallness of their own force and the numbers of the Afghans, they

1 Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 68 n. 7.

followed them and overtook them in the vicinity of Dholpur.' Yet, after a brave fight the rebel escaped. 'When the traitor entered the territory of Jajhar Singh Bundela, that chieftain was absent in the Dakhin ; but his eldest son Bikramjit was at home, and sent the rebel out of the territory by unfrequented roads. If Bikramjit had not thus favoured his escape, he would have been either taken prisoner or killed. He proceeded to Gondwana, and after staying there some time in disappointment and obscurity, he proceeded by way of Berar to the country of Burman Nizamu-l Mulk.'

The rest of the fight, flight and pursuit, need not be followed, with the exception of one incident, viz., the part played by Shahuji Bhonsla. Shivaji's father.

'At this time Shahuji Bhonsla, son-in-law of Jadu Rai, a Hindu commander of Nizam Shah's army, came in and joined Azam Khan (the Mughal commander). After the murder of Jadu Rai. . . . Shahuji broke off his connexion with Nizam Shah, and, retiring to the districts of Puna and Chakan, he wrote to Azam Khan, proposing to make his submission upon receiving a promise of protection. Azam Khan wrote to Court, and received orders to accept the proposal. Shahuji then came and joined him with two thousand horse. He received a *khilat*, a *mansab* of 5,000 and a gift of two *lacs* of rupees and other presents. His brother Murad received a robe and a *mansab* of 3,000 personal and 1,500 horse. Several of their relations and dependants also obtained gifts and marks of distinction.'

Finally, 'Khan Jahan was much afflicted at the loss of his sons and followers (who were either killed or taken prisoners by the Imperial forces). All hope of escape was cut off ; so he told his followers that he was weary of life, that he had reached the end of his career, and there was no longer any means of deliverance for him ; he desired, therefore, that every man should make off as best as he could. A few determined to stand by him to the last, but many fled. . . .In the midst of the struggle Madhu Singh pierced him with a spear, and before Muzaffar Khan could come up, the brave fellows cut Khan Jahan and his dear son Aziz to pieces. About a hundred of his adherents fell, and their heads were cut off. . . .The heads of Khan Jahan and Aziz. . . .were sent to the Imperial Court. . . .(His other sons were imprisoned). The heads of the rebels were placed over the gate of the fort. After their victory, Abdulla Khan and Saiyid Muzaffar Khan came to Court, and received many marks of favour. The former was advanced to a *mansab* of 6,000 and 6,000 horse, and he received the title of *Firoz Jang*. Saiyid Muzaffar Khan was promoted to a *mansab* of 5,000 and 5,000 horse. He received the title of *Khan Jahan*.'[1]

3. Suppression of Portuguese Piracy

The Portuguese were long settled in the eastern parts of Bengal, but they were never interfered with by the Mughal Emperor so long as their activities were harmless. On the contrary, they obtained a monopoly of salt from Government, and paid 10,000 *tankas* into the Imperial treasury every year.[2] But their omnivorous adventures soon landed them in trouble. They were not content with mere trade ; their missionary zeal to convert

1 *Badshah-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 7-72.

2 Manucci records about Hugli : 'Here I found the chief inhabitants of Hugli, all of them rich Portuguese, for in those days they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province of Bengal.' (*A Pepys of Mogul India*, p. 118).

the natives evoked much hostility. Matters were made worse by their piratical pursuits also. Often they penetrated forty or fifty leagues up-country, from the river mouths, 'carried away the entire population of villages on market days, and at times when the inhabitants were assembled for celebration of marriage or some other festival.' They would even 'offer for sale the aged people in their very places of residence, and it was a pathetic sight to see young men redeeming their parents.'[1]

Under such provocation Shah Jahan instituted a ruthless campaign against these foreigners (1632). Various motives are ascribed for this attack on the Portuguese, but that, it was neither sustained nor universal, makes it clear beyond doubt that it was purely due to local irritation. Sir Edward Maclagan is perfectly right when the remarks : "The trouble at Hugli was not due primarily to a religious quarrel. The local Governors had put no obstacles in the way of propaganda and had paid due respect to the Catholic priesthood. . . .the Viceroy had protected them from the attacks of Mullas and Pirs. The hostilities undertaken by the Moguls against the Portuguese in Hugli originated in political causes, namely the sympathy and encouragement which the Portuguese of Hugli had given to compatriots, the Farangis of Chittagong who were little more than pirates, ready to lend their services to the king of Arakan against the Moguls. A religious element was indeed imported in the quarrel by Shah Jahan, probably for reasons of policy. . . .The Farangis made slaves of large numbers of Mogul subjects, and of these slaves they made Christians—'Boasting,' says Bernier, 'they made more Christians in a twelve month than all the missionaries in the Indies do in ten years.' The religious aspect, however, of the relations between the Moguls and the Portuguese was of subsidiary importance, and there was much apart from religion to justify the punishment of Hugli."[2]

The details of the fight are of little consequence. The Portuguese defended themselves bravely, even desperately, but it was of little avail against the concentrated might of the Empire. The following description taken from the *Badshah-nama* of Lahori gives a vivid idea of the brief struggle :

> 'On the 2nd *Zil Hijja*, 1041, the attack was made on the Firingis by the boatmen on the river, and by the forces on land. . . . Having killed or captured all the infidels, the warriors carried off the families of their boatmen, who were all Bengalis. Four thousand boatmen, whom the Bengalis called *ghrabi*, then left the Firingis and joined the victorious army. This was a great discouragement to the Christians.
>
> 'The royal army was engaged for three months and a half in the siege of this strong place (Hugli). Sometimes the infidels fought, sometimes they made overtures of peace, protracting the time in hopes of succour from their countrymen. With base treachery they pretended to make proposals of peace, and sent nearly a *lac* of rupees as tribute, while at the same time they ordered 7,000 musketeers who were in their service to open fire. So heavy was it that many of the trees of a grove in which a large force of the besiegers was placed were stripped of their branches and leaves.'

Finally, however, they were all defeated. 'Whoever escaped from the water and fire became a prisoner. From the beginning of the siege to

1 Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 174-76.
2 Maclagan, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-01.

the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water or burnt by fire. Nearly 1,000 brave warriors of the Imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom. 4,400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoner, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty.'

The figures may not be very accurate. 'On the 11th *Muharram* (1043 A.H.),' the writer concludes, 'Kasim Khan and Bahadur Kambu brought. . . .400 Christian prisoners, male and female, young and old, with the idols of their worship, to the presence of the faith-defending Emperor. He ordered that the principles of the Muhammadan religion should be explained to them, and that they should be called upon to adopt it. . . .Those who refused were to be kept in continual confinement. So it came to pass that many of them passed from prison to hell. Such of their idols as were likenesses of the prophets were thrown into the Jumna, the rest were broken to pieces.'[1]

4. Minor Conquests

Before proceeding to the major political events of the reign a passing reference might be made to some of the minor conquests of Shah Jahan. Most of these relate to the subjugation of recalcitrant chiefs or petty *rajas* and *zamindars*, like Bhagirath Bhil (1632) and Marvi Gond (1644) in Malwa, and Raja Pratap of Palamau (1642) in Chutia-Nagpur, and the turbulent border tribes on the frontiers. But the most notable were perhaps the cases of Little Tibet and Assam. In 1634 the ruler of the former country had been persuaded to acknowledge the supremacy of the Mughal Emperor and to read the *khutba* in Shah Jahan's name. Failure to maintain this attitude of loyalty resulted in a big expedition, consisting of 2,000 horse and 10,000 infantry, being led into Little Tibet under Zafar Khan, in 1637-38. The prestige of the Empire was again restored, the *khutba* was again read in Shah Jahan's name, and an indemnity of one million rupees was also paid into the Imperial treasury by the Tibetan ruler Abdal.

The conquest of Bengal had brought the Mughals into close contact with the Mongoloid states in the north-east of India. Akbar, on the whole, had cultivated friendly relations with the rulers of Kuch-Bihar and Kamrup, but during Jahangir's reign Mughal policy in this direction "imperceptibly took an aggressive turn."[2] This was largly due to the internal weakness of the states themselves, no less than to the ambition of the Mughal officer, Islam Khan. Within a short time both Kuch-Bihar and Kamrup were annexed to the Empire. The next step of Mughal Imperialism was naturally in Assam. This was reserved for successful execution in the reign of Shah Jahan. From 1628-39 there was open war between the Empire and Assam. It resulted in the definite fixing of boundaries and resumption of peaceful trade relations, not unmixed with diplomacy during the rest of the reign (1639-57).[3] The outbreak of the fratricidal war unsettled everything for the nonce.

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 31-35, 42-43. Bernier gives a more glowing picture of the persecution : 'The misery of these people,' he writes, 'is unparalleled in the history of modern times : it nearly resembled the grievous captivity of Babylon : for even the children, priests and monks shared the universal doom. The handsome women as well married as single, became inmates of the seraglio ; those of a more advanced age or of inferior beauty were distributed among the Omrahs ; little children underwent the rite of circumcision and were made pages ; and the men of adult age, allured for the most part by fair promises or terrified by the daily threat of throwing them under the feet of elephants, renounced the Christian faith.' (*Travels*, p. 177).

2 Bhattacharya, *A History of Mughal N. E. Frontier Policy*, pp. 388-90.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 391-93.

III. Badakhshan and Kandahar

The unrealized ambition of Babur to conquer and rule over his ancestral dominions in Samarkand and Bokhara, seemed to be still active, through some principle of heredity, in the reign of Shah Jahan. The stars of the Empire were clearly on the ascendant, and Shah Jahan, who had even as a Prince made his mark as a conqueror, now cast wistful eyes beyond the Hindukush towards Transoxiana, Balkh, and Badakhshan. He turned the puissant arms of the Empire for the reconquest of these distant regions as well as of Kandahar which had been lost since 1622. The result in both cases, unfortunately, was disastrous.

Badakhshan

A quarrel between Nazr Muhammad Khan, ruler of Bokhara, and his son Abdul Aziz, gave Shah Jahan the tempting opportunity for interference.[1] In June 1646, he sent an army of 50,000 horse and 10,000 foot, under the command of Prince Murad and Ali Mardan Khan, into Balkh. They entered the city in July, and were rewarded by the capture of treasure worth 12 *lacs* of rupees, 2,500 horses and 300 camels. Nazr Muhammad ran away to Persia, whence he returned triumphant not very long after. It is extremely interesting to note the Imperial casuistry about this interference in a foreign dominion. Says the *Shah Jahan-nama* : 'As it happened from the commencement of his invasion of Balkh, this very design had been buried in the depths of his comprehensive mind, viz., that *after clearing the kingdoms of Balkh and Badakhshan from the thorny briars of turbulence and anarchy, he should restore them in safety to Nazr Muhammad Khan.* The latter, however, scorning the dictates of prudence, hastened to Iran, etc.'[2] In spite of the victory of the Imperial arms, Prince Murad had no desire to remain long in those turbulent regions, and evinced on the contrary a keen desire to get back to India. 'Many of the *amirs* and *mansabdars* who were with the Prince concurred in this unreasonable desire. Natural love of home, a preference for the ways and customs of Hindustan, a dislike of the people and the manners of Balkh, and the rigours of the climate, all conduced to this desire. This resolution became a cause of distress among the *raiyats*, of despondency among the soldiery, and of hesitation among the men who were coming into Balkh from all quarters. The soldiers, seeing this vacillation, began to plunder and oppress the people. So, when the Prince's desire was repeatedly expressed, the Emperor's anger was increased. He deprived the Prince of his *mansab*, and took from him his *tuyul* of Multan.

'Under these circumstances, to settle the confusion in Balkh, the Emperor found it necessary to send there a trustworthy and able manager. So he selected Sadulla Khan, his prime-minister. . . . .Sadulla Khan

1 'Ever since the beginning of his reign,' writes Abdul Hamid Lahori. 'the Emperor's heart had been set upon the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan, which were hereditary territories of his house and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarkand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Timur Sahib-Kiran. He was more especially intent on this because Nazr Muhammad Khan had the presumption to attack Kabul (1628) from whence he had been driven back in disgrace. The prosecution of the Emperor's cherished enterprise had been hitherto prevented by various obstacles;.... but now the foundations of the authority of Nazr Muhammad were shaken, and his authority in Balkh was precarious....So the Emperor determined to send his son Murad Bakhsh with fifty thousand horse, and ten thousand musketeers, rocketmen and gunners, to effect the conquest of that country....On the day of *Zil Hyja*, 1055 H., the Emperor gave his farewell to Prince Murad Bakhsh, to Amir-ul-Umara (Ali Mardan Khan) and the other officers sent on this service.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 70.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

returned on the 15th *Shaban*, 1065-57, having settled the affairs of Balkh, and *restored order and tranquillity among the soldiers and people, and rescued the country from wretchedness.* He had most effectually carried out the orders of the Emperor, and was rewarded with a *khilat* and a thousand increase to his *mansab*.

'On the 24th *Zil Hijja*, 1056, the Emperor bestowed the conutries of Balkh and Badakhshan on Aurangzeb, and increased his *mansab* to 15,000 personal and 10,000 horse. . . .He was directed to proceed to Peshawar, and on the arrival of Spring to march to Balkh, in company with Amir-ul-Umara Ali Mardan Khan, and a body of Rajputs, who had left Balkh and Badakhshan in disgust, and had come to Peshawar, where they were stopped by an Imperial order directing the officers at Atak not to allow them to cross the Indus.'[1]

But, even Aurangzeb, in spite of his great personal courage, which impressed the Badakhshanis very much,[2] could not hold the provinces for long. After the first capture of Balkh and the flight of Nazr Muhammad to Persia, Shah Jahan had written to the latter in the following diplomatic strain : 'When the Prince (Murad) encamped opposite to Balkh, on account of his youth and inexperience, and the laziness and negligence of the elders accompanying him, some undesirable actions were performed, e.g., the entering of Rustam Khan into the fort, when you (Nazr Muhammad) were in presence there. These must have been a source of pain and alarm to you, and I am very sorry to hear of it. . .But I expected that you would repair to us and not go elsewhere. . . .But fate is stronger than will. . . .*I wished to clear Balkh of troublesome elements, and to hand it over to you. . . .and to place at your disposal an army to help you, when you so desired, to recover Transoxiana.*'[3] Now, on account of the sheer impossibility of maintaining the Mughal position there, the retreat became inevitable. "The country was desolated, winter close at hand, grain scarce, and time short," Aurangzeb told his men, "so that there would be great difficulty in making arrangements for the winter, and remaining in the kingdom during that inclement season. . . ."

> The Prince then marched with all his forces from the neighbourhood of. . . .Balkh ; where, having ceded the country to Nazr Muhammad Khan delivered up the town and citadel of Balkh to Muhammad Kasim and Kafsh Kalmak. He presented the former of these, on bidding him farewell, with a jewelled dagger, a horse caparisoned with golden trappings, and 50,000 rupees out of the royal treasury. He also committed to his charge, among the stores contained in the fort and city, 50,000 *mans* of grain belonging to His Majesty, which, estimated by the rate ruling at that time, was worth five *lacs* of rupees, and besides this, all the granaries of the other forts. . . .From the beginning of the invasion of Balkh and Badakhshan (1645) till the end (Oct., 1647), when those conquered territories were ceded to Nazr Muhammad Khan, there was expended out of the State Exchequer, in the progress of this undertaking,

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

2 "The grim tenacity of Prince Aurangzeb struck terror into the heart of the enemy ; ....'one day, the hour of evening prayer arrived when the battle was at its hottest ; Aurangzeb spread his carpet on the field, knelt down and calmly said his prayers, regardless of the strife and din around him. He was then, as during the rest of the campaign, without armour and shield. The Bokhara army gazed on the scene with wonder, and Abdul Aziz, in generous admiration, stopped the fight, crying : 'To fight with such a man is to court one's own destruction'."—Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

3 Cited *ibid.*, p. 202.

the sum of two *krors* of rupees, which is equivalent to seven *lacs* of the *tumans* current in Irak.[1]

The march back from Balkh to Kabul (Oct., 1647) was nearly as disastrous as the British withdrawal from Kabul in 1842. According to Inayat Khan, 'from the first commencement of the army's crossing to the end, about 5,000 men, a similar number of animals such as horses, elephants, camels, oxen etc., were destroyed and a vast deal of property remained buried in the snow.'[2]

Kandahar

Kandahar, on account of its strategical and commercial importance, had ever been the bone of contention between the Shah of Persia and the Emperor of Hindustan. Conquered by Babur in 1522, it had been lost for a time and recovered by Humayun in 1545. Lost again during Akbar's minority, it was reacquired in 1595. Jahangir once more lost it in 1622, but Shah Jahan regained it in 1638. Ten years later, in 1648, the Persians recaptured Kandahar for the last time, and despite persistent efforts (1648-49 and 1652-53) the Mughals could never wrest it from their hands again. Diplomatic embassies and very costly gifts were exchanged during the intervals, between the Shah and the Emperor, but they were all directed to the study of each other's political advantages and weaknesses with the ultimate object of outwitting the rival. Finally, Persians won this race for Kandahar against the Emperor of Hindustan.

In 1638, Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, fearing that he might be called upon by the Shah to account for the large sums he had embezzled from the revenues of his province, invited the Mughals to capture it. 'On the approach of the Imperial forces,' says Lahori, 'Ali Mardan Khan conducted them into the fortress, and gave it up to them. . . .The Governor of Kabul was directed to proceed to Kandahar, and present a *lac* of rupees to Ali Mardan Khan. He was then to take the Khan to Kabul, and to send him under escort to the Imperial Court, with all his family and dependants. . . . . All the country of Kandahar with its fortress was annexed to the Imperial dominions.'[3] But this was only a short-lived triumph.

Loss of Kandahar. When the ambitious Shah Abbas II came to the throne, in 1642, Persia seemed determined to reconquer Kandahar. Owing to the minority of the Shah, however, the actual attack was not made until

1 *Shah Jahan-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 78-79.

2 *Ibid*, p. 83. The First Afghan War, under Lord Auckland, closed with a series of disasters greater than those of Aurangzeb in Balkh. Revolts broke out in all directions. The presence of the foreigners was detested by the Afghans, "and everybody in a responsible position behaved with unexampled folly." In December, 1841, the necessity of retreat to Jallalabad was recognized. A treaty was signed on 1st Jan., 1842 ; "the guns, muskets and ordnance stores having been previously given up. Snow fell ...on January 6, the dispirited army, still numbering about 4,500 troops and 12,000 followers encumbered by a train of *doolies* or litters bearing the women and children, started for Jallalabad. On the 8th only about 800 men of all arms emerged from the Khurd Kabul defiles....on the 11th only 200 were left. On the 13th, Dr. Brydon, sorely wounded, and barely able from exhaustion to sit upon the emaciated beast that bore him, reached Jallalabad and told that Elphinstone's army, guns, standards, honour, all being lost, was itself completely annihilated. Such was the consummation of a line of policy which from first to last held truth in derision, trod right under foot, and acting on a remote scene was enabled for a time unscrupulously to mislead the public mind." (Smith, *O.H.*, pp. 680-82).

3 *Badshah-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 64. Ali Mardan Khan later, as we have seen, served in the Badakhshan campaign. He was promoted up to a rank of 7,000 *zat* and *sawar*, and made successively Governor of the Punjab and Kashmir. The Ravi Canal, 49 *kosh* in length, near Lahore, was built during his governorship.

1648. Then, 'it reached the ear of royalty (Shah Jahan), through the representations of Daulat Khan, ruler of Kandahar, and Purdil Khan, Governor of Bust, that Shah Abbas II, having come to the sacred city of Tus (Mashhad-i-Mukaddas) with intent to rescue the Kingdom of Kandahar, had proceeded towards the confines of Khurasan, with all his matchlockmen and pioneers. It was, besides, reported that he had despatched men to Farah, Sistan, and other places, to collect supplies of grain, and having sent on a party in advance to Herat, was doing his utmost to block up the road on this side ; being well aware that, during the winter, owing to the quantity of snow on the ground, the arrival of reinforcements from Hindustan by way of Kabul and Multan was impracticable, he proposed advancing in this direction during that inclement season, and had despatched Shah Kuli Beg, son of Maksud Beg, his *wazir*, as expeditiously as possible with a letter to Court, and further that individual in question had reached Kandahar, and, without halting more than three days, had resumed his journey to the august presence.

'His Majesty, after hearing this intelligence, having summoned Allami Sadulla Khan from the metropolis, commanded him to write *farmans* to all the nobles and *mansabdars* who were at their respective estates, *jagirs*, and homes, directing them to set out with all speed for Court. It was likewise ordered that the astrologers should determine the proper moment for the departure of the world-traversing camp from the metropolis to the capitals, Lahore and Kabul.

'As soon as it reached the royal ear, ...that. . . .the Shah had arrived outside the fortress of Kandahar, and besieged it, the ever successful Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur was appointed to proceed thither with Allami Sadulla Khan, and some of the chief officers of State, such as Bahadur Khan, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Rustam Khan, Raja Bithaldas, and Kalich Khan. Besides these, there were upwards of fifty individuals from amongst the nobles, and a vast number of *mansabdars*, *ahadis* and archers, and matchlockmen—the whole number of whom, under the regulation requiring them to bring one-fifth of their respective rallies of fighting men into the field, would amount to 50,000 horsemen, and according to the rule enforcing a fourth, to 60,000—as well as 10,000 infantry, matchlock and rocketmen, etc. It was ordered that subsidiary grants of the money out of the State Exchequer should be made to the nobles and *mansabdars* holding *jagirs*, who were appointed to serve in this expedition, at the rate of 100 rupees for every individual horseman, which would be a *lac* for every hundred (thousand ?) ; that to those who drew pecuniary stipends in place of holding *jagirs*, three months' pay in advance should be disbursed ; and in like manner also to the *ahadis* and matchlockmen, who numbered 5,000 horse, should a similar advance be made ; so that they might not suffer any privations during the campaign from want of funds to meet their current expenses . . .It was further commended that the ever-victorious army should hasten to Kabul *via* Bangash-i-bala and Bangash-i-payin, as they were the shortest routes, and thence proceed by way of Ghazni towards Kandahar.'

In spite of all these elaborate preparations, however, Kandahar could not be retaken from the doughty Persians.

> 'Some of the Mughal *mansabdars*, *ahadis*, and matchlockmen too, having sprinkled the dust of treason on the heads of loyalty, entered into a league with them, and having come in front of the fort, declared that, in consequence of all the roads being closed, from the vast quantity of snow on the ground, there was no hope of the

early arrival of succour, and that it was evident from the untiring efforts of the Kazalbashi, that they would very shortly capture the fort, and after its reduction by force and violence, neither would there be any chance of their own lives being spared, nor of their offspring being saved from captivity. The wretched Daulat Khan, who ought instantly to have extinguished the flames of this sedition with the water of the sword, showed an utter want of spirit, by contenting himself with offering advice in reply. . . .

'After the fortress of Kandahar had been besieged for three months and a half, so that grain and fodder were beginning to be scarce, notwithstanding the praiseworthy exertions of the faithful servants of the Crown, owing to their having with them neither a siege train of battering guns, nor skilful artillerymen, the capture of the fortress seemed as distant as ever. For these reasons, and as the winter also was close at hand, a *farman* was issued to the illustrious Prince (Aurangzeb), to the effect that, as the reduction of the fortress without the aid of heavy guns was impracticable, and there was not now sufficient time remaining for them to arrive in, he should defer its capture till a more convenient opportunity, and start for Hindustan with the "victorious" troops. . . .the Prince did not deem it expedient to delay any longer, but in obedience to the mandate worthy of all attentions, set out with the "victorious" forces from Kandahar on the 8th of the month of *Ramzan* this year for Hindustan.'[1] (Sept. 3, 1649).

Second Siege of Kandahar. In May 1652, another effort was made to recover Kandahar, but with no better result. 'His Majesty despatched Allami with the multitudinous forces (resembling the waves of the sea), amounting, together with the army serving in Kabul, to 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry, including musketeers, gunners bombardiers, and rocket-men, for the purpose of conquering the country and fortress of Kandahar, Bust and Zamindawar. He was further accompanied by ten large and ferocious war-elephants, eight heavy and twenty light guns; the latter of which carried two, and two and a half *sir* (four and five lbs.) shot, and during an engagement, used to be advanced in front of the army; twenty elephants carrying *hathnals*, and 100 camels with *shuturnals*, besides a well-replenished treasury, and other suitable equipments. He was instructed to repair by way of Kabul and Ghazni to Kandahar, and about 3,000 camels were employed in the transport of artillery stores, such as lead, powder and iron shot. . .

'As it had been determined that the siege of the fortress should be commenced simultaneously with the arrival (of Aurangzeb) at Kandahar, the fortunate Prince, having finished marking out the positions that the royal forces were to occupy, invested the stronghold that very day. . . .For two months and eight days the flames of war burned fiercely, and on both sides numerous casualties occurred. . . . .To be brief, the royalists used the most strenuous exertions, and laboured with unremitting zeal and assiduity in carrying forward the parallels and zigzags of attack, and demolishing the crest of the parapet and the bastions. Nevertheless, as the fortress possessed immense strength and was filled with all the military weapons and stores required for an effective defence, their utmost efforts produced no impression, and owing to the storm of shot and shell that poured on them like a shower of rain from the fort, they were unable to

1 *Shah Jahan-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 86-96.

advance their trenches beyond the spot they had already brought them to. (The artillery proved ineffective).

'As soon as these particulars became known to His Majesty's world-adorning understanding, and he was informed that the capture of the fortress was at that period impracticable ; and it also reached the royal ear that the Uzbeks and Amans had come into the neighbourhood of Ghazni, and excited tumults. . . .a *farman* was issued to the illustrious Prince (Aurangzeb) on the 4th of *Shaban*, to withdraw his forces from around the fortress, and, deferring its capture till some other period, to take his siege train along with him and set out for Court.'[1] (July 9, 1652).

Third Siege of Kandahar. Despite the failure of the first two attempts, Shah Jahan resolved to make yet another effort in 1653. But this time the command was entrusted to Prince Dara instead of Aurangzeb. To follow Inayat Khan's narrative : 'As the Prince Buland Iqbal (Dara Shikoh), after the return of the army from Kandahar, and guaranteed to conquer that territory, and with this view the provinces of Kabul and Multan had been bestowed upon him, His Royal Highness, on reaching the capital, applied himself to the task of making the requisite arrangements for the campaign. In the course of three months and some days that he remained at Lahore, he made such profuse exertions, that what could not have been otherwise accomplished in a year was effected in this short period.

'Among the siege train was a gun called *Kishwar-kusha* (clime-conquering), and another *Garh-bhanjan* (fort-shattering), each of which carried an iron shot one *man* and eight *sirs* in weight (98 lbs) ; and they were worked by the gunners under the direction of Kasim Khan. There was also another large piece of ordnance that carried a shot of one *man* and sixteen *sirs* (1 cwt.), and was plied under the management of His Royal Highness's *Mir-i-atish*, as well as 30,000 cannon-balls, small and great. He also got ready 5,000 *mans* of gun-powder, and 2,500 *mans* of lead, measuring by Imperial weight, and 14,000 rockets.

'Having likewise collected as many grain-dealers as were procurable, he made arrangements for the army commissariat and the safe arrival of supplies. He then despatched a letter to Court, representing that as the moment of starting was fixed for the 23rd *Rabi-ul-awwal*, and the preliminary arrangements for the campaign had been completed, if the royal forces appointed to this enterprise received their dismissal, he would set out for Kandahar. A mandate in the auspicious handwriting was, therefore, issued, directing His Royal Highness to start off at the predetermined moment by way of Multan, on which road provisions and forage were abundant.'[2]

Dara left Lahore on February 11, 1653, and arrived at Kandahar on April 23, 1653. But a siege of over five months showed that, in spite of Dara's pompous equipment, Kandahar could not be conquered. A few minor fortresses were, no doubt, reduced, but the main objective remained unfulfilled. Again the old story repeated itself : 'The winter began to set in, all the lead, powder, and cannon-balls were expended, and neither was there any forage left in the meadows, nor provisions with the army. A *farman* likewise was issued to this effect, that as the winter was close at hand, and they had already been long detained in Kandahar, if the reduc-

1 *Shah Jahan-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 99-101.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 101-02.

tion of the fortress could not be effected just at once, they might stay if necessary some short time longer ; or otherwise return immediately. . .Not one of the royalist commanders proposed staying any longer. The Prince Buland Iqbal consequently, on 15th *Zil Ka'da* this year, set out from Kandahar for Hindustan.' (September 27, 1653).

Despite his colossal failure, Prince Dara was magnificently rewarded. 'On the 8th of *Rabi-us-sani* this year (1653-54), being the expiration of the sixty-fifth lunar year of His Majesty's age, a festival was celebrated with exceeding splendour, and was attended with the usual ceremonies. In this sublime assembly the Emperor kindly conferred on the Prince Buland Iqbal a handsome *khilat* with a gold-embroidered vest, studded with valuable diamonds round the collar ; on both sleeves, and the skirts, pearls had been sewn, and it was worth 50,000 ; and also a *sarband* compound of a single ruby of the purest water, and two magnificent pearls, of the value of a *lac* and 70,000 rupees, and a donation of thirty *lacs* besides. He also distinguished His Royal Highness by the lofty title of *Shah Buland Iqbal*, which had been applied exclusively to himseif during his late Majesty's reign ; and since in the days of his princehood a chair had been placed at the Emperor's suggestion opposite to the throne for him to sit on, he now in like manner directed His Royal Highness to seat himself on a golden chair that had been placed near the sublime throne.'[1]

"Trustworthy estimates," writes V. A. Smith, "place the cost of the three sieges of Kandahar (1649, 1652, 1653) at 12 'crores', or 120 millions of rupees, more than half of the annual income of the Empire, which is stated to have been 22 'crores', or 220 millions of rupees, in 1648. During Shah Jahan's reign the value of the rupee in English currency was usually taken at 2s. 3d. The Imperial revenue, therefore, may be reckoned as 24$\frac{3}{4}$ millions of pounds sterling, or in round figures, as about 25 millions."[2]

IV. The Deccan

The history of Mughal relations with the Deccan has already been narrated up to the commencement of Shah Jahan's reign. Akbar had annexed Khandesh in 1599, and captured Asirgarh in 1601, when he was suddenly called to the north on account of Salim's rebellion. He had also secured Berar which was then a part of the Nizam-shahi dominion of Ahmadnagar. Jahangir, in spite of his prolonged and elaborate campaigns in the Deccan, was unable to make any headway in the South. This was partly due to the quarrels among the Mughal generals, on the one hand, and the intrepid opposition of Malik Ambar (d. 1626), the Abyssinian minister of Ahmadnagar, on the other. However, thanks to the ability and prestige of Shah Jahan, the *status quo* was maintained. The Deccan, too, had been the refuge of many a rebel against the Empire. Shah Jahan himself had sought shelter there, with Malik Ambar and the King of Golkonda, during his rebellion as a prince. At the commencement of his reign the same story was repeated by Jajhar and Khan Jahan Lodi in the course of their insurrections. To prevent further repetitions of this nature, as well as to pursue his ancestral policy to its logical conclusion, therefore, Shah Jahan felt it necessary to subdue the three Deccan kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda.

Ahmadnagar

The reduction of Ahmadnagar became comparatively easy owing to the treacherous conduct of its officers, particularly Fath Khan, the unworthy son of Malik Ambar.

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 104-05.
2 Smith, *O.H.*, p. 403.

When this great Abyssinian died in 1626, the Mughal possessions in the Deccan included Khandesh, Berar, parts of Balaghat, and the fort of Ahmadnagar. But during the disturbed state of the Empire in the last year of Jahangir's reign, the Nizam Shah Murtaza II had virtually reacquired much of his lost territory, with the connivance of the peccant Mughal governor, Khan Jahan. When the latter, in the early years of Shah Jahan, made matters worse by his rebellion, a systematic compaign was launched against Ahmadnagar (then including Aurangabad, Jalna, Nasik, Baglana, and Kalyan). Azam Khan, the Mughal cammander, captured Dharur and Kandahar, and though his attempt at Parenda was foiled by a combination of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar forces, their guerilla tactics, and the shortage of supplies, he succeeded in devastating the whole country and threatened the extinction of the Nizam-shahi altogether. The internal weakness of the Sultanate enabled the Mughals to achieve their end without much trouble.

Fath Khan had been imprisoned for a second time, for his contumacious conduct, by Murtaza II. But the present crisis and the entreaties of Murtaza's wife, who was Fath Khan's sister, obtained his release and reappointment as *Vakil* and *Peshwa*. The 'superseded' officer, Muqarrab Khan, on this account went over to the enemy who rewarded him with the title of *Rustam Khan*. Fath Khan showed his gratitude and patriotism by imprisoning his own master and writing to Asaf Khan, 'informing him that he had placed Nizam Shah in confinement on account of his evil character and his enmity to the Imperial throne, for which act he hoped to receive some mark of favour. In answer he was told that if he wished to prove his sincerity, he should rid the world of such a wicked being. On receiving this direction, Fath Khan secretly made away with Nizam Shah, but gave out that he had died a natural death. He placed Nizam Shah's son Husain, a lad ten years old, on the throne as his successor. He reported these facts to the Imperial Court, and was directed to send the jewels and valuables of the late King, and his own eldest son as a hostage.'[1] Though Fath Khan temporised for a time to fulfil this, he ultimately yielded and sent to the Emperor 30 elephants, 9 horses, and jewellery worth 8,00,000 rupees. He also read the *Khutba*, and struck coins in Shah Jahan's name, upon which Shah Jahan left Burhanpur, on March 6, 1632, and returned to the capital.

"With Shah Jahan's return to the North, the first stage in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar came to a close. . . .Mainly, two considerations affected Shah Jahan's decision to return to the North ; first the outbreak of severe famine[2] which drained his resources and inconvenienced his men,

1 *Badshah-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 27.

2 Lahori's account of this famine is as follows : 'During the past year no rain had fallen in the territories of the Balaghat, and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. In the present year also there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries and a total want in the Dakhin and Gujarat. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity. Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy ; rank was to be sold for a cake, but none cared for it ; the ever-bounteous hand was now stretched out to beg for food ; and the feet which had always trodden the way of contentment walked about only in search of sustenance. For a long time dog's flesh was sold for goat's flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. When this was discovered the sellers were brought to justice. Destitution at length reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other, and the flesh of a son was preferred to his love. The numbers of the dying caused obstructions in the roads, and every man whose dire sufferings did not terminate in death and who retained the power to move, wandered off to the towns and villages of other countries. Those lands which had been famous for their fertility and plenty now retained no trace of productiveness.' The relief measures will be considered later. (E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 24).

and second, the death of his beloved wife, Mumtaz Mahal, which grieved him intensely.[1] He was disgusted with the Deccan and was unwilling to remain there. It was human frailty which overcame him on this occasion otherwise he seldom left things half done."[2]

But very soon Daulatabad proved the storm-centre of a fresh struggle. A dispute arose between Fath Khan and Shahu (whose allegiance to the Mughals has been previously mentioned) over certain grants of *jagirs* which were claimed by both. Consequently, Shahu, with the aid of the Bijapuris, prepared to besiege Fath Khan in Daulatabad. 'The latter was much incensed against the Nizam-shahis, and had no faith in them ; so he wrote to Khan-khanan Mahabat Khan, informing him that Shahuji Bhonsla was preparing to bring a force from Bijapur against him, and that as the fortress was ill-provisioned, there was great probability of its being taken, unless Mahabat Khan came to his assistance. If the Khan came quickly, he would surrender the fortress, and would himself proceed to the Imperial Court.'

'The Khan-khanan accordingly sent forward his son, Khan-zaman, with an advance force, and he himself followed on the 9th *Jumad-as-sani*.' He reached Daulatabad on March 1, 1633. In the meantime, the Bijapur army met with a reverse at the hands of Khan-zaman, and 'so they made offers of an arrangement to Fath Khan. They offered to leave the fortress in his possession, to give him three *lacs* of *pagodas* in cash, and to throw provisions into the fort. That ill-starred foolish fellow, allured by these promises, broke his former engagement (with the Mughals), and entered into an alliance with them. When Khan-khanan, who was at Zafarnagar, was informed of these proceedings, he wrote to Khan-zaman, directing him to make every exertion for the reduction of the fortress, and for the punishment of the traitor and the Bijapuris.' When Khan-khanan joined his son in the attack on Daulatabad, and stormed the fortress with shot and shell, Fath Khan 'woke up from his sleep of heedlessness and security. He saw that Daulatabad could not resist the Imperial arms and the vigour of the Imperial commander. To save the honour of his own and Nizam Shah's women, he sent his eldest son Abdur Rasul to Khan-khanan (laying the blame of his conduct on Shahuji and the Adil-khanis). He begged for forgiveness and for a week's delay to enable him to remove his and Nizam Shah's family from the fortress, while his son remained as a hostage in Khan-khanan's power. Khan-khanan had compassion on his fallen condition, granted him safety, and kept his son as a hostage. Fath Khan asked to be supplied with the means of carrying out his family and property, and with money for expenses. Khan-khanan sent him his own elephants and camels and several litters, also ten *lacs* and fifty thousand rupees in cash, belonging to the State, and demanded

1 She was, it will be remembered, the daughter of Asaf Khan, and hence Nur Jahan's niece. At the time of her death she was about 40 years of age, and had borne her husband eight sons and six daughters. Their married life of 19 years was unique in its happiness. She was deeply loved by Shah Jahan for whom she was really a guide, philosopher and friend. Her sudden death during the fourteenth childbirth, at Burhanpur, shocked and stupefied her husband. He did not appear at the *jharokha* for a week, and despised luxuries for two years. Like the Prisoner of Chilon, his hair suddenly turned white. Shah Jahan lived for 35 years more to mourn her irreparable loss. 'Empire has no sweetness, life itself has no relish left for me now,' he declared. His abiding love found its eternal monument in the Taj, perhaps the most unique enshrinement of a lover's heart yet to be seen in this world.

2 Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

the surrender of the fortress. Fath Khan sent the keys to Khan-khanan and set about preparing his own departure. Khan-khanan, then placed trusty guards over the gates.

'On the 19th of *Zil Hijja,* Fath Khan came out of the fort and delivered it up (June 17, 1633). The fortress consisted of nine different works, five upon the low ground, and four upon the top of the hill.[1] These with the guns and all the munitions of war were surrendered. . . .Khan-khanan went into the fortress, and had the *khutba* read in the Emperor's name.' The boy prince Nizam Shah was taken captive and imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior. 'The crimes of Fath Khan were mercifully pardoned ; he was admitted into the Imperial service, and received a *khilat* and a grant of two *lacs* of rupees per annum. His property also was relinquished to him, but that of Nizam Shah was confiscated.'[2] (Sept. 21, 1633).

Although this event virtually extinguished the Nizam-shahi dynasty for ever, it did not mean the total subjugation of Ahmadnagar at once. The Nizam-shahi and Adil-shahi officers still held out in some outposts which they would not surrender without a struggle. More than others, Shahuji, with his strong hold on Junnar, Poona, and Chakan, now proved as intrepid and resourceful as Malik Ambar had been in the previous reign. He created a *roi faineant* round whom he tried to rally all the Deccani forces, both Nizam-shahi and Adil-shahi.[3] But the Mughals proved too strong for him ; and he had to yield fort after fort to them. Murtaza Khan, governor of Daulatabad, Allah Vardi Khan, governor of Painghat, Khan Dauran, Khan Zaman, and other Mughal generals[4] hunted Shahu from place to place. Finally, Shah Jahan himself left Agra on Sept. 21, 1635, to direct the operations and reached Burhanpur in January, 1636. One by one Shahu's supporters and allies were either won over or neutralized by bribes and threats. Udgir, Ausa, Mahuli, and other fastnesses soon fell into Mughal hands. The account of this campaign in the *Badshah-nama* is as follows :

'Now that the Emperor was near Daulatabad, he determined to send Khan-dauran, Khan-zaman, and Shayista Khan, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels, and in the event of Adil Khan failing to co-operate with them, they were ordered to attack and ravage his territories. . . .Khan-dauran's force consisted of about 20,000 horse, and he was sent towards Kandahar and

1 The *Badshah-nama* gives the following description of Daulatabad :
'The old name of the fortress of Daulatabad was Deo-gir, or Dharagar. It stands upon a rock which towers to the sky. In circumference it measures 5,000 legal gaz, and the rock all round it scarped so carefully, from the base of the fort to the level of the water, that a snake or an ant would ascend it with difficulty. Around it there is a moat forty yards in width, and thirty in depth, cut into the solid rock. In the heart of the rock there is a dark and tortuous passage, like the ascent of a minaret and a light is required there in broad daylight. The steps are cut in the rock itself, and the bottom is closed by an iron gate. It is by this road and way that the fortress is entered. By the passage a large iron brazier had been constructed, which, when necessary, could be placed in the middle of it, and a fire being kindled in this brazier its heat would effectually prevent all progress. The ordinary means of besieging a fort by mines, *sabat* etc., are of no avail against it. (E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 41).

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 36-43.

3 'Nizam-ul-Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior but the evilminded Sahu,' says Lahori, 'and other turbulent Nizam-ul-Mulkis, had found a boy of the Nizam's family, to whom they gave the title of *Nizam-ul-Mulk*. They had got possession of some of the Nizam's territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 51).

4 Khan-khanan Mahabat Khan died at this stage.

Nander, which join the territories of Golkonda and Bijapur, with directions to ravage the country and to besiege the forts of Udgir and Usa, two of the strongest forts in those parts. . . .Khan-zaman's force also consisted of about 20,000 men. He was directed to proceed to Ahmadnagar, and subdue the native territory of Sahu, which lies in Chamar-gonda and Ashti near to Ahmadnagar. After that he was to release the Konkan from the grasp of Sahu, and upon receipt of instructions he was to attack and lay waste the country of Adil Khan. . . .

It now became known that Adil Khan, misled by evil counsels, and unmindful of his allegiance had secretly sent money to the commandant of forts Udgir and Usa. He had also sent Khairiyat Khan with a force to protect those two forts, and had commissioned Randaula to support Sahu. Incensed with these acts, the Emperor sent a force of about 10,000 men under Saiyid Khanjahan, ...to chastise him. Orders were given that he and Khan-dauran and Khan-zaman should march into the Bijapur territories in three different directions, to prevent Randaula from joining Sahu, and to ravage the country from end to end. If Adil Khan should awake from his heedless stupidity, and should pay proper obedience, they were to hold their hands; if not, they were to make every exertion to crush him. . . .

'Mukarramant Khan, the Imperial envoy, approached Bijapur, and Adil Khan fearing the consequences of showing disobedience, came forth from the city off five *kos* to meet him, and made great show of submission and respect. . . .But the envoy soon discovered that, although he made all these outward demonstrations through fear, he was really desirous of exciting disturbances and offering opposition. He made a report to this effect, and upon his arrival, the Imperial order was given to kill and ravage as much as possible in the Bijapur territories.

When Abdul Latif, the envoy to Golkonda, approached the city, Kutb-ul-Mulk came forth five *kos* to receive him, and conducted him to the city with great honour. . . .He had the *khutba* read aloud in the name of the Emperor ; he several times attended when *khutba* was read, and bestowed gifts upon the reader, and he had coins struck in the Emperors name, and sent specimens of them to Court.'

Adil Khan, finding that his territory was ravaged by the Mughal armies, at last submitted. 'He agreed to pay a tribute equivalent to twenty *lacs* in jewels, elephants etc., and engaged that if Sahu returned and surrendered Junir and the other fort in the Nizam-shahi territory to the Imperial officers, he would take him into his service ; but if Sahu did not do so, he would assist the Imperial forces in reducing the forts and punishing Sahu. . . .There was, therefore, no reason for the Emperor's staying any longer, and would be a great favour if he (Shah Jahan) would proceed to the capital, so that the *raiyats* and people of Bijapur might return peacefully to their avocations. The Emperor graciously consented, and resolved to go and spend the rainy season at Mandu. Adil Khan's tribute, ... arrived, and was accepted. The Emperor confirmed to him the territory of Bijapur and the fortress of Parenda, which had formerly belonged to Nizam-ul-Mulk, but the commandant had surrendered to Adil Khan for a bribe. He also confirmed to him all the country of Kokan on the sea-shore, which had been formerly held half by him and half by Nizam-ul-Mulk.' (May 6, 1636).

Aurangzeb's First Viceroyalty (1636-44)

'On the 3rd *Zil Hijja* the Emperor appointed Prince Aurangzeb to the government of the Dakhin. The country contains 64 forts, 53 of which are situated on hills; the remaining 11 are in the plain. It is divided into four *subas* : 1. *Daulatabad,* with Ahmadnagar and other districts, which they call the *suba* of the Dakhin. The capital of this province, which belonged to Nizam-ul-Mulk, was formerly Ahmadnagar, and afterwards Daulatabad. 2. *Telingana.* This is situated in the *suba* of Balaghat. 3. *Khandesh.* The fortress of this province is Asir, and the capital is Burhanpur, situated four *kos* from Asir. 4. *Berar.* The capital of this province is Ellichpur, and its famous fortress is called Gawil. It is built on the top of a hill, and is noted above all the fortress in that country for strength and security. The whole of the third province and a part of the fourth is in the Payin-ghat. The *'jama or total revenue of the four provinces is two Arabs of dams, equivalent to five crores af rupees.'* Both from a civil and military point of view, Aurangzeb's appointment proved particularly happy for the Empire.

Shahu's Submission

Shahu had declined entering the service of Adil Khan, and refused to surrender Junir and the other fortresses to the Imperial officers. Adil Khan, therefore, sent his forces, under the command of Randaula, to co-operate with the Imperial army in the destruction of Shahu, and the reduction of his fortresses.' This was accomplished at last by Khan-zaman, who, however, succumbed at the end of this struggle and died at Daulatabad 'from a complication of diseases of long standing. . . .Shayista Khan was appointed to succeed him in his command.'

According to Abdu-l Hamid Lahori, whose narrative we have followed so far, 'When the place (Mahuli) was hard-pressed, Sahu wrote repeatedly to Khan-zaman, offering to surrender the fortress on condition of being received into the Imperial service. He was informed that if he wished to save his life, he must came to terms with Adil Khan, for such was the Emperor's command. He was also advised to be quick in doing so, if he wished to escape from the swords of the besiegers. So he was compelled to make his submission to Adil Khan, and he besought that a treaty might be made with him. After the arrival of the treaty, he made some absurd inadmissible demands, and withdrew from the agreement he had made. But the siege was pressed on, and the final attack drew near, when Shahu came out of the fort and met Randaula half way down the hill, and surrendered himself with the young Nizam. He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khan, and to surrender the fortress of Junir and the other forts to Imperial generals . . . . Accordingly, the forts of Junir, Trimbak, Tringalwari, Haris, Judhan, Jund and Harsira, were delivered over to Khan-zaman . . . . Randaula under the order of Adil Khan placed the young Nizam in the hands of Khan-zaman, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Sahu. The last of the Nizam Shahs, here referred to, was also imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior where there were two other of the Nizams—one of whom was made prisoner at the capture of Ahmadnagar in the reign of Jahangir, and the other at the downfall of Daulatabad in the present reign.'[1]

This brought about the final extinction of the Nizam-shahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar. "Thus, after forty years of strife (1595-1636)," writes Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, "the affairs of the Deccan were at last settled. The position of the Emperor was asserted beyond challenge, his boun-

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 51-61.

daries clearly defined, and his suzerainty over the southern kingdoms formally established."[1]

Golkonda

The abject surrender of Kutb Shah to the imperious demands of Shah Jahan, described above, was due to several causes. In the first place, the Kutb-shahi had felt the might of the Mughal arms as early as 1629, when Bakir Khan, the Imperial Governor of Orissa, captured the strategic stronghold of Mansurgarh in the north of the kingdom. This was followed, a year later, by the invasion of Telingana by Naziri Khan the seizure of Kandahar,[2] and the reduction of nearly a third of that province. Secondly, Golkonda was weakened by her internal squabbles. Mir Jumla, a Persian adventurer from Ardistan, who started life as a jeweller, had entered the service of Kutb Shah, and risen to the position of the prime-minister. Ultimately, by virtue of his ability also as a general, he threatened to usurp the throne itself. Mir Jumla, 'in whose hands was the entire administration of Kutb-ul-Mulk's kingdom,' according to the *Shah Jahan-nama*, 'had, after a severe struggle with the Karnatakis, brought under subjection, in addition to a powerful fort, a tract of country measuring 150 *kos* in length, and 20 or 30 in breadth, and yielding a revenue of 40 *lacs* of rupees. It also contained mines teeming with diamonds, and no one of Kutb-ul-Mulk's ancestors had ever been able to gain possession of any portion of it. Having destroyed several strong forts built by the Karnatakis, he had brought this country into his power.'[3] His jealous master fearing Mir Jumla's growing power imprisoned his son. So, Mir Jumla appealed to the Mughal Court for intervention.

Aurangzeb's Second Viceroyalty (1653-57)

The ambitious and aggressive Aurangzeb, who had been viceroy in the Deccan for eight years, from 1636 to 1644, was again in the south at this time. In 1637 he had gone to the capital for his own marriage with Dilras Bano Begum, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan. Again in 1644, he went to Agra to see his sister Jahanara who was dangerously ill, being accidentally burnt, her skirt having caught fire over a candle. "She hovered between life and death for four months, and was not finally cured until November."[4] Mysteriously enough, when Aurangzeb was still in Agra, he was superseded in the South, and after a little over eight months sent to Gujarat (Feb. 16, 1645). In January 1647, he was transferred to Balkh, Badakhshan and Kandahar, whence, for no fault of his, he had to return discomfited in 1652. Aurangzeb's pride was mortified, and he

1 Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, I, p. 41.

2 'Naziri Khan had been placed in command of a force, with instructions to conquer the kingdom of Telingana. He resolved upon reducing the fort of Kandahar (about 75 miles east of Dharur, and 25 miles south-west of Nander), which was exceedingly strong, and the most famous one of that country. . . .The garrison kept up a discharge of rockets, mortars, stones and granades, but the storming parties pressed on. The conflict raged from midday till sunset, but the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently levelled and the defenders kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other mines. The garrison saw that the place must fall, and....made offers of surrender, which were accepted, and the Imperial troops took possession of the fortress....The siege had lasted for four months and 19 days, and the place fell on the 15th *Shawwal*.' (*Badshah-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 25-27).

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 108. Karnatakis here mean the subjects of the Raja of Chandragiri, representative of the Vijayanagar dynasty.

4 Smith, *O.H.*, p. 401. Smith discredits the familiar story of the English surgeon, Gabriel Boughton (Bowden), having cured the Princess in return for trade privileges for the E.I.Co. Boughton did not proceed to Agra until 1645, when Jahanara had already got well. (*Ibid.*, n. 1).

desired to redeem his reputation by persisting in the futile north-western campaign. But Shah Jahan had lost faith in him ; he said, 'If I had believed you capable of taking Kandahar, I should not have recalled your army.' Nevertheless, as Lane-Poole has observed, "the campaigns in Afghanistan and beyond the Hindukush, were of the greatest service to Aurangzeb. They put him in touch with the Imperial army, and enabled him to prove his courage and tactics in the eyes of the best soldiers in the land. The generals learnt to appreciate him at his true value, and the men discovered that their prince was as cool and steady a leader as the best officer in India. He had gone over the mountains a reputed devotee, with no military record to give him prestige. He came back an approved general : a prince, whose wisdom, coolness, endurance, and resolution had been tested and acclaimed in three arduous campaigns. The wars over the north-west frontier had ended as such wars have ended since, but they had done for Aurangzeb what they did for Stewart and Roberts ; they placed their leader in the front rank of Indian generals."[1]

Such was Aurangzeb when he assumed, for a second time, the viceroyalty of the Deccan (1653). Though he lingered for about nine months at Burhanpur, enthralled by the charms of Hira Bai *alias* Zainabadi Mahal, he soon took up his headquarters at Daulatabad, and set about improving the economic condition of his new charge. This, hower, we shall consider a little later. With his economic resources considerably increased by his wise fiscal reforms, burning for an opportunity to restore his prestige with his father by some fresh conquests, and not a little enthused at the prospect of striking a blow at the heretical Shia Sultans of the Deccan, Aurangzeb grasped the occasion provided by the invitation of Mir Jumla, with great alacrity. Determined and aggressive Imperialism was never at a loss for excuses !

Golkonda was in arrears of tribute. Abdulla Kutub Shah was ordered to make good the dues at once. He was also asked to release the interned members of Mir Jumla's family. But the real attitude and intentions of Aurangzeb are revealed in his unmistakable mandate to his son, Muhammad Sultan, whom he sent in advance.

"Qutb-ul-Mulk is a coward and will probably offer no resistance. Surround his palace with your artillery and also post a detachment to bar his flight to Golkonda. But before doing so, send a carefully chosen messenger to him, saying, 'I had so long been expecting that you would meet me and hospitably ask me to stay with you. But, as you have not done so, I have myself come to you.' Immediately on delivering this message, attack him impetuously, and, if you can manage it, *lighten his neck of the burden of his head.* The best means of achieving this plan are cleverness, promptitude and lightness of hand."[2]

Though Kutb Shah's neck was not lightened of the burden of his head, the expected happened. The fabulous riches of Golkonda were plundered, and Aurangzeb, who joined his son on Feb. 6, 1656, would have wholly annexed the kingdom, but for Shah Jahan's countermanding *farman.* Accordingly, the siege was raised on 30th March. Peace was concluded with Kutb Shah, whose daughter was also married to Aurangzeb's son, Muhammad Sultan, who (by a secret understanding) was to succeed Abdulla on the throne of Golkonda ; considerable remissions were made

1 Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*, pp. 346-47.

2 Sarkar, *Aurangzeb*, I, p. 208. The Court historian Inayat Khan, however, puts the blame on Kutb Shah who, according to him, 'under the influence of the fumes of arrogance, would not heed, etc.' (E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 109-10).

in the tribute due from Kutb Shah ; the district of Rangir (Manikdrug and Chinoor) was ceded to the Empire ; and Mir Jumla was admitted into the Imperial service, given the title of Muazzam Khan with rank of 6,000 and on the death of Sadullah Khan appointed prime minister of Shah Jahan. "The deceased minister," according to Smith, "although unfortunate in his military adventures, was reputed one of the best Muhammadan administrator whom India has known."[1]

Bijapur

For twenty years, since the treaty of 1636, Bijapur had enjoyed considerable prosperity under her able Sultan Muhammad Adil Shah. But, unfortunately, this great ruler died on Nov. 4, 1656, leaving his kingdom to his eighteen years old son and factions. Aurangzeb, ever watchful for an opportunity, obtained permission from Shah Jahan 'to settle the affairs of Bijapur in any way he thought fit'. Though Bijapur was not a vassal state, he put forward a claim to settle its succession on the absurd plea that the boy-Sultan was not the son of his predecessor but only an obscure pretender.

The Mughal armies once again flooded the Adil-shahi territory. Mir Jumla was called from the north to co-operate with Aurangzeb. The important fortress of Bidar (which had come into the possession of Bijapur in 1609) was the first to be besieged.

> This strong fortress was 4,500 yards in circumference (*dara*), and twelve yards high ; and it had three deep ditches twenty-five yards (*gaz*) wide, and fifteen yards deep, cut in the stone. The Prince (Aurangzeb) went out with Muazzam Khan (Mir Jumla) and reconnoitred the fort on all sides. He settled the places for the lines of approach, and named the forces which were to maintain them. Notwithstanding the heavy fire kept up from the bastions and the citadel, in the course of ten days Muazzam Khan and the other brave commanders pushed their guns up to the very edge of the ditch and began to fill it up. Several items the garrison sallied forth and made fierce attacks upon the trenches, but each time they were driven back with a great loss in killed and wounded. . . .' At the end of March, 1657, however, Bidar fell after a gallant resistance. 'The commandant of the fortress (Sidi Marjan), with great humility, sued for quarter and as he was mortally wounded and unable to move, he sent his sons with the keys of the fortress. They were graciously received by the Prince who presented them with *khilats*, and promised them the Imperial favour. On the day, after giving up the keys, the Prince entered the city, and proceeding to a mosque which had been built 200 years before, in the reign of the Bahmani Sultans, he caused the *khutba* to be read in the name of the Emperor. . . .This strong fortress was thus taken in twenty-seven days. Twelve *lacs* of rupees in money, and eight *lacs* of rupees in lead, gun-powder, stores, and other munition of fortress, were obtained, besides two hundred and thirty guns.'[2]

1 Smith, *O.H.*, p. 407.

2 'Bidar is a pleasant, well-built city,' writes the same chronicler, and stands on the borders of Telingana.' It is related in the *Historians of Hindustan*, that Bidar was the seat of government of the Rais of the Dakhin, and that the Rais of the Karnatak, Mahratta (Country), and Telingana were subject to the Rai of Bidar. Daman (Damayanti), the beloved of King Nala of Malva, whose story Shaikh Faizi has told in the poem entitled *Nal o Daman*, was daughter of Bhim Sen, the *marzban* of Bidar. Sultan Muhammad, son of Sultan Tughlak, first subdued the place After that it passed into the hands of the Bahmanis, and subsequently into the possession of the Kings of Bijapur. By the favour of God, it now forms part of the Imperial dominions. *Amal-i-Salih*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 124-26.

> Next, 'Intelligence reached the Prince that large bodies of the forces of Adil Khan were collecting at Kulbarga, and preparing for war. He consequently sent Mahabat Khan, with 15,000 well-mounted cavalry to chastise these forces, and not to leave one trace of cultivation in that country. Every building and habitation was to be thrown down, and the land was to be made a dwelling for the owls and kites. . . .Mahabat Khan (II) then revaged Kalyani, and continued his march. Every day the black-coated masses of the enemy appeared in the distance, but they continued to retreat. . . .'[1]

Kalyani, the ancient capital of the Chalukyas (40 miles west of Bidar), was besieged by the Mughals in May, 1657 ; it capitulated, after a brave defence, on 1st Aug., 1657. Now the road to Bijapur lay open to the invaders. But, as in the case of Golkonda before, Shah Jahan at the nick of the moment called off the campaign. Peace, however, left Bidar, Kalyani, and Parenda in the possession of the Mughals. The Sultan also agreed to pay an indemnity of $1\frac{1}{4}$ crores, a third of which was remitted by Shah Jahan. The illness of Shah Jahan and the ensuing disorders soon changed the whole face of affairs.

Disputed Succession (1657-58)

The sickening tale of the fratricidal war of succession need not detain us long. Though it lasted only a little less than a year, from the illness of Shah Jahan, in September, 1657, to the coronation of Aurangzeb, in July 1658, its trailing cloud of crime cast a portentous shadow over the future of the Empire. Kamran, Askari, Hindal, Hakim, Salim, Khusru, and Khurram had all been guilty of rebellion against their own ruling house. Humayun, otherwise humane, had been forced into a fratricidal war in spite of himself by the treachery of his brothers ; Jahangir, out of sheer impatience, had opened a dark chapter in the history of the Mughal Empire for the emulation of his succession ; Shah Jahan had secured his throne by the virtual murder of his brothers Khusru, Parviz, Shahriyar, and other relations. Aurangzeb was only following too closely the examples of his predecessors. The unfortunate, though perhaps unconscious, motto of the house seemed to be : '*Kingship knows no kinship*' ; the watchword of the brothers who were now at death-grips with one another appeared to be : '*takht ya takhta*'—either crown or coffin.

Prince Dara Shikoh, Shuja, Aurangzeb, and Murad were all uterine brothers. Their ages were respectively 43, 41, 39, and 33 years, at the time of this fateful struggle. The eldest seemed to be the father's favourite, and would have normally succeeded to the throne. Though he spent most of his time at the Capital with Shah Jahan, he was nominally the viceroy of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces. Shuja was governor of Bengal and Orissa ; Aurangzeb of the Deccan ; and Murad of Gujarat. All four were reputed soldiers, though each of the other three yielded the palm to Aurangzeb in point of steadiness and strength of character, astuteness, and generalship. In religious outlook also, Aurangzeb was as determined to uphold orthodox Sunni Islam as his brothers were either latitudinarian or namby-pamby. Dara was eclectic like Akbar, Shuja was Shia, and Murad, at least for political purposes, a hater of heresies. Hence the first combination of the younger two against the elder[2] ; once the discomfiture of the former was achieved the

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 126-28.

2 *Cf.* Saksena, *op. cit.*, pp. 324-26. "M. Amin, the author of *Zafarnamah*, says that after the failure of the 2nd Quandahar campaign, Shuja and Aurangzeb, on their way to their respective provinces, arrived together at Delhi, where they stopped for

latter were quits. Aurangzeb had the same axe for all, though Dara was executed to all appearances, on a charge of heresy and Murad on a charge of murder. Shuja escaped beyond the north-eastern frontier only to be done to death by the Arakanese. Dara's son, Suleiman Shikoh, was not treated more unkindly than Aurangzeb's own son, Muhammad Sultan, for crimes which were not dissimilar in the eyes of the fanatical Aurangzeb ; the former had fought for his father, and the latter for his father-in-law (and uncle) Shuja, who were equally heretical and, therefore, equally hateful,—both were imprisoned and then 'sent to hell'. But in spite of all this Aurangzeb was not a blood-thirsty fiend : as Smith writes, "Aurangzeb, while not shrinking from any severity deemed necessary to secure his throne, had no taste for indiscriminate, superfluous bloodshed ; and when he felt his power established beyond danger of dispute by the sons of his brothers, was willing to allow the youths to live."[1] Nay, he went a step further and married his two daughters, the third and the fifth respectively to Sipihr Shikokh (younger son of Dara) and Izid Bakhsh (son of Murad).

'As at a signal, straight the sons prepare
For open force, and rush to sudden war ;
Meeting like winds broke loose upon the main
To prove by arms whose fate it was to reign.'

The Fratricidal War

From the point of view of our study of the Empire no purpose would be served by going into the details of this war. When all is stated, it only illustrated the basic weakness of a system that could be set at naught at the merest illness of the Emperor ; the darker side of the family tradition of the house of Timur that exalted pelf and power above everything else ; and the consummate ability of Aurangzeb in diplomacy and war in contrast with the political impotency of his brothers. The circumstances which led to the discomfiture and death of the weaker parties may be briefly stated as follows :

1. When Shah Jahan fell ill, in September 1657, he formally nominated Dara Shikoh his successor, to avert the possible tragedy of a war of succession.[2]

six days to cement the bond of friendship between them (their common hatred of their eldest brother Dara) ...Shuja betrothed his daughter to Sultan Muhammad and Aurangzeb betrothed his daughter to Zain-al-abidin. On the receipt of the report of the serious illness of the Emperor, Aurangzeb, Shuja, and Murad opened a brisk correspondence between them. To expedite the exchange of letters, relays were established at convenient stages between Gujarat and Bengal by way of the Deccan and Orissa. Some of these letters, which have survived destruction and have come down to us, unfold a thrilling story of the plans made by these brothers to overthrow Dara. It is clear that the advance of Shuja from Bengal, and of Murad and Aurangzeb from the Deccan was according to a preconcerted agreement among them, in which they promised to meet near Agra....'If the enemy attacks only one of us, the other two should try to prevent him'."

1 Smith, *O.H.*, p. 412.

2 According to the *Inayat-nama* (cited *ibid.*, p. 325), Aurangzeb wrote to Murad : 'I understand that the influence of the enemy (Dara) in administration, transfers and appointments, has attained undesirable proportions. He is now trying to collect treasure and an army We should be very cautious at this time and should not write anything undesirable in our letters.' He also wrote to the Emperor (*ibid.*, pp. 329-30) : 'You no longer hold the control of political or financial affairs ; it is the eldest Prince who has usurped it ...As he cannot succeed against me, it would be better for him to retire to his *jagir* in the Punjab, and leave your service in my hands.'

But Manucci, who was in the service of Dara, has a different story from that implied above : 'Some authors,' he writes, recording what they have been told, say

2. In spite of this, on the 5th December, 1657, Murad proclaimed himself Emperor at Ahmadabad, struck coins and had the *khutba* read in his own name.

3. Shuja did the same at Rajmahal in Bengal, and marched with an army and fleet towards Benares which he reached on January 24, 1658.

4. Aurangzeb, quick to apprehend the situation, but too shrewd to precipitate matters, proposed to act, not in his own name, but in the interests of Islam and his younger brother Murad. The Empire was to be saved from the heresies of Dara and Shuja ; a third of the booty was to be given to Murad together with the Punjab, Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Sindh ; the rest to be retained by Aurangzeb himself.

5. Mir Jumla who was called to the north, by order of Shah Jahan, was not allowed by Aurangzeb to proceed from the Deccan. He was arrested and his army thus made available for Aurangzeb. Smith says, "The circumstances indicate that probably Mir Jumla connived at his own arrest. Certainly he did not resent it, nor did he fail to continue to give his ally invaluable support when released ....Mir Jumla's fine park of artillery proved to be extremely useful."[1]

6. At the beginning of February 1658, Aurangzeb too assumed Imperial prerogatives. On 3rd April, he crossed the Narmada and joined forces with Murad, near Ujjain.

7. On 15th April, 1658, the Imperial army, under Kasim Khan and Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur, was defeated at Dharmat, (14 miles S.-W. of Ujjain) by the rebel Princes. Jaswant Singh fled from the battle-field, but his wife would not give him shelter after such rank cowardice !

8. Dara Shikoh then encountered the rebels at Samugarh (8 miles to the east of Agra fort), on May 29, 1658. A mere accident in this well-contested battle, in which the Rajputs 'did honour to the traditions of their race,' turned the tide in favour of Aurangzeb. "*The battle* (of Samugarh)", as Smith says, "*really decided the war of succession.* All the subsequent efforts to retrieve the cause then lost, whether made by Dara Shikoh himself, by his son Suleiman Shikoh, or by Shuja and Murad Bakhsh, were in vain. Aurangzeb proved himself to be by far the ablest of the princes in every phase of the contest, which was not ended until two years later, in May 1660, when Shuja met his miserable fate."[2]

9. On 8th June, 1658, Aurangzeb took possession of Agra fort

that Dara seized his father and divested him of his power by force ; but I assert this to be a great untruth, for I know, and have tested it that Dara was quite submissive.' (*Pepys*, p. 51).

1 *O.H.*, p. 410.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 411.

The success of Aurangzeb was largely due to his better equipment and generalship. Manucci observes that although Dara's army made 'a brave and splendid show,' the greater number of them 'were not very warlike ; they were butchers, black-smiths, carpenters, tailors, and such like. It is true that on their horses and with their arms they looked well at a review, but they had no heart, and knew nothing of war.' (*Pepys*, p. 53). 'Dara', he further points out, 'had not sufficient experience in matters of war, having been brought up among the dancing-women and buffoons of his father, and gave undue credit to the words of the traitors.' (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

and imprisoned Shah Jahan therein for life.[1] Shah Jahan died there on 22nd January, 1666, gazing for the last time on the tomb of his beloved wife with whom he now lies buried.

10. Murad was apprehended on June 25, 1658, and finally imprisoned and executed at Gwalior, in December, 1661. A charge of murder was brought against him by the son of Ali Naki who was Murad's one time Diwan. The Prince was tried and condemned by a Kazi 'with all the forms of law.'

11. On July 21, 1658. Aurangzeb had himself crowned, though his formal enthronement was deferred until June, 1659.

12. Suleiman Shikoh had defeated Shuja at Barhanpur (near Benares) in February, 1658. Aurangzeb again routed him at Khajwah (Fathpur District), on January 5, 1659. Thence he fled to Arakan where he met with his death in May, 1660.

13. Dara was hunted from place to place through Multan, Sindh, Kathiawar and Gujarat. He was betrayed once near Ajmer, by Jaswant of Jodhpur. Finally, while he was trying to escape to Persia, he was again betrayed by Malik Jiwan Khan, the Afghan chief of Dhandar (near Bolan Pass), on June 9, 1658. The death of his beloved wife Nadira Begam (daughter of Parviz) had much distracted Dara. 'Death was painted in his eyes . . . .Everywhere he saw only destruction, and losing his senses became utterly heedless of his own affairs.' In the words of Khafi Khan, 'Mountain after mountain of trouble thus pressed upon the heart of Dara, grief was added to grief, sorrow to sorrow, so that his mind no longer retained its equilibrium....At the end of *Zil Hijja*, 1069 (Sept., 1659), the order was given for Dara Shikoh to be put to death under a legal opinion of the lawyers, because he had apostatized from the law, had vilified religion, and had allied himself with heresy and infidelity. After he was slain, his body was placed in a *howda* and carried round the city (as once before when he was alive). So once alive and once dead, he was exposed to the eyes of all men, and many wept over his fate. He was buried in the tomb of Humayun.'[2]

Dara, like Khusru, was an enlightened and popular Prince. Bernier, who was an eye-witness to these tragic happenings, records : 'Everywhere I observed the people weeping, and lamenting the fate of Dara in the most touching language. . . .from every quarter I heard piercing and distressing shrieks. . . .men, women, and children wailing as if some mighty calamity had happened to themselves.'[3] Several works are attributed to Dara

1 Manucci refers in touching terms to the sufferings and humiliation of Shah Jahan in his prison life, to which he was eye-witness : 'Going thus several times,' he says, 'I noted the imprisonment of Shah Jahan was closer than can be expressed. There passed not a day, while I and others were in conversation with the Governor (Itibar Khan), when there did not come in eunuchs to whisper into his ear an account of all the words and acts of Shah Jahan, and even what passed among the wives, ladies, and slave girls. Sometimes, smiling at what the eunuchs told him, he would make the company share in what was going on inside, adding some foul expressions in disparagement of Shah Jahan. Not content with this even, he sometimes allowed it to be seen that he treated him as a miserable slave....so that by force of ill-treatment, the wretched old man might die. I do not know how it was with the others who were present when this was done, but I certainly felt it much. I knew the dignity with which Shah Jahan lived when he was free and Emperor of Hindustan ; it was doubly sad when remembered that Itibar Khan was formerly slave of this same Shah Jahan, by whom he was given to Aurangzeb.' (*Ibid.*, pp. 111-12).

2 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, E. & D., *op cit.*, VII, pp. 244-46.

3 *Travels*, II, p. 544.
'Dara', writes Bernier, 'was not deficient in good qualities : he was courteous in

Shikoh : (1) *Sirr-ul-asrar*, a translation of the 50 *Upanishads* ; (2) *Majmua-ul-Baharain*, a treatise on the technical terms of Hindu *Vedanta* with *Sufi* equivalents ; (3) *Dialogue with Baba Lal* ; (4) *Sakinat-ul-awliya*, containing lives of the Muslim saints ; (5) *Risala-i-Lagnuma* ; and (6) a Persian translation of the *Atharva-veda*. The charges levelled against him were : (*a*) that he conversed with Brahmans, Yogis, and Sannyasis : (*b*) that he regarded the Hindu *Vedas* as revealed literature ; (*c*) that he wore rings and ornaments with the inscription '*Prabhu*' on them ; and (*d*) that he disregarded the injuctions of Islam regarding the observance of the fast of *Ramzan*, etc.

VI. Golden Age of the Empire

The Empire, for which the brothers fought so furiously, was yet to grow to its fullest extent in the next reign ; but it is certain that it was never more prosperous than during the thirty years (1627-57) of Shah Jahan's rule. In spite of the early rebellions, which were soon crushed ; in spite of the foreign wars of aggression beyond the frontiers, which cost enormously with no return whatsoever ; in spite of the famine in the Deccan and Gujarat, which devastated a vast portion of the country ; and, in spite of the constant fighting in the Deccan, which, while it resulted in the subjugation of Ahmadnagar, Golkonda, and Bijapur, also involved a great drain in the resources of the Empire, the age of Shah Jahan showed much that was glorious, and many an unmistakable sign of unique prosperity, to justify this period being described as the Golden Age of the Empire.

Prosperity

Rai Bhara Mal, in his *Lubb-ut-tawarikh*, records with admiration : 'The means employed by the King (Shah Jahan) in these happy times to protect and nourish his people, his knowledge of what made for welfare, his administration by honest and intelligent officers, the auditing of accounts, his care of the crown-lands and their tenants, and encouragement of agriculture and the collection of revenue, together with his punishment and admonition of evil-doers, oppressors and malcontents, all tended to the prosperity of the Empire. The pargana which had brought in three *lacs* in Akbar's reign now yielded ten, though some fell short, and those who increased the revenue by careful agriculture were rewarded, and *vice versa*. The expenditure of former reigns was not a fourth of the cost of this reign, and yet the King quickly amassed a treasure which would have taken years to accumulate under his predecessors.'[1]

conversation, quick in repartee, polite and extremely liberal ; but he entertained too exalted an opinion of himself ; believed he could accomplish everything by the powers of his own mind, and imagined that there existed no man from whose counsel he could derive benefit. He spoke disdainfully of those who ventured to advise him and thus deterred his sincerest friends from disclosing the secret machinations of his brothers. He was also very irascible ; apt to menace ; abusive and insulting even to the greatest Omarahs ; but this anger was seldom more than momentary. Born a Muhammadan, he continued to join in the exercises of that religion ; but although thus publicly professing his adherance to its faith, Dara was in private a Gentile with Gentiles and a Christian with Christians. He had constantly about him some of the Pundits or Gentile doctors, on whom he bestowed large pensions. He had, moreover, for some time lent a willing ear to the suggestions of the Rev. Fr. Brusse, a Jesuit in the truth and propriety of which he began to acquiesce.'

1 Lane-Poole, *Contemporary Sources*, p. 110.

According to Moreland (*The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 126), "Under Akbar the rapidly increasing Imperial expenditure was more than covered by the

European Criticism

European critics, partly judging by modern standards, and partly reluctant to acknowledge that India was ever more prosperous than in our own times, are rather chary to admit the truth of the above description, except grudgingly and with qualifications. Thus, we come across statements like the following : "The reign of Shah Jahan, which covers nearly thirty years, from 1627 to 1658, is *usually regarded* as the golden period of Mughal rule. It was *outwardly* a period of great prosperity. Foreign wars were few and unimportant ; at home there was peace and *apparent* plenty, and the royal treasury seemed full to overflowing. *Yet despite* the vast treasure which Shah Jahan had inherited from his father and grandfather ; *despite* the growth of a large trade between India and western Asia, which was *rendered possible by the existence of a strong Government in Persia ; despite* the establishment of the export trade with Europe, which certainly brought *some* profit to the Mughal Empire ; and *in spite of other apparent advantages, the reign of Shah Jahan sounded the knell of the Empire and of its economic system.*" The writer further elaborates : "To meet the expenditure of Shah Jahan's *extravagant bureaucracy* and to pay for the splendid architectural monuments, which alone would render his reign memorable, *an insupportable burden was laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses,* upon whom the very life of the Empire ultimately depended. *Thus, was engendered the national insolvency* which, becoming more marked during the reign of his successor, proved one of the most potent factors in the subsequent disintegrations of the great organization which he inherited from Akbar and Jahangir."[1]

A more skilful piece of subtle disparagement, which looks like impartial appreciation, is difficult to find. We do not seek to extenuate the crimes and shortcomings of Shah Jahan's reign ; but it is necessary to admit the undoubted prosperity of howsoever short a period without mixing up with it matters of an extraneous nature. Discussion of 'extravagant bureaucracies' and 'insupportable burdens laid upon the agricultural and industrial masses', as well as the 'engendering of national insolvency', would land us in controversies far beyond the scope of this work ; but it is certainly not permissible to father the sins of his successors upon Shah Jahan. In the first place the splendid 'extravagance' of Shah Jahan was never imitated by his puritanical successor Aurangzeb ;[2] on the contrary, the solicitude for the agriculturists, from whatever motive, was continued by Aurangzeb ; and lastly, the springs of Aurangzeb's actions are not to be traced to the initiative of his father whom he hated, imprisoned, and superseded. The complexity of forces that brought about 'the disintegrations of the great organization' of the Mughal Empire will be discussed in the proper place.

growth of the Empire, and reserves in cash were accumulated. Jahangir neglected the administration,....and....the annual income from the reserved tracts fell to 50 lakhs of rupees, while the annual expenditure was 150 lakhs, and the accumulated treasure was drawn on for large sums. *Shah Jahan on his accession, put the finances on a sound basis : he reserved tracts calculated to yield 150 lakhs, as income, fixed the normal expenditure at 100 lakhs, and had thus a large recurring balance for emergencies. Expenditure rose far above this limit but careful administration raised the reserved income to 300 lakhs (the figure given in Maasir-ul-Umra) by 1647, and to nearly 400 lakhs by the end of the reign.* Aurangzeb at first aimed to maintain the balance between income and expenditure, but his long wars in the Deccan were ruinous, and at his death only 10 or 12 crores of rupees were left in the treasury, a sum which was rapidly dissipated by his successors."

1 Edwards & Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 99. (Italics mine.)

2 "The puritan Aurangzeb cared for none of those things... generally speaking, the atmosphere of Aurangzeb's court was unfavourable to the arts." (Smith, *O.H.*, p. 419.)

To cite another example of the undue severity of biased criticism, Vincent Smith observes: "Shah Jahan has received from most modern historians, and especially from Elphinstone, treatment *unduly favourable*. The magnificence of his court, the extent and wealth of his Empire, the comparative peace which was preserved during his reign, and the unique beauty of his architectural masterpiece, the Taj, have combined to dazzle the vision of his modern biographers, most of whom have *slurred over his many crimes and exaggerated such virtues as he possessed.*"[1] In his zeal to correct this 'unduly favourable' picture of Shah Jahan, Smith has overshot the mark, and 'slurred over his many' virtues and 'exaggerated such' crimes as he was guilty of. Apart from Shah Jahan's personal failings as a son, as a brother, as a father, and finally as a widower, "in affairs of state," says Smith, "he was cruel, treacherous, and unscrupulous" ; though he does not fail to add "*perhaps not worse than most other kings of his time*, but certainly not better." Then, "he had little skill as a military leader," the organization and command of his army was inefficient. "*Shah Jahan's 'justice' was merely the savage, unfeeling ferocity of the ordinary Asiatic despot, exercised without respect of persons and without the slightest tincture of compassion.*" (Shades of Charles I and Louis XIV bear witness !) Peter Mundy and "other travellers bear similar testimony to *the misgovernment of the country.*" Bernier, "a highly trained observer," who was "deeply interested as a student in what he saw," and "free from personal bias for or against either Shah Jahan or Aurangzeb," is one that "cannot be brushed aside" as "a hostile European witness." "He speaks of the actual state of the country at the most brilliant period of Mogul rule, when the dynasty was fully established, rich beyond compare, and undisturbed by foreign aggression." His "pessimistic observations" and "gloomy impressions" regarding "the upper provinces" are then faithfully cited : 'Thus, do ruin and desolation overspread the land'—(Bernier's *Travels*, p. 231). "Similar ruin and tyranny had been the fate of the Deccan during the years from 1644 to 1653, in the interval between the first and second viceroyalty of Aurangzeb," when a great famine devastated the Deccan and Gujarat. "The prodigal expenditure and unexampled splendour of the court which occupy so prominent a place in most of the current descriptions of Shah Jahan's rule had therefore *a dark background of suffering and misery seldom exposed to view.*" Then follow "a few phrases of painful vividness" from the pen of "the official historian, Abdul Hamid," who "contrary to the frequent practice of writers of his kind, makes no attempt to disguise the horror of the calamity."

Yet Smith denies the 'gracious kindness and bounty' of Shah Jahan described by the *same* writer ; for, "so far as Mundy saw, *nothing to help the suffering people was done by the government* ; though "meantime, the camp of Shah Jahan at Burhanpur was filled with provisions of all kinds." Of course "*No statistics are on record*" ; but we are not without imagination ! Though "Even the nature of the consequent pestilence *is not mentioned*, it is almost certain that cholera must have carried off myriads of victims." For, "Sir Richard Temple, the editor or Mundy's work, has good reason for saying that 'it is worthwhile to read Mundy's unimpassioned, matter of fact observations on this famine,' *in order to realize the immensity of the difference in the conditions of life as existing under the rule of the Mogul dynasty when at the height of its glory and those prevailing under the modern British Government.*"[2]

1 *O.H.*, p. 415. (Italics mine.)
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 415-18, 393-94.

Other Side of the Picture

Nevertheless Elphinstone is perfectly right when he describes the Age of Shah Jahan as "*the most prosperous ever known in India, ...together with a larger share of good government than often falls to the lot of Asiatic nations.* Notwithstanding Shah Jahan's love of ease and pleasure. . . .he never remitted his vigilance over his internal government; and by this, and the judicious choice of his ministers, he prevented any relaxation in the system, and even introduced important improvements—such as his survey of the Deccan.[1]

"Khafi Khan, the best historian of those times, gives his opinion, that, although Akbar was pre-eminent as a conqueror and a lawgiver, *yet for the order and arrangement of his territory and finances and the good administration of every department of the state, no prince ever reigned in India that could be compared to Shah Jahan. . .*"

"Mandelslo describes Agra as at least twice as large as Isfahan (then in its greatest glory), with fine streets, good shops, and numerous baths and caravanserais. Nor was this prosperity confined to royal residences: all travellers speak with admiration of the grandeur of the cities, even in remote provinces, and of the fertile and productive countries in which they stood."

"Those who look on India in its present state may be inclined to suspect the native writers of exaggerating its former prosperity; but the deserted cities, ruined palaces, and choked-up aqueducts which we will see, with the great reservoirs and embankments in the midst of jungles, and the

1 "His ministers were men of the highest ability. Sad-Allah Allami, a converted Hindu, was the most upright statesman of his age; and Ali Mardan and Asaf Khan were men of approved integrity and energy." (Lane-Poole, *Aurangzeb*, p. 15).

The improvement of the administration in the Deccan was the work of Aurangzeb and Murshid Quli Khan. The former at that time was Viceroy in the Deccan. The latter was a native of Khurasan who had come to India in the train of Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor of Kandahar, who had come over to the Mughal side. He is said to have combined in himself 'the valour of a soldier with the administrative capacity of a civil servant.'

The maladministration of predecessors had considerably reduced the treasury and revenues. "At this time the civil and military expenditure of the Deccan, exclusive of the salary derived by the officers from their *jagirs*, produced an annual deficit of Rs. 20,36,000 which was made good by drawing the reserves stored in the treasuries of the Deccan....When appointing him to the Deccan, *Shah Jahan had urged Aurangzeb to pay special attention to the improvement of the peasantry and the extension of cultivation.* Aurangzeb had promised to do his best for these objects.. The new *diwan's* reforms consisted in extending Todar Mal's system to the Deccan. First he worked hard to gather the scattered *ryots* together and restore the normal life of the villages by giving them their full population and proper chain of officers. Everywhere wise *amins* and honest surveyors were deputed to measure the land, to prepare the record of well-marked out holdings (*taqba*), and to distinguish arable land from rocky soils and water-courses. Where a village had lost its headman (*muqaddam*) he took care to appoint a new headman from the persons whose character gave the best promise of their readiness to promote cultivation and take sympathetic care of the peasantry. The poorer *ryots* were granted loans (*taqavi*) from the public treasury, for the purchase of cattle, seeds and other needful materials of agriculture, and the advance was recovered at harvest by instalments."

His second reform was to adopt the system to the varying needs of each locality. Thirdly, "The revenue at the fixed rate of so many Rs. per *bigha* was assessed and collected after considering the quantity and quality of the crop from seed-time to harvest and its market price, and actually measuring the sown area. This became the prevalent system in the *subas* of Mughal Deccan and was known for centuries afterwards as the *dhara* of Murshid Quli Khan'. His excellent system, backed by his constant vigilance and personal supervision, led to the improvement of agriculture and increase of the revenue in a few years." (Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 26-29.)

decayed causeways, wells, and caravanserais of the royal roads, concur with the evidence of contemporary travellers in convincing us that those historians had good grounds for their commendation. . . .

'Shah Jahan was the most magnificent prince that ever appeared in India. His retinue, his state establishments, his largesses and all the pomp of his court, were much increased beyond what they had attained to under his predecessors. His expenses in these departments can only be palliated by the fact, that they neither occasioned any increase to his exactions, nor any embarrassment to his finances. . . .

"Notwithstanding the unamiable character given to him in his youth, the personal conduct of Shah Jahan seems to have been blameless when on the throne.[1] His treatment of his people was beneficent and paternal, and his liberal sentiments towards those around him cannot be better shown than by the confidence which (unlike most eastern princes) he so generously reposed in his sons."[2]

This certainly does not seem an overdrawn or 'unduly favourable, picture considering the almost unanimous verdict of unbiased observers, and in the clear light of facts. "Tavernier who had repeatedly visited most parts of India, says that *Shah Jahan 'reigned not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family and children'* ; and goes on to commend the strictures of his civil government, and speaks in high terms of the security enjoyed under it. . . .Pietro Della Valle, who wrote in the last years of Jahangir (1623), when things were in a worse state than under his son, gives the following account : 'Hence, generally, all live much after a genteel way ; and they do it securely as well, because the King does not persecute his subjects with false accusations, nor deprive them of anything when he sees them live splendidly, and with the appearance of riches (as is often done in other Mahometan countries)."[3]

Even Bernier, whose "gloomy impressions" are emphasized by Vincent Smith,[4] writes of the prosperity of Bengal under Shah Jahan in the following terms :

> *'Bengale abounds with every necessary of life ; and it is this abundance that has induced so many Portuguese, Half-castes, and other Christians, driven from their different settlements by the Dutch, to seek an asylum in this fertile kingdom. The Jesuits and Augustins, who have large churches and are permitted the free and unmolested exercise of their religion,* assured me that *Ogouli* (Hugli) alone contains from eight to nine thousand Christians, and that in other parts of the kingdom their number exceeded five-and-twenty thousand. *The rich exuberance of the Country,* together with the beauty and amiable disposition of the native women, *has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, that the Kingdom of Bengale has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure.*

1 "The popular view that the life of a Mughal Emperor was an increasing round of pleasure, lasciviousness, sport and sensuality, is refuted by the very minute details of his (Shah Jahan's) daily routine, which we come across in contemporary Persian histories. This routine was strictly adhered to, whether the Emperor was in camp or at the capital. And there is overwhelming evidence to prove that Shah Jahan led a strenuous life, and divided his time evenly between government and sport." (Saksena, *op. cit.*, p. 238 ; Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 1-15).

2 Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 600-03.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 600 n.

4 *O.H.*, p. 418. Smith himself does not fail to acknowledge : "Whatever be the view taken of the personal character of Shah Jahan or the efficiency of his administration it can hardly be disputed that his reign marks the climax of the Mogul dynasty and empire."—*Ibid.*, pp. 418-19.

'In regard to valuable commodities of a nature to attract foreign merchants, I am acquainted with no country where so great a variety is found. Besides the sugar, ...there is in Bengale such quantity of cotton and silks, that the kingdom may be called the common store-house for those two kinds of Merchandise, not of Hindustan or the Empire of the Great Mogul only, but of all the neighbouring kingdoms, and even of Europe. I have been sometimes amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloths of every sort, fine and coarse, white and coloured, which the Hollanders alone export to different places, especially to Japan and Europe. The English, the Portuguese and the native merchants deal also in these articles to a considerable extent. The same may be said of the silks and silk stuffs of all sorts. It is not possible to conceive the quantity drawn every year from Bengale for the supply of the whole of the Mogol Empire, as far as Lahore and Cabol (Kabul), and generally of all those foreign nations to which the Cottons are sent. . . .The Dutch have sometimes seven or eight hundred natives employed in their silk factory at Kassem-Bazar where, in like manner, the English and other merchants employ a proportionate number.

'Bengale is also the principal emporium for saltpetre. It is carried down the Ganges with great facility, and the Dutch and English send large cargoes to many parts of the Indies, and to Europe.

'Lastly, it is from this fruitful kingdom, that the best lac, opium, wax, civet, long, pepper and various drugs are obtained ; and butter, which may appear to you an inconsiderable article, is in such plenty, that although it be a bulky article to export, yet it is sent by sea to numberless places.'[1]

Shah Jahan Justice

Manucci has recorded that, when his patron Bellamont (who was the exiled Charles II's ambassador to the Mughal Court) died, two English impostors, pretending to be Imperial officers, wanted to appropriate to themselves all the effects and belongings of that stranger in the Empire. When Shah Jahan came to know of this, he ordered all the property to be restored to the rightful assignee of the dead envoy with the exception of an Arab horse 'which he kept for himself, *giving an order to pay to the said John (Young) one thousand pataca (Rs. 2,000) the price at which it had been valued. He took nothing else but the latter which was destined for him.*'[2] This unique conduct even towards an unknown stranger in the land but illustrates the Emperor's sense of fairness and justice towards all people. Bernier has also observed that 'in Hindustan every acre of land is considered the property of the king, and *the spoliation of a peasant would be a robbery committed upon the King 's domain.*'[3] In the light of these statements of disinterested Europeans, Rai Bhara Mal's eulogy regarding Shah Jahan's administration of justice is not difficult to understand : Says he,

'Notwithstanding the great area of this country, plaints were so few that only one day in the week, viz., Wednesday, was fixed upon for the administration of justice ; and it was rarely even then that twenty plaintiffs could be found to prefer suits, the number generally being much less. The writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion, when honoured with an audience of the King, heard His Majesty chide the *darogha* of the Court that although so many confidential persons had been appointed to invite

1 *Travels*, pp. 438-40.
2 *A Pepys of Mughal India*, p. 45.
3 *Travels*, p. 354.

plaintiffs, and a day of the week was set apart exclusively with the view of dispensing justice, yet even the small number of twenty plaintiffs could but very seldom be brought into Court. . . . *In short, it was owing to the great solicitude evinced by the King towards the promotion of the natural weal and the general tranquillity, that the people were restrained from committing offences against one another and breaking the public peace.* But if offenders were discovered, the local authorities used generally to try them on the spot (where the offence had been committed) according to law, and in concurrence with the law officers ; and if any individual, dissatisfied with the decision passed on his case, appealed to the governor or *diwan*, or to the *kazi* of the *suba*, *the matter was reviewed, and judgment was awarded with great care and discrimination lest it should be mentioned in the presence of the King that justice had not been done.* If parties were not satisfied even with these decisions, they appealed to the chief *diwan*, or to the chief *kazi* on matters of law. These officers instituted further inquiries, with all this care, what case, except those relating to blood and religion, could become subjects of reference to His Majesty.'[1]

Financial Administration

Moreland has indeed pointed out that *the reign of Shah Jahan was "a period of agrarian tranquillity,"* though the condition of the peasants became worse towards the beginning of the next reign.[2] This prosperity under Shah Jahan was largely due to his "careful administration", which raised the income of the State beyond all precedents.[3] The testimony of Rai Bhara Mal, already cited in confirmation of this, is sought to be disparaged by some on the ground that the actual orders of Shah Jahan on matters therein referred to are not traceable. Moreland is certainly not correct in describing the author of the *Lubb-ut-Tawarikh* as "a later writer" ; for the Rai himself speaks of 'the writer of this historical sketch on more than one occasion,' being honoured with an audience of the King (Shah Jahan)'. His account, we repeat, unmistakably points to the efficiency, benevolence, and undoubted prosperity of Shah Jahan's Empire.[4]

It is not possible here to make an accurate estimate of the extent of this prosperity.[5] We, therefore, give below only a few of its visible indications, from which readers might draw their own conclusions :

1. In 1647, Shah Jahan sent, as a thanks-offering, a jewelled candlestick 'to the revered tomb of the Prophet (on whom be the greatest favours and blessings !), an account of which is here given. . . . Having selected out of the amber candle-sticks that he had amongst his private property, the largest of them all, which weighed 700 *tolas*, and was worth 10,000 *rupees*, he commanded that it should be covered with a net-work of gold, ornamented on all sides with flowers and studded with gems, among which that valuable diamond[6] should be included. In short, that incomparable candle-stick cost two *lacs*

1 *Lubb-ut-Tawarikh-i-Hind*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 172-73.
2 Moreland, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 126.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 130 ; E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 171-72.
5 *Cf.* Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-20.
6 The diamond in question was got from Golkonda as part of its tribute, and weighed in its rough state 180 *ratis* : 'after his Majesty's own lapidaries had cut away as much of the outer surface as was requisite to disclose all its beauties there remained a rare gem of 100 *ratis* weight, valued by the jewellers at one *lac* and 50,000 *rupees*.' (*Shah Jahan-nama of Inayat Khan*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 84).

and 50,000 *rupees*, of which one *lac* and 50,000 was the price of the diamond, and the remaining *lac* the worth of all the gems and gold, together with the original candle-stick. Mir Saiyid Ahmad Said Bahari, who had once before conveyed charitable presents to the two sacred cities, was then deputed to take charge of this precious offering ; and an edict was promulgated to the effect, that the revenue collectors of the province of Gujarat should purchase a *lac* and 60,000 *rupees*' worth of goods for the sacred fane, and deliver it over to him, so that he might take it along with him from thence. Out of this, he was directed to present 50,000 *rupees*' worth to the Sheriff of Mecca ; to sell 60,000 *rupees*' worth and distribute the proceeds, together with any profits that might accrue, amongst the indigent of that sacred city ; and the remaining 50,000, in like manner, amongst those of the glorious Medina. The above named Saiyid, who was in receipt of only a daily stipend, was promoted to a suitable *mansab*, and having been munificently presented with a dress of honour and a donation of 12,000 *rupees*, received his dismissal.[1]

2. 'Notwithstanding the comparative increase in the expenses of the State during this reign, grants for the erection of public edifices and other works in progress, and for the paid military service and establishments, such as those maintained in Balkh, Badakhshan, and Kandahar, amounted, at one disbursement only, to fourteen *krores* of *rupees*, and the advances made on account of edifices only were *two krores* and fifty *lacs* of *rupees*. From this single instance of expenditure, an idea may be formed as to what the charges must have been under others.[2]

3. 'In the course of years many valuable gems had come into the Imperial jewel-house, each one of which might serve as an ear-drop for Venus, or would adorn the girdle of the Sun. Upon the accession of the Emperor, it occurred to his mind that, in the opinion of far-seeing men,the acquisition of such rare jewels and the keeping of such wonderful brilliants can only render one service, that of adorning the throne of the Empire. They ought, therefore, to be put to such a use, that beholders might share in and benefit by their splendour, and that Majesty might shine with increased brilliancy. It was accordingly ordered, that, in addition to the jewels in the Imperial jewel-house, rubies, garnets, diamonds, rich pearls and emeralds, to the value of 200 *lacs* of *rupees*, should be brought for the inspection of the Emperor, and that they, with some exquisite jewels of great weight, exceeding 50,000 *miskals* in weight and fourteen *lacs* of *rupees*, having been carefully selected, should be handed over to Be-badal Khan, the superintendent of the goldsmith's department. There was also to be given to him one *lac tolas* of pure gold, equal to 250,000 *miskals* in weight and fourteen *lacs* of *rupees* in value. The throne (which was ordered to be constructed) was to be three *gaz* in length, two and a half in breadth, and five in height, and was to be set with above-mentioned jewels. The outside of the canopy was to be of enamel work with occasional gems, the inside was to be thickly set with the rubies, garnets and other jewels, and it was to be supported by twelve emerald columns. On the top of each pillar, there were to be two peacocks thickset with gems and

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
2 *Lubb-ut-Tawarikh*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 171.

between each two peacocks a tree set with rubies and diamonds, emeralds and pearls. The ascent was to consist of three steps set with jewels of fine water. This throne was completed in the course of seven years at a cost of 100 *lacs* of *rupees*.'[1]

4. 'The following is an exact account of the founding of the splendid fort, in the above-named metropolis (Shahjahanabad), with its edifices resembling Paradise, which was constructed in the environs of the city of Delhi, on the banks of the river Jumna. It first occurred to the omniscient mind that he should select on the banks of the aforesaid river some pleasant site, distinguished by its genial climate, where he might found a splendid fort and delightful edifices agreeably to the promptings of his generous heart, through which streams of water should be made to flow, and the terraces of which should overlook the river. When, after a long search, a piece of ground outside the city of Delhi, lying between the most distant suburbs and Nurgarh, commonly called Salimgarh, was fixed upon for this purpose, by the royal command, on the night of Friday, the 25th *Zil-hijja*, in the twelfth year of his auspicious reign, corresponding to 1048 A.H., being the time appointed by the astrologers, the foundations were marked out with the usual ceremonies, according to the plan devised, in the august presence. Active labourers were then employed in digging the foundations, and on the night of Friday, the 9th of *Muharram*, of the year coinciding with 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.), the foundation stone of that noble structure was laid. Throughout the Imperial dominions, wherever artificers could be found, whether plain stone-cutters, ornamental sculptors, masons, or carpenters, by the mandate worthy of implicit obedience, they were all collected together, and multitudes of common labourers were employed in the work. It was ultimately completed on the 24th of *Rabi-ul-awwal*, in the twenty-first year of his reign, corresponding to 1058 A.H. ; at an outlay of 60 *lacs* of *rupees*, after taking nine years, three months, and some days in building.'[2]

5. The Taj Mahal, by common consent the most admired mausoleum in the world, enshrining the remains of Mumtaz-i-Mahal, Shah Jahan's beloved queen, who died on Tuesday, 7th June, 1631 (17 *Zil-kada*, 1040 A.H.) at Burhanpur, was built on a plot purchased from Raja Jai Singh (grandson of Raja Man Singh) south of Agra city, at a cost of 9 *krores* and 17 *lacs* of *rupees*,[3] according to the *Diwan-i-Afridi*. It was begun early in 1632 and completed in January, 1643, under the supervision of Mukarramat Khan and Mir Abdul Karim. The *Diwan-i-Afridi* also names the following artisans employed in its construction—"Amanat Khan Shirazi, writer of Tughra inscriptions, from Qandahar ; Master Isa Khan, mason, a citizen of Agra ; Master Pira, carpenter, a resident of Delhi ; Banuhar, Jhat Mal, and Zorawar, sculptors, from Delhi ; Ismail Khan Rumi, maker of the dome and the scaffolding supporting it ; and Ram Mal Kashmiri, gardener." It also gives a list of twenty varieties of precious stones set in the Taj, got from 'Qandahar', Ceylon, "the upper world", Nile, Basrah and Ormaz, Jodhpur, Kumaon, Makrana, Bamas, Yemen, Atlantic Ocean, Ghorband, Gandak, Baba Budhan, Mount Sinai, Gwalior, Persia and Assam.[4]

1 *Badshah-nama*, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.
2 *Shah Jahan-nama*, *op. cit* , pp. 85-86.
3 Only 50 *lacs* according to other estimates, see Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, p. 30.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 31-33.

Rev. H. Heras following the wake of V. A. Smith tried to make out a case for the Italian Geronimo Veroneo, as the architect of the Taj, on the testimony of two contemporary Jesuit Fathers, Manrique and De Castro. Veroneo was a Venetian jeweller who died at Lahore on 2nd August, 1640. Father Manrique appears to have got the information from De Castro (then Rector of the Jesuit College, Agra) who administered the last function to Veroneo at the time of his death. His statement is as follows :

> 'The architect of these works was a Venetian, by name Geronimo Veroneo, who had come to this part in a Portuguese ship and died in the city of Laor (Lahore) just before I reached it.
>
> 'The Emperor Corrombo (Khurram) paid him a very high salary. . . .Fame, the swift conveyor of good and evil news, had spread the story that the Emperor summoned him and informed him that he desired to erect a great sumptuous tomb to his dead wife, and he was required to draw up some designs for this, for the Emperor's inspection.
>
> 'The architect Veroneo carried out this order, and within a few days proved the great skill he had in this art by producing several models of the most beautiful architecture. He pleased this ruler in respect of the designs, but, in his barbaric pride and arrogance, His majesty was displeased with him owing to his low estimates, and it is said that, becoming angry, he told Veroneo to spend 3 *crores* of *rupees*, that is Rs. 300 *lakhs*, and to inform him when it was expended. This is so large a sum as to overawe one. If, however, as they used to say, the tomb had to be covered with gold plates, as had been done with the funeral urn which already held the remains of the Agarene Empress, such heavy expenditure was not surprising.'[1]

Sleeman, in his *Rambles and Recollections*,[2] suggests the name of another European architect, *viz.*, the French engineer, Austin de Bourdeaux whom he tries to identify with Ustad Isa Khan !

These views are contradicted by Sir John Marshall[3] and E.B. Havell[4] on grounds of faulty historical evidence and internal proofs of style.

Mr. Arthur U. Pope, more trenchantly declares : "The myth that the Taj Mahal was built by an Italian now belongs to the realm of bed-time stories."[5]

6. An idea of the wealth accumulated by the nobility may be had from the following account of Asaf Khan's property at the time of his death in 1641 A.D. It is, of course, not to be forgotten that Asaf Khan held a unique position in the Empire, by virtue of his relationship with the Emperor. The *Badshah-nama* states :

'He had risen to a rank and dignity which no servant of the state had ever before attained. By the munificent favour of the Emperor, his ***mansab*** was nine thousand personal and nine thousand horse, *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah*, the pay of which amounted to sixteen *krores* and twenty

1 *Cf.* Smith *History of Fine Arts*, etc., pp. 183-85 ; 416-18.
2 *Rambles and Recollections*, I, p. 385.
3 *Archaeological Survey of India Report* (1904-05), pp. 1-3.
4 *Indian Architecture*, pp. 33-39.
5 For a report of the controversy, see *The Examiner*, No. 11, pp. 123-25 (Bombay, 18th March, 1933) ; also Moin-ud-din Ahmad, *The Taj and its Environments*, pp. 16-30 (2nd ed., Agra, 1924).

lacs of *dams*. When these had all received their pay, a sum of fifty *lacs* of *rupees* was left for himself. . . .Besides the mansion which he had built in Lahore, and on which he expended twenty *lacs* of *rupees*, he left money and valuables to the amount of two *krores* and fifty *lacs* of *rupees*. There were 30 *lacs of rupees* in jewels, three *lacs* of *asharfis* equal to 42 *lacs* of *rupees*, one *krore* and 25 *lacs* in *rupees*, 30 *lacs* in gold and silver utensils, and 23 *lacs* in miscellaneous articles.'[1]

Comments

This vast wealth, though to all appearances concentrated in the hands of the Emperor and the nobility, and spent in war and luxury, could not have been extorted from an indigent peasantry. The only revolts under Shah Jahan were not reactions to the alleged oppression of the rulers, whether central or local, but the expression of the normal ambitions of medieval nobility. The only exception of this was the intransigent conduct of the Portuguese at Hugli, whose oppressions and exactions drew upon themselves the might of Imperial arms. Manucci has more than once observed how he sought fortune and security within the Empire, while he met with chicanery and risk to life in the European settlements. In one place he remarks, 'Joas Antunes Portugal was incensed at this affair (a just award, of money due to Manucci, by an impartial tribunal), and, in place of being sorry, sought means to take my life. If he did not succeed, it was because I did not remain in Goa, but returned to the Mogul Prince's service'[2] 'The fellows,' he writes about the Portuguese, 'glory in cheating foreigners without scruple.'[3] He found less personal liberty, to do even humanitarian work for the poor and indigent, in Portuguese than in Mughal India.[4]

Conditions, no doubt, were more unsettled in medieval times than now all the world over, and robberies on roads were not infrequent. But Shah Jahan did all in his power to render travelling within the Empire as safe as could be. One of the means he adopted was to provide caravanserais with proper equipments. 'For the use of wayfarers,' writes Manucci, 'there are throughout the realm of the Mogul on every route many *sarais*. They are like fortified places with their bastions and strong gates ; most of them are built of stone or of brick. In every one is an official whose duty it is to close the gates at the going down of the sun. After he has shut the gates he calls out that everyone must look after his belongings, picket his horses by their fore and hind legs, above all that he must look out for dogs, for the dogs of Hindustan are very cunning and great thieves !

'At 6 o'clock in the morning, before opening the gates, the watchman gives three warnings to the travellers, crying in a loud voice that everyone must look after his own things. After these warnings if any one suspects that any of his property is missing, the doors are not opened until the lost thing is found. By this means they make sure of having the thief, and he is strung up opposite the *sarai*. Thus, the thieves when they hear a complaint is made drop the goods somewhere, so as not to be discovered.

'These *sarais* are only intended for travellers (*soldiers do not go into them*). Each one of them might hold, more or less, from 800 to 1,000

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
2 *A Pepys of Moghul India*, pp. 223-24.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 224-25.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 221 ; see also pp. 134-36 and 220-31 for various other instances of oppression suffered by Manucci.

persons with their horses, camels, carriages, and some of them are even larger. They contain different rooms, halls, verandahs, with trees inside the courtyard, and many provision shops, also separate abode for the women and men who arrange the rooms and the beds for the travellers.'[1]

Famine Relief

The measures taken by Shah Jahan for the relief of the famine-stricken in the earlier part of his reign, when his treasury was not so full as later, are worthy of note. Writes Lahori :

> 'The Emperor in his gracious kindness and bounty directed the officials to Burhanpur, Ahmadabad, and the country of Surat, to establish soup kitchens, or alms-houses, such as are called *langar* in the language of Hindustan, for the benefit of the poor and destitute. Every day sufficient soup and bread was prepared to satisfy the wants of the hungry. It was further ordered that so long as His Majesty remained at Burhanpur, 5,000 *rupees* should be distributed among the deserving poor every Monday, that day being distinguished above all others as the day of the Emperor's accession to the throne. Thus, on twenty Mondays one lacs of *rupees* was given away in charity. Ahmadabad had suffered more than any other place, and so His Majesty ordered the officials to distribute 50,000 *rupees* among the famine-stricken people. Want of rain and dearness of grain had caused distress in many other countries (districts). So under the directions of the wise and generous Emperor *taxes amounting to nearly 70 lacs of rupees were remitted by the revenue officers—a sum amounting to nearly eight krores of dams, amounting to one-eleventh part of the whole revenue.* When such remissions were made from the exchequer, it may be conceived how great were the reductions made by the nobles who held *jagirs* and *mansabs.*'[2]

Similar measures were adopted for relief of distressed peasantry in Kashmir (1641) and the Punjab (1646), when there was famine on account of heavy rainfall. On the former occasion 50,000 people appealed to Shah Jahan for relief and he distributed among them Rs. 100,000, besides the provision of Rs. 200 worth of cooked food daily ; and at the same time sent Rs. 30,000 to Tarbiyat Khan for further relief measures, and ordered the opening of five kitchens for the distribution of soup and bread in Kashmir. This officer having failed to manage the situation well, he was replaced by Zafar Khan, who was given a further grant of Rs. 20,000. In the Punjab, likewise, ten kitchens were opened and Saiyid Jalal was commissioned to distribute Rs. 10,000 among the poor and destitute. "Sold children were ransomed by the Government, and restored to their parents. In February 1647, Shah Jahan sanctioned another thirty thousand rupees for relief measures in the Punjab."[3]

In the face of this, Vincent Smith declares, while the people were dying of starvation" the camp of Shah Jahan at Burhanpur was filled with provisions of all kinds," and "so far as Mundy saw, *nothing* to help the suffering people was done by the Government." With regard to the remission of taxes, above referred to, Smith dismisses them with the frivolous observation that *"The facts do not justify the historians' praise of the 'gracious kindness and bounty' of Shah Jahan. The remission of one-eleventh of the land revenue implies that attempts were made to collect*

1 *A Pepys of Moghul India*, p. 34.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.
3 Saksena, *op. cit.*, pp. 292-93.

ten-elevenths, a burden which could not be borne by a country reduced to 'the dire extremity,' and retaining no trace of productiveness.''[1]

At least two instances of the construction of canals to improve agricultural prosperity are on record. The *Badshah-nama* states :

(1) 'Ali Mardan Khan represented to His Majesty that one of his followers was an adept in the forming of canals, and would undertake to construct a canal from the palace where the river Ravi descends from the hills into the plains, and to conduct the waters to Lahore, benefiting the cultivation of the country through which it should pass. The Emperor .... gave to the Khan one *lac of rupees*, a sum of which experts estimated the expense, and the Khan then entrusted its formation to one of his trusted servants.' The canal even to this day bears witness.

(2) 'The canal that Sultan Firoz Shah Khilji, during the time he reigned at Delhi, had made to branch off from the river Jumna, in the vicinity of *pargana* Khizrabad, whence he brought it in a channel 30 Imperial *kos* long to the confines of *pargana* Safidun, which was his hunting-seat, and had only a scanty supply of water, had, after the Sultan's death, become in the course of time ruinous. While Sahab-ud-din Ahmad Khan held the Government of Delhi; during the reign of Emperor Akbar, he put it in repair and set it flowing again, with a view to fertilize the places in his *jagir*, and hence it was called *Nahr-i-Shah* ; but for want of repairs, however, it again stopped flowing. At the time when the sublime attention was turned to the building of this fort and palace (of Shahjahanabad), it was commanded that the aforesaid canal from Khizrabad to Safidun should be repaired, and a new channel excavated from the latter spot to the regal residence, which also is a distance of 30 Imperial *kos*. After it was thus prolonged, it was designated the *Nahr-i-Bihist*.''[2]

A further illustration of Shah Jahan's benevolent intention towards the peasantry is afforded by the same writer in the following statement :

'As it was represented that during the progress of the victorious forces towards Kandahar (in 1649 A.D.) a great deal of the cultivation of Ghazni and its dependencies has been trodden under foot by the army, the merciful monarch, the *cherisher of the people*, despatched the sum of 2,000 gold *asharfis*, in charge *of* a trusty individual, with directions *to inquire into the loss sustained by the agriculturists, and to distribute it among them accordingly*.'[3]

Art under Shah Jahan[4]

This account of the Golden Age of the Mughal Empire cannot be closed without at least a brief reference to the cultivation of fine arts. The construction of the Peacock throne and the building of the Taj Mahal, both of which took years to execute and gave employment to the finest workmen from all parts of the country, are but the best known of numerous works of art produced in this epoch. We have not the space to dwell at length on all phases of the cultural life under Shah Jahan ; but as Dr. Saksena, in his excellent study of the subject, has truly observed, "The prevailing peace in the country together with the personal interest of the sovereign gave a powerful impetus to the growth of art and literature. Poets, philosophers, scholars, artisans, all flocked to Court in search of patronage, and talent

1 *O.H.*, p. 394.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68 and 86.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
4 '*The Architecture of Akbar and Shah Jahan—a Comparative Study*,' Nandalal Chatterji, *I.C.*, IV, 1, July, 1937, pp. 123-26.

was but rarely disappointed. The King was never slow to recognize merit and rewarded it generously. His example was followed by his courtiers, who vied with one another in extending their patronage to really capable men."[1]

The *Moti Masjid* or Pearl Mosque was built at Agra in seven years (1645-53) at a cost of Rs. 300,000. In the words of St. Nihal Singh, it was "designed by a craftsman who possessed the skill to make stone suggest the struggle of the soul to soar above mundane entanglements. Built on a high plateau, with a spacious court of white marble, surrounded by a gallery and column made of the same stone, its white, delicately shaped domes rise above the red, solid-looking ramparts, powerfully conveying that idea."[2]

The *Taj Mahal*, details of the construction of which have already been given, seen from the *Samam Burj* or Jasmine Tower in Agra Fort (whence Shah Jahan gazed at it for the last time from his prison window), reveals "the pearly marble set off against the green foliage of the garden and the deep blue of the Indian sky, a sight the charm of which is never forgotten by any one who has had the good fortune to behold it."

"Perhaps the most entrancing view is to be had on a tranquil night, when the full moon floats overhead lighting up the tomb with an ethereal glow, and the mausoleum is mirrored in the calm surface of the Jumna. The closer one examines the Taj Mahal, the more one admires it. The minutest detail has been carefully thought out and executed with tireless patience. In inscribing texts from the *Quran* round the tall doorways the artists have shown themselves such masters of perspective that the letters thirty feet or more above the line of the eye appear to be exactly the same size as those a foot from the ground. The mosaic work is done with onyx, jasper, cornelian, carbuncle, malachite, lapis lazuli, and other precious stones."[3]

The Taj still attracts tourists from all over the world and is perhaps the most admired mausoleum ever built by man. Human expression fails to convey in words the delicate message of its exquisite beauty : It has nevertheless been described as 'A Dream in Marble,' as 'a summing up of many forms of beauty'. "It matters not," writes Mr. Gladstone Solomon, "that it was the autocrat Shah Jahan who made the Taj. From the moment of the first inception of its idea in the beauty-hunted mind of the Grand Mogul, the Taj became the property of the world. . . .Shah Jahan, the Oriental despot, was in this a greater Socialist than the most radical of our reformers. He believed in the community of Art. . . .so that the unending message of the Taj is still being unfolded."[4]

Shah Jahan's patronage was not confined to architecture alone, though one writer has observed : "Even if the entire mass of historical literature had perished, and only these buildings had remained to tell the

1 Saksena, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-47.
2 *India Old and New*, p. 72. Another writer has described it as 'a poem of fervent stone,' and observes : 'There is something more intense in the mystic impression of those denticulated arches, those white and blue perspectives, than in the flight of the Gothic perpendiculars....The serenity of the Greek temple has not that passion petrified in beauty... The sanctuary is alive, a mysterious soul throbs there between bliss and ecstasy." (D' Humieres, *Through Isle and Empire*, pp. 225-26, cited by Edwardes and Garrett, *op. cit.*, p. 311-12.)
3 *Ibid.*, p. 73. See 'Italian and Mughal Pietra-dura,' N. L. Chatterji, *J.U.P.H.S.* Dec. 1937 ; and 'The Development of Tomb Architecture under the Mughals, I, 4. Qureshi, *J.A.H.R.I.L.*, 2-3, July-Oct. 1941, pp. 167-77.
4 *Essays on Mughal Art*, pp. 56-58.

story of Shah Jahan's reign, there is little doubt that it would have still been pronounced as the most magnificent in history."[1] Both Persian and Hindi, prose and poetry, music, paintings[2] and dance, astronomy, mathematics, and medicine, all flourished equally. There were both Hindu and Muslim writers, scholars, and artists. Translations of great Sanskrit works were also made. Besides those attributed to Dara Shikoh may be mentioned the rendering into Persian of the *Prabodh Chandrodaya* by Munshi Banvali Das and the *Ramayana* by Ibn Har Karan ; Mulla Farid Munajjim, the greatest astronomer of the period, prepared the astral chart entitled *Zich-i-Shahjahani* ; Ataullah wrote a treatise on Algebra, Mensuration and Arithmetic, and dedicated it to the Emperor and Dara ; while Abdur Rashid translated *Bij Ganit* from Sanskrit.

"The period of Shah Jahan's reign," according to Dr. Saksena, "partially coincided with what is described as the most brilliant epoch in the development of Hindi literature and language. The Emperor could hardly remain aloof from its influence. He spoke Hindi, was fond of Hindi music, and patronized Hindi poets. The Hindi poets who were then connected with the court were Sundar Das, Chintamani, and Kavindra Acharya.[3] Shah Jahan delighted in Tan Sen's son-in-law, Lal Khan *Guna Samudra*, singing the *dhrupad* tune, which was the Emperor's favourite. Jagannath, the best Hindu musician of the age, "was exceedingly favoured by Shah Jahan," and received from him the title of *Maha Kavi Rai*. Sukh Sen was a master-player on the *rubab* or guitar, and Sur Sen on the *bin* or zither.[4]

Shah Jahan a paradox

In spite of all that has been said above, however, Shah Jahan still remains a paradox in some respects. The minute details of his daily routine, of which we have contemporary evidence, show him to have been a man of strenuous activity and great self-command ; but legend whispers many a tale of extreme self-indulgence verging on scandalous depravity for which, however, there seems to be little foundation.[5] His sense of fairness and justice was great ; yet, at times he was guilty of excessive cruelty ; though this was a common frailty of the age. He entertained many Hindus in his Court and service, and was ordinarily tolerant towards Christians, as mentioned by Bernier ; nevertheless, at times, he gave way to acts of intolerance, though sometimes not without provocation, as in the case of the Portuguese. But his destruction of Hindu temples is less intelligible. Says the author of the *Badshah-nama* :

'It had been brought to the notice of His Majesty that during the late reign many idol temples had been begun, but remained unfinished, at Benares, the great stronghold of infidelity. The infidels were now desirous of completing them. His Majesty, the defender of the faith, gave orders that at Benares, and throughout all his dominions in every place, all temples

1 Saksena, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-62.
2 "The artists of Shah Jahan allowed themselves to be largely influenced both by the old Hindu tradition and by study of European pictures....Many of the arts were endowed with unsurpassed keenness of vision and steadiness of hand. Some were able to use with success a brush consisting of a single squirrel's hair. The portraits of Shah Jahan's time, which are free from the stiffness common in the preceding and succeeding ages, are wonderfully life-like and often perfectly charming." (Smith, *O.H.*, p. 421.)
3 Smith, *O.H.*, p. 259.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 268. Read "*Bernier and Kavindra Acharya Saraswati at the Mughal Court*" by P. K. Gode in the Annals of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati, Vol. I, part IV—based on the contemporary *Kavindrachandrodaya* and Bernier's letter.
5 *Ibid.*, pp. 238, 336-42.

that had been begun should be cast down. It was now reported from the province of Allahabad that seventy-six temples had been destroyed in the district of Benares.'[1]

This was in 1633, now over three hundred years ago. It is further related that "Hindus were forbidden to dress in the Muslim style, to sell or drink wine openly or privately, to cremate their dead or burn the *satis* near Muslim graveyards ; and to purchase Muslim slaves of war."[2] These and other acts of petty persecution indicated that there was already a set-back in the tide of liberalism so well begun by Akbar. Yet, Della Valle refers to the prohibition of cow-slaughter in Cambay, and Manrique to strict injunctions against slaying of animals in Hindu districts.[3]

Dryden's lines best sum the sunset of this glorious career :

'Oh ! had he still that character maintained,
Of valour, which in blooming Youth he gain'd,
He promised in his East a glorious Race
Now sunk from his Meridian, sets a pace.
But in the Sun, whom he from Noon declines,
And with abated heat less fiercely shines,
Seem to grow milder as he goes away.
Pleasing himself with the remains of Day :
So he who, in his Youth, for Glory strove,
Would recompense his age with Ease and Love.'

—*Aurang-Zebe*.

GENEALOGY

AURANGZEB (1658-1707)

Muhammad Sultan (executed, 1676)	Muazzam (Bahadur Shah or Shah Alam I, 1707-12)	M. Azam (killed at Jajau, 1707)	Kambaksh (killed at Hyderabad, 1709)	Akbar (d. in Persia, 1704)

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 36.
2 Saksena, *op. cit.*, pp. 294-95.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 295. Lane-Poole observes : But Shah Jahan was too prudent a king to let religion override statesmanship. (*op. cit.*, p. 14)

CHAPTER 9

Post-Meridiem of the Empire

'The History of Aurangzib is practically the history of India for sixty years.... Under him the Mughal Empire reached its greatest extent, and the largest single State ever known in India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed.'

—JADUNATH SARKAR

'Aurangzib's life had been a vast failure, indeed, but he had failed grandly.'

—STANLEY LANE-POOLE

IT is indeed difficult to say how long exactly the sun shines brightest after he has reached the zenith ; but it is common experience that the midday glow continues for quite a length of time before one is aware that afternoon has come and sunset must follow soon. So it was with the Mughal Empire at the end of Shah Jahan's reign : The Golden Age was not yet quite past, but the long rule of Aurangzeb (1657-1707) saw it tarnish; and the death of the last of the Great Mughals began to show the iron at its core. Indeed, to vary the metaphor, the gilded tomb did worms infold ; and all that had glistered was not gold. The fifty years of Aurangzeb's Imperial sway saw what one recent writer has aptly described as "the turn of the tide".

Aurangzeb as Prince had shown great promise both as an administrator and as a general. On the throne he sat for quite as long a period as his great-grandfather Akbar. The half-century of rule in each case was full of incessant activity ; and of the two, Aurangzeb had certainly the better start in life. Akbar was a mere child when he succeeded to his father's precarious legacy ; his resources were scanty, his troubles great and many. Not so with Aurangzeb : his age was forty at the time of his accession. His dominion was sure, his wealth great, and his army better equipped and larger. Internally the Empire was at peace, and the machinery of Government at work for over three generations. Still did Aurangzeb fail. The key to his failure is his character. Once more we find the oft-repeated experience : the fortunes of the Empire turning on the pivot of the Emperor's personality. Aurangzeb was as fanatical as Akbar was liberal ; but both were equally zealous in the pursuit of their respective ideals. Aurangzeb aimed at and fatally succeeded in undoing the great work of Akbar. In the present reign, we but witness the untwisting of the chord of national life.

Aurangzeb has been described by some writers as a 'political paradox'. The unravelling of this enigma, however, requires a clear knowledge of the events of his reign. These, in our opinion, are better studied in a *logical* rather than a merely *chronological* order.

The present chapter is arranged as follows :

I. Early Career ; II. Frontier Wars ; III. North India ; IV. South India ; V. The Europeans ; and VI. The Riddle of Aurangzeb.

I. Early Career (1618-58)

Birth and Accession

According to Khafi Khan 'Aurangzeb was born in the year 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.) at Dhud, which is on the frontiers of the *Suba* of Ahmadabad and Malwa, whilst his father was *Subadar* of the Dakhin.[1] Sir J. N. Sarkar gives the date more precisely as "the night of 15th *Ziqada*, 1027 A.H. (24th October, 1618 A.D., Old Style)."[2] Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb was the sixth among fourteen children of Shah Jahan and Mumtaj Mahal. He first sat on his father's throne on 1st *Ziqada*, 1068 A.H. (21st July, 1658 A.D.) ; but his formal coronation took place on 24th *Ramzan*, 1069 (5th June, 1659), under the high-sounding title—Abdul Muzaffar Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb Bahadur 'Alamgir Padshah-i-Ghazi'. *Alamgir* or 'world-compeller', the title by which he was more familiarly known, appears to have been suggested by the Persian inscription on a sword presented to Aurangzeb by Shah Jahan.[3] It sums up correctly the spirit of the Emperor and forms the key-note of his ambition and rule.

The period of forty years inclosed by these two events was one of seed-time for Aurangzeb ; the fifty years that followed were to yield the expected harvest. The mile-stones in Aurangzeb's progress towards the throne may be briefly recounted.

Hostage to Jahangir

In June 1626, at the age of eight, Aurangzeb was sent to Lahore, together with Dara, as a hostage to Jahangir on account of Shah Jahan's rebellion. He obtained his release only on the death of Jahangir and the accession of Shah Jahan, on 26th February, 1628. With this year began his regular education, chiefly, among others, under Mir Muhammad Hashim of Gilam. He soon familiarized himself with the *Quran* and the *Hadis*, and became an adept at the writing of the *naksha* hand. 'His *nastaliq* and *shikasta* styles of writing were also excellent.' Though he had a dislike for poetry, the didactic variety was not neglected by him. His aversion to music, painting, and the fine arts has been made memorable in the familiar anecdote of the funeral of music ; the mourners in the cortege being asked by Aurangzeb to bury her (the Muse) deep, lest she should rise again ! These puritanical traits of the later Emperor had their beginning in the early life and training of the young prince.

Another incident of Aurangzeb's boyhood also indicated the promise of the cool courage and philosophical bent which were so characteristic of his manhood. In May, 1633, the Prince was watching an elephant fight when one of the infuriated animals rushed at him. But the dauntless stripling of less than fifteen summers never budged an inch. On the

1 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 213.
2 *Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 7. The birthplace was Dohad (22°50′ N. 74°20′ E.), a town south of Dohad Rly. Station (Western Rly., Panch Mahal District, Bombay Presidency).
3 Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, p. 359.

contrary he wounded the elephant with his spear and evoked the admiration of all present. When Shah Jahan chid him over his rashness, he only remarked : "If the fight had ended fatally for me it would not have been a matter of shame. *Death drops the curtain even on the Emperors ; it is no dishonour* !"

First Rung of the Ladder

On 13th December, 1634, Aurangzeb first set his foot on the official ladder when he was made commander of ten thousand horse. Next September, he was sent to suppress the Bundela rebellion, at the head of three armies. The issue of that expedition again typified the character of the supreme commander : the survivors of the *jauhar* were dragged to the Mughal *harem* ; two sons and one grandson of Jajhar were converted to Islam ; another son and a minister of the Raja, having refused to apostatize, were executed in cold blood. "The lofty temple of Bir Singh at Urchha was taken (end of October) and the spoils of war, including the buried treasure of Bir Singh, amounted to one *krore* of rupees."[1]

Viceroy of Deccan and Gujarat

The next step of Aurangzeb was nothing short of the viceroyalty of the Deccan to which he was appointed in 1636. The city of Aurangabad, which was named after him, was made the viceregal capital. The conquest of Udgir, Ausa, Baglana, etc., and the subjugation of the intrepid Maratha general Shahji and Kheloji Bhonsle were effected during this period, 1636-44. In this last year (1644) Aurangzeb was called to Agra by the illness of his sister Jahanara. Within three weeks of this he was deprived of his southern viceroyalty, rank and emoluments, it is said, owing to Dara's persistent hostility towards him. However, by the intercession of Jahanara he was appointed viceroy of Gujarat, 16th February, 1645. From here he was nominated to the command of the Balkh expedition in 1647. Within the short period of two years in Gujarat, Aurangzeb had shown sufficient administrative capacity and firmness.

Frontier Command

Though Balkh had to be restored to Nazir Muhammad, it was during this campaign that Aurangzeb distinguished himself by his cool and steadfast faith, kneeling for prayer in the midst of a raging battle. The enemy in generous admiration stopped fighting and exclaimed : "To fight with such a man is to court one's own ruin." Nevertheless, 'the war cost the Indian treasury four *krores* of rupees, while not an inch of territory was gained as the result of it.'[2]

From March 1648 to July 1652, Aurangzeb was Governor of Multan and Sindh, during which period also he was called upon to besiege Kandahar twice (1649 and 1652), with no better success, however, than in Balkh. But the failure was due to no fault of the commander.[3] The building of a new port in place of the silted Thatta was a sample of Aurangzeb's peaceful activities.

Aurangzeb was again sent to the Deccan (1652). Spending nine

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 21.
3 Shah Jahan was no doubt angry with Aurangzeb for what he supposed to prove the latter's incapacity. "But in truth," as Sarkar points out, "it is unjust to blame Aurangzeb for the failure to take Qandahar. Throughout the siege he was really second in command. The Emperor from Kabul directed every movement through Sadullah Khan. His sanction had to be taken for every important step. Aurangzeb's best justification was afforded next year, when a still vaster and costlier expedition against Qandahar led by Dara Shikoh met with an even more humiliating defeat."—*Ibid.*, p. 24.

months, which are unique in the puritan's life[1] at Burhanpur, he reached Aurangabad in November, 1653. The province had not prospered during his absence since 1644. A succession of incompetent viceroys had worked its ruin. Now, thanks to the efforts of Aurangzeb and his revenue minister, Murshid Kuli Khan, the province more than recovered its lost prosperity. The efficiency of both the administration and the army was improved by the dismissal of incompetent men, the inspection and supply of requisite stores and munitions, and the enforcement of proper training, etc. At the same time an annual saving of Rs. 50,000 was also effected. The conquest of Golkonda was pushed on until Shah Jahan ordered capitulation and retreat (April, 1656). The services of the capable Mir Jumla were enlisted for the Empire by creating him Prime Minister on the death of Sadullah Khan. Next year (1657) Bijapur was similarly invested. But the agents of Bijapur were busy at the Imperial capital. So at the moment of Aurangzeb's success, Shah Jahan accepted the terms of Adil Shah : Bidar, Kalyani, and Parenda were to be ceded together with the payment of a war indemnity of one *krore* of rupees.

Second Viceroyalty of Deccan

Thus, both Golkonda and Bijapur were saved from complete annexation owing to Shah Jahan's hasty overtures over the head of the Deccan Viceroy. To make matters worse, his illness, in September 1657, plunged the Empire in civil war.

Dara Shikoh, the heir presumptive, had been his father's favourite all these years. It was owing to his influence over Shah Jahan that Aurangzeb had been rather badly treated ; at least so the latter believed. His religious proclivities only alarmed Aurangzeb who was cherishing dreams of becoming the Defender of the Faith. His frequent transfers, disparagement, and interference by his father, irritated Aurangzeb beyond all patience. His suspicious nature more and more pointed to his eldest brother as the source of all mischief, present and potential. The censorship established by Dara over all news from the capital, during Shah Jahan's illness, made matters worse. Rumours of all variety escaped through the gagged silence. The jealous

Fratricidal War

1 Aurangzeb's love episode with Hira Bai (also called Zainabadi) finds no parallel in his puritanical life. This woman's 'supple grace, musical skill, and mastery of blandishments, made her the heroine of the only romance in the puritan Emperor's life. She was a slave-girl in the keeping of Mir Khalil who had married a sister of Aurangzeb's mother. "The vision of her matchless charms," writes Sir Jadunath, "stormed Aurangzeb's heart in a moment ; 'with shameless importunity he took her away from his aunt's house and became utterly infatuated with her.' So much so, that one day she offered him a cup of wine.... and the helpless lover was about to taste the forbidden drink when the sly enchantress snatched away the cup from his lips and said, 'My object was only to test your love for me, and not to make you fall into the sin of drinking !' Death cut the story short when she was still in the bloom of youth. Aurangzeb bitterly grieved at her loss and buried her close to the big tank at Aurangabad."—*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16 ; also see Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib*, pp. 41-46.

Aurangzeb's emotion at this time is enshrined in the words put into his mouth by Dryden in his tragedy, *Aurang-Zebe*. To Indumora (a fictitious character) he says :

'Love mounts, and rolls about my stormy mind,
Life-fire that's borne by a tempestuous wind.
Oh, I could stifle you, with eager haste !
'Devour your kisses with hungry taste !
Rush on you ! eat you ! wander over each part,
Raving with pleasure, snatch you to my heart !
Then hold you off, and gaze ! Then, with new rage,
Invade you, till my conscious limbs overflow !
So lost, so blest, as I but then could know !'

brothers only saw in this Dara's sinister motives : to usurp the throne, to imprison, or possibly murder the Emperor ! What then of the fate of his distant brothers ? What above all, Aurangzeb must have thought, of the fate of Islam in India ?

Murad set the example by proclaiming himself Emperor, in Gujarat, under the title of Maruwwaj-ud-din (5th December). He was all haste and fire. But Aurangzeb was caution itself. They concerted many plans together, and finally by the beginning of 1658 set their armies in motion.

Meanwhile Aurangzeb's diplomacy had already begun to work. Before he quitted the Deccan he took due precautions to pacify both Golkonda and Bijapur. He urged, no doubt, Kutb Shah to pay up his arrears of indemnity, but at the same time he ordered the Mughal envoy at Golkonda to do nothing that might jeopardize Mughal interests. To Adil Shah he offered a bait to keep Bijapur friendly : 'Remain loyal and keep your promises,' he wrote. 'I agree that (1) the fort of Parenda and its dependent territory, the Konkan, and the *mahal* of Wangi, which have been annexed to the Empire, together with that portion of the Karnatak which had been granted to the late Adil Shah, should be left to you as before ; and (2) out of your promised indemnity of one *krore* of rupees, thirty *lakhs* are remitted. Protect this country ; improve its administration. Expel Shiva who has sneaked into the possession of some forts of the land. Do you send me at least 10,000 cavalry. I shall grant you all the territory up to the bank of the Banganga.'[1]

Aurangzeb was also actively intriguing, though with utmost secrecy, to enlist the grandees of the Empire on his side ; they on their side knew how to secure their own interests, for it was well-known that Aurangzeb was by far the most experienced and capable among the brothers.

How Aurangzeb triumphed in the War of Succession that thus started has already been told in some detail. Nor need the sorrowful tale of the fate of the defeated brothers be repeated here again. Success proclaimed Aurangzeb's diplomatic and military ability.

'Birth-right's a vulgar road to kingly sway ;
'Tis every dull-got elder brother's way.
Dropt from above he lights into a throne ;
Grows a piece with that he sits upon ;
Heaven's choice, a low, inglorious, rightful drone.
But who by force a sceptre does obtain,
Shows he can govern that, which he could gain,
Right comes of course, whate'er he was before ;
Murder and usurpation are no more.'

II. Frontier Wars

The principal wars of Aurangzeb's reign waged to suppress the Hindu reaction to his oppressive religious policy. Apart from these there were also the political wars of conquest directed towards extension of territory. The frontier wars, in the north-east and the north-west were more or less of a punitive character.

Assam

Ever since the peace of 1639, there had been no trouble in the north-east of the Empire. But the inefficiency of Shuja's Bengal administration and the opportunity afforded by the Succession War encouraged the Ahoms to reassert their indepen-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

dence. In 1657, Prem Narayan, the ruler of Kuch-Bihar, sent an army into Mughal territory, ostensibly in pursuit of a recalcitrant vassal. Next year Gauhati, the capital of Kamrup, was plundered and occupied by the Assamese. But not until the end of the Civil War, in 1660, could the Mughals do anything to retrieve their position in this quarter. In that year Mir Jumla, the redoubtable lieutenant of Aurangzeb, was appointed Governor of Bengal, and ordered to 'punish lawless zamindars of the province, especially those of Assam and Magh (Arrakan).'[1]

On 1st November, 1661, Mir Jumla started on his great campaign from Dacca. His army consisted of 12,000 horse and 30,000 foot, besides a flotilla of over 300 war-vessels.[2] In six days' time the capital of Kuch-Bihar was taken and rechristened Alamgirnagar ; a mosque was built over its demolished temple, and the entire kingdom was annexed. Other victories soon followed : the enemy's fleet of 300 vessels was seized, and Jayadhwaj, Raja of Garhgaon, was expelled. The spoils taken were enormous : "82 elephants, 3 *lakhs* of rupees in cash, 675 pieces of artillery, 1345 camel-swivels, 1200 *Ramchangis*, 6750 matchlocks, 340 maunds of gun-powder, a thousand and odd boats, and 173 store-houses of paddy, each containing from 10 to 1,000 maunds of grain."[3]

But the outbreak of an epidemic of fever and flux, in August, carried away vast numbers of both the people and the army. In one Mughal corps alone, out of 1,500 troopers under Dilir Khan, only 450 were left. In the whole of Assam no less than 230,000 people succumbed to the catastrophe, in a single year. "In the Mughal camp no suitable diet or comfort was available for the sick ; all had to live on coarse rice ; no wheat, no pulse, no *ghee*, no sugar, and no opium or tobacco except a little at fabulous prices. A pipe of tobacco sold at Rs. 3, a *tola* of opium at a gold *mohar*, a seer of *mung-dal* at Rs. 10, and salt also at the same rate as the last. The Hindustani and Turki soldiers languished for want of wheaten bread ; the horses perished from eating rice."[4]

In all these trials and sufferings Mir Jumla retained his equanimity and lived and ate like any common soldier. When the rains ceased, he resumed the offensive, but he was not destined to complete this conquest. He was seized with pleurisy and fever which soon became very serious. So a treaty was signed with the Ahom king, through the mediation of Dilir Khan, in December, 1662. According to Khafi Khan, the Raja 'agreed to pay 120,000 *tolas* of silver, and 2,000 *tolas* of gold, and to present fifty elephants and *one of his ugly daughters* to the Emperor. He also agreed to present fifteen elephants and another daughter to Khan-khanan, together with some cash and goods. It was further agreed that of the conquered places a few forts and towns in cultivated districts near the frontier of Bengal should be attached to the Imperial dominions.'[5]

Mir Jumla died at Khizrpur, on the frontiers of Kuch-Bihar, on the 12th *Ramzan*, at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign of Aurangzeb (31st March, 1633). "No other general of that age," observes Sarkar in his well-merited encomium, "conducted war with so much humanity and justice, nor kept his soldiers, privates and captains alike, under such discipline ; no other general could have retained to the last the confidence and

1 *Ibid.*, p. 124.
2 The most powerful of these, called *ghurabs*, carried 14 guns and 60 men each, and were towed by 4 *kosas* or long row-boats.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 125.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28.
5 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 268. For further details see Sarkar, *op. cit.*

even affection of his subordinates amidst such appalling sufferings and dangers. The owner of 20 maunds of diamonds, viceroy of the rich province of Bengal, he shared with the meanest soldier the privations of the march and brought premature death on himself by scorning delights and living laborious days. He issued strict orders forbidding plunder, rape and oppression on the people, and saw to it that his orders were obeyed. The stern punishment which he meted out to the first few offenders had a salutary effect. We realize Mir Jumla's peculiar excellence more clearly by contrast with others. With a hero like Mir Jumla, rhetoric of the historian Talish ceases to be extravagance ; his eulogy of the general is not fulsome flattery but homage deservedly paid to a born king of men."[1]

Speaking of his campaign Prof. Bhattacharya writes : "It was the most daring and audacious piece of imperialistic venture, almost unparalleled in the annals of Mughal India, and has not probably been surpassed even in modern times."[2]

Despite these glorious exploits, however, the Mughals lost much at the close of the next four years. Under the ambitious Chakradhwaj, who ascended the throne in November, 1633, the Ahoms reconquered their possessions. Gauhati fell in November 1667 ; and all the efforts of the Mughals to recover it proved vain. Then the Ahoms fell on evil days, Kamrup having become prey to civil war. During the eleven years, 1670-81, seven kings sat on its throne, and not one of them died a natural death. The Mughals profited by this, and "took advantage of it to extend their sway over southern and eastern portions of the kingdom, conquering much of the present districts of Rangpur and western Kamrup, and forcing the Raja in 1711 to confirm these gains by treaty."[3]

The Afghans

The Pathans of the north-western frontier have ever been a perpetual source of irritation to all Indian governments. They have always been independent, but hardly ever united. This dubious heritage of theirs has been our advantage as well as disadvantage. Like monsoon clouds sometimes they have gathered thick and poured into the plains of the Punjab ; but soon they have found themselves scattered by the strong winds of inter-tribal jealousy. A strong government at Delhi has always acted on them as the blaze of the summer sun.

1. The beginning of 1667 was one such season of storm and stress. The Yusufzais under a great leader named Bhagu had assumed kingship and crossed the river Indus, above Attock, with a force of 5,000 clansmen blessed by Mullah Chalak, a man of saintly reputation. They were soon followed by other bands of marauders who spread over Peshawar and Attock districts like swarms of pestilential locusts. But the Emperor took strong measures, and by October 1667, they melted away with heavy losses. Muhammad Amin Khan, son of Mir Jumla, succeeded in quieting the frontier for a period of five years.

2. The next turn was that of the Afridis. In 1672 they rose under their tribal chief Acmal Khan, "a born general, who crowned himself king, struck coins in his own name, and proclaiming war against the Mughals, summoned all the Pathan clans to join the national movement and closed the Khaibar Pass."[4]

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31.
2 *Mughal N.E. Frontier Policy*, p. 395.
3 Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 133.
4 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

Muhammad Amin Khan was still in charge of Afghanistan, intoxicated with past success, failed to apprehend the force of the present rising. The result was the oft repeated tale of disaster. "Ten thousand men fell under the enemy's sword in the field, and above two *krores* of rupees in cash and kind was looted by the enemy. They captured twenty thousand men and women and sent them to Central Asia for sale." Even the family of M. Amin Khan was captured and had to be ransomed at a very heavy price. This victory fired the imagination of the tribesmen who now began to flock round the standard of Acmal Khan. The poet chieftain of the Khataks Khush-hal Khan, also joined the rebels, inspiring them 'with his pen no less than his sword.'

"The danger to the empire was very great : the rising was a national one, affecting the whole Pathan land 'from Kandahar to Attock,' and its leaders were also men who served in the Mughal army in Hindustan and the Deccan, and knew the organization, efficiency and tactics of the imperialists."[1] But Aurangzeb was not the man to be cowed or baffled by such a danger. M. Amin Khan was at once replaced by the more experienced Mahabat Khan. In the middle of November, 1673, Suja'at Khan and Raja Jaswant Singh were also sent with reinforcements. Though the want of co-operation among these generals led to another disaster in 1674, Mughal prestige was soon vindicated. Aurangzeb himself proceeded to Hasan Abdal (between Rawal Pindi and Peshawar), in June 1674, and for a year and a half personally directed the operations. After much fighting with reverses intermixed with victories, the Imperial forces finally emerged triumphant.

The result was as much due to diplomacy and intrigue, as to force and military tactics. "Many clans were won over by the grant of presents, pensions, *jagirs*, and posts in the Mughal army to their headman."[2] With the appointment of Amir Khan, in March 1677, as Viceroy at Kabul, a period of peace and prosperity followed. This able officer was a son-in-law of Ali Mardan Khan, and was ably assisted in his administration by his wife, Shahibi, who was a woman of great energy, tact, and wise counsel. Aurangzeb's policy of 'breaking two bones by knocking them together' (i.e., setting clan against clan and breaking both) was continued. The financial success of Amir Khan's regime is indicated by a despatch of his to Aurangzeb, dated 25th October, 1681, wherein he states, 'Six *lakhs* of rupees were allotted by Government to be paid to the Afghans for guarding the roads. I have spent one and a half *lakhs* and saved the remainder to the state.'

Still the Khataks continued to fight, and made the employment of Afghans against the Rajputs impossible ; on the contrary they diverted much of the military force from the South to their own suppression, and thus allowed Shivaji comparative freedom to attain the climax of his career (1676-79).[3]

III. North India

"The reign of Aurangzeb," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "is naturally divided into two equal parts of about 25 years each, the first of which he passed in Northern India and the second in the Deccan. During

1 *Ibid.*, p. 142 : *Cf.* Malbar rebellion of 1919.
2 Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 144. The part played by one Aga Khan in the suppression of the Afghans was of such ruthless character that his name was invoked by Afghan mothers to frighten children for years afterwards.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

the earlier of these two periods the centre of interest lies unmistakably in the North, not because the Emperor lived there, but because the most important developments, civil and military, concerned this region, while the South figured as a far off and negligible factor. In the second half of the reign the situation is reversed : all these resources of the empire are concentrated in the Deccan ; the Emperor, his court and family, the bulk of the army, and all his best officers live there for a quarter century, and Hindustan sinks back to a place of secondary importance."[1]

Apart from the two frontier wars already described, the disturbances in North India were of two classes : (*a*) revolts against Aurangzeb's religious policy ; (*b*) minor disorders created by pretenders, unsubmissive chieftains, or pirates. The latter may be disposed off with brief notices before proceeding to the former.

Minor Disturbances

Throughout the reign a series of pretenders caused some temporary excitement in different parts of the Empire. There were : a false Dara in Gujarat (1663), a false Shuja in Morang (west of Kuch-Bihar, 1669), another among the Yusufzai (1674), a third in Kashmir (1707), a bogus son of Shuja in Allahabad (1699), and a counterfeit Akbar in the Deccan (1699).

The principal chieftains or Rajas to cause the movement of armies were : (1) Rao Karan of Bikanir, who submitted towards the close of 1660 ; (2) Champat Rai Bundela (a collateral descendant of Bir Singh Dev), who after considerable fighting committed suicide together with his Rani Kali Kumari, rather than submit to the Mughal (1661)[2] ; (3) the Chero Raja of Palamau, whose kingdom was annexed to the *subah* of Bihar, (1661) ; (4) the rebel prince of Morang, who was forced into submission in 1664, and again in 1676 ; and (5) Raja Bahadur Chand of Kumaon, who after a protracted struggle (1665-1673) also submitted. The Buddhist ruler of Tibet too acknowledged Mughal suzerainty in 1665, as the result of an expedition led from Kashmir. The pirates of Chatgaon will be dealt with later in the section on Europeans. We now turn to the principal disturbances in North India which were due to Aurangzeb's wanton attacks on the Hindus.

Persecution of Hindus

The religious policy of Aurangzeb and his attitude towards non-Muslims in general together with a discussion of all its implications, will be taken up at the end of this chapter. The persecution of the Hindus was the most momentous feature of Aurangzeb's reign. But for it, in spite of his puritanism, his regime might have been one of the most glorious instead of being the most ominous and fateful. Despite the fact that Aurangzeb had in him nearly as much Hindu blood as Muslim, he turned out to be a bitter hater of the Hindus. His grandmother (Shah Jahan's mother) was a Hindu. Shah Jahan's father was only half Muslim, inasmuch as his mother too was a Hindu. One of Aurangzeb's own principal queens (Nawab Bai, the mother of his successor Bahadur Shah) was also a Hindu, being the daughter of the Rajput Raja, Raju, of the Rajauri State in Kashmir. So too was Aurangzeb's favourite Hira Bai with whom he fell head over heels in love at Burhanpur, during his second viceroyalty of the Deccan. Of his other wives, one was a Persian (Dilras Banu Begum), daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan, a scion of the ruling house of

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
2 Raja Chhatra Sal Bundela was the son of these parents.

Persia—the champion of the Shia sect ; another (Udipuri Mahal, the mother of Kam Bukhsh) was, according to the contemporary Venetian traveller Manucci, a Georgian slave-girl captured from Dara Shikoh's harem. What a long list of contaminating contacts ! But Aurangzeb's fanaticism was certainly not born in the *harem*, as Akbar's eclecticism is supposed to have been, by some writers.

That this bigoted policy was not fitful, as in the case of Shah Jahan's destruction of temples, but deliberate and relentlessly systematic, will be borne out by the following collocation of facts :

1. Wholesale destruction of Hindu temples.
2. Re-imposition of the hated *Jiziya*.
3. Exaction of heavier customs duties from Hindus.
4. Dismissal of Hindus from Imperial services.
5. Prohibition against the free exercise of their religious rites —*Holi* and *Divali*.
6. Prohibition of Hindu fairs.
7. Prohibition of wearing arms, fine dresses, and riding by Hindus.
8. Proscription of Hindu learning.

Destruction of Temples

"Aurangzeb began his attack on Hinduism," observes Prof. Sarkar, "in an insidious way."[1] He professed at first only to prohibit the building of new temples by the infidels.[2] Early in his reign local officers in every town and village in Orissa, from Cuttack to Medinipur, were asked to pull down all temples, great and small, built during the last ten or twelve years and *to allow no old temples to be repaired*.[3] The final step in this direction was the general order issued in April 1669. 'On the 17th *Zil kada*, 1079, it reached the ear of His Majesty, the Protector of the Faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan, and Benares, but especially in the latter, foolish Brahmans were in the habit of expounding frivolous books in their schools, and that students and learners, Musulmans as well as Hindus, went there even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. The Director of the Faith consequently issued orders to all the governors of provinces to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels ; and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship.'[4]

1 *Ibid.*, p. 155.

2 This is indicated by the Benares *Farman* of Aurangzeb, addressed to Abdul Hasan, dated February 28, 1659, granted through the mediation of Prince Sultan Muhammad Sultan. It reads :

'It has been decided according to our Canon Law that longstanding temples should not be demolished, but no new temple allowed to be built.... Information has reached our....Court that certain persons have harassed the Hindus resident in Benares and its environs and certain Brahmans who have the right of holding charge of the ancient temples there, and that they further desire to remove these Brahmans from their ancient office. Therefore, our royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways interfere with or disturb the Brahmans and other Hindus resident in those places '

(Cited by Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, pp. 319-20.)

3 Order issued on all *faujdars* of *thanahs*, civil officers (*Mutsaddis*), agents of *Jagirdars*, *kroris* and *amlas*—

'Every idol-house built during the last 10 or 12 years, whether with brick or clay, should be demolished 'without delay. Also, do not allow the cursed Hindus and despicable infidels to repair their old temples. Report of the destruction of temples should be sent to the Court under the seal of the *qazis* and attested by pious Shaikhs.' (*Ibid.*)

4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 183-84.

Aurangzeb's iconoclastic zeal appears to have been conceived very early in his life. In 1645, while he was Governor of Gujarat, he converted the temple of Chintaman into a mosque and named it *Quwat-ul-Islam*. He also ordered a cow to be slaughtered in the shrine. But the building was restored to the Hindus by order of Shah Jahan. However, when Aurangzeb came to power, he issued a *farman* (dated November 20, 1665) to the following effect :

"In Ahmadabad and other *parganahs* of Gujarat in the days before my accession [many] temples were destroyed by my order. They have been repaired and idol worship has been resumed. Carry out the former order."[1]

Among the famous temples thus destroyed in this tornado of fanatical fury, were those of Somnath in Kathiawar (rebuilt since Ghazni destroyed it). Vishwanath (Benares) and the *Dehra of Keshav Rai* (Mathura, built by Bir Singh Dev Bundela, at a cost of 33 *lakhs* of rupees). There was also wholesale demolition of temples in Kuch-Bihar, Ujjain, Udaipur, Jodhpur, Golkonda, Bijapur and Maharashtra.

A glint of the fanatical fervour is still preserved for us in the pages of the admiring chroniclers. The *Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri* writes :

> 'Glory be to God, who has given us the faith of Islam, that, in this reign of the destroyer of false gods, and undertaking so difficult of accomplishment has been brought to a successful termination ! This vigorous support given to the true faith was a severe blow to the arrogance of the Rajas, and, like idols, they turned their faces awe-struck to the wall. The richly jewelled idols taken from the pagan-temples were transferred to Agra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Nawab Begam Sahib's mosque, in order that they might ever be pressed under foot by the true believers. Mattra changed its name into Islamabad.'[2]
>
> Similarly, of the achievements in Jodhpur, the writer says, 'Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur returned from Jodhpur after demolishing its temples, and bring with himself several cart-loads of idols. The Emperor ordered that the idols, which were mostly of gold, silver, brass, and copper, or stone, and adorned with jewels should be cast in the quadrangle of the court and under the steps of the Jama mosque for being trodden upon.'

Only in Maharashtra Aurangzeb found the houses 'exceedingly strong and built solely of stone and iron'. He complains, 'The hatchet-men of the Government in the course of my marching do not get sufficient strength and power (i.e., time) to destroy and raze the temples of the infidels that meet the eye on the way.' So he ordered : 'You should appoint an orthodox Inspector (*darogha*) who may afterwards destroy them at leisure and dig up their foundations.'[3] How symbolic and ironical ! The Marathas did the digging of the foundations at leisure not of temples, but of the Mughal dominion !

In 1674, lands held by Hindus in Gujarat, in religious grants, were all confiscated.

Jiziya

'Fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay *jiziya* with the hand in humility,' said the Prophet of Islam (*Quran*, ix, 29). Yet this invidious tax had not been

1 Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 319.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp.184-85.
3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-24.

levied within the Mughal dominions since its abolition by Akbar more than a century before Alamgir, the World-Compeller, revived it. In the words of the official history compiled from State papers : 'All the aims of the religious Emperor being directed to the spread of the law of Islam and the overthrow of infidel practices, he issued orders that from *Rabi-ul* (2nd April, 1679), *jiziya* should be levied from the *zimmis* in accordance with the Quranic injunction.'

Sir Jadunath Sarkar from whom the above citation is taken, states, "The theory of some modern writers that the *jaziya* was only commutation money paid for exemption from military service is not born out by history." He also observes, "We shall not be far wrong in holding that the *jaziya* meant for the Hindus an addition of fully one-third to every subject's *direct* contribution to the State."[1]

The enthusiasm with which the poll-tax was collected by the more fanatical officers is illustrated by the conduct of Mir Abdul Karim, Prefect of the City of Burhanpur : he "increased the yield of the tax from Rs. 26,000 a year for the whole city to more than four times the amount in three months for half the city only (1682)."

The Emperor's attitude with respect to this special imposition was—"You are free to grant remissions of revenue of all other kinds ; but if you remit any man's *jaziya* which I have succeeded with great difficulty in laying on the infidels, it will be an impious change (*bidate*) and will cause the whole system of collecting the poll-tax to fall into disorder."[2] So when thousands of Hindus gathered to remonstrate to the Emperor, he gave them an hour's time to disperse, and then simply rode his elephants over their protests.[3]

Customs Duties

Unfortunately the *jiziya* was not the only invidious tax that the Hindus had to pay. 'An order was promulgated,' says Khafi Khan, 'exempting the commercial goods of Musalmans from tax throughout the dominions of Hindustan. But after a short time, upon the reports of revenue officers, and by recommendation of good and experienced persons, an order was issued that every article belonging to Musalmans, the price of which was not large, should pass free ; but that goods of value should pay duty. Goods belonging to partners were not to be troubled with duties. The revenue officers then reported that Musalmans had adopted the practice of dividing their goods into small parcels in order to avoid the duty, and that they passed the goods of Hindus in their names, and thus the payment of the *zakat* prescribed by the Law was avoided. So an order was given that, *according to the Law, two and a half per cent should be taken from Musalmans and five per cent from Hindus.*'[4]

Sarkar gives a slightly different version of this discrimination, but

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 311-12.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10.
3 See Khafi Khan, E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 296.
4 E. & D., *op. cit* , p. 293. "By an ordinance issued on 10th April, 1665," writes Prof. Sarkar, "the customs duty on all commodities brought in for sale was fixed at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the value in the case of the Muslims and 5 per cent in that of Hindu vendors. This was called the *mahsul* or duty, and must not be confounded with the *zakat* or tithes which all Muslims had to pay on the *increase* of their wealth, and the proceeds of which could, by the Quranic law, be spent on Muhammadans alone. On 9th May, 1667, the Emperor abolished the customs duty altogether in the case of Muslim traders, while that on the Hindus was retained at the old level." (*Aurangzeb*, III, p. 313 and p. 314).

the basic fact to be noted is that distinction was made between subjects on account of their religious creed. To be a Hindu was a disability.

Other Anti-Hindu Measures

In November 1665, Aurangzeb issued a proclamation in Gujarat to the following effect : 'In the city and *parganahs* of Ahmadabad (i.e., Gujarat), the Hindus following their superstitious customs light lamps in the night of *Divali*, and during the days of *holi* open their mouths in obscene speech and kindle the *holi* bonfire in *chaklas* and *bazars*, throwing into the fire the faggot of all people that they can seize by force or theft. It is ordered that in *bazars* there should be no illumination at *divali*, nobody's faggot should be taken by force or theft and flung into the *holi* bonfire and no obscene language used.'[1] Although the regulation regarding *holi* was undoubtedly a wholesome measure, its being coupled with the prohibition of *divali* illuminations, it was calculated to excite Hindu popular resentment.

Similarly, in 1668, following the example of Firoz Shah Tughlaq in the 14th century, Aurangzeb also forbade Hindu *jatras* at which, as Khafi Khan says, 'on certain days countless numbers of Hindus, men and women of every tribe, assemble at their idol temples, when *lacs* of rupees change hands in buying and selling, and from which large sums accrue to the provincial treasuries.'[2]

In 1671, it was laid down that all rent collectors in crown-lands ought to be Muslims. The provincial viceroys and *talukdars* were also called upon to dismiss their Hindu head-clerks (*peshkars*) and accountants (*diwanian*) and to replace them by Muhammadans. And to crown all, in March 1695, all Hindus excepting Rajputs were forbidden to ride wellbred horses, elephants, or *palkis*, and to wear arms.[3]

Hindu Reaction

This arbitrary rule provoked even the meek Hindus to rebel, and a large crop of troubles sprang from this sowing of the dragon's teeth.

Jat Rebellions

The first reaction showed itself in a series of peasant risings round about Mathura. "Some frantic attempts were made on the Emperor's life but they were childish and ended in failure." In June 1669, Qazi Abdul Mukaram was murdered by the disciples of a Hindu *sadhu* named Uddhav Bairagi, as the latter had been imprisoned 'for his seduction of men to false knowledge.' As a result both the murderers and the *sadhu* were put to death by order of Aurangzeb.

Abdun Nabi, *faujdar* of Mathura, had provoked the people by his destruction of a Hindu temple and the erection of a mosque on its site, in 1661-62. By order of Aurangzeb he had also forcibly removed, in 1666, the stone railing presented to the Keshav Rai temple by Dara Shikoh. Such acts became more and more frequent. Consequently, there was a rising of the Jat peasantry in 1669. In an attempt to put down the revolt under Gokla of Tilpat, Abdun Nabi was shot dead on 10th May, 1669. Reprisals followed, and towards the close of the year, or beginning of 1670, the rich temple of Keshav Rai was razed to the ground, and a mosque erected in its place. 'The den of iniquity thus destroyed,' writes Saki Musta'id Khan, 'it owed its erection to Nar (Bir ?) Singh Deo

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 283.
3 Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, p. 318.

Bundela ; an ignorant and depraved man . . . . Thirty-three *lacs* were expended on this work.[1] Lawlessness increased and spread towards Agra, until Gokla Jat's following numbered 20,000 strong. Finally, in one terrible engagement the rebel leader was taken captive and hacked to pieces. 4,000 of the victors and 5,000 of the rebels died fighting ; 7,000, including Gokla's family, were arrested, and forcibly converted with the exception of those who were proved innocent and released. During the campaign the Emperor, with admirable inconsistency[1] humanely detached 200 horsemen to guard the crops of the villagers and prevent the soldiers from oppressing any of them and taking any child prisoner.' Yet in March, 1670, Hassan Ali Khan was "engaged in slaying and capturing the rebels, plundering their houses, *extirpating their families*, and dismantling their strong (mud) forts."[2] Again, in June 1681, a *faujdar* in the environs of Agra was obliged to lead an expedition against the Jats, and got killed in the attempt. As late as 1688, the irrepressible Jats once more raised the standard of revolt under Rajah Ram, and after his death under Churaman Jat. They carried on a desultory warfare until the end of Aurangzeb's reign, and could not be subdued by that Emperor's decadent successors.'[3]

Satnami Rising

The *Satnamis* (or followers of the True Name of God) were a strange sect with their stronghold at Narnaul (75 miles S. W. of Delhi). Ishwardas Nagar, a contemporary historian, has described them as "extremely filthy and wicked. In their rules they make no distinction between Hindus and Musalmans, and eat pigs and other unclean animals. If a dog is served up before them, they do not show any disgust at it ! In sin and immorality they see no blame."[4]

In like manner the author of the *Ma'asir-i Alamgiri* also fulminates against them :

'It is cause for wonder that a gang of bloody, miserable rebels, goldsmiths, carpenters, sweepers, tanners, and other ignoble beings, braggarts and fools of all descriptions, should become so puffed up with vain-glory as to cast themselves headlong into the pit of self-destruction. This is how it came to pass. A malignant set of people, inhabitants of Mewat, collected suddenly as white-ants spring from the ground, or locusts descend from the skies. It is affirmed that these people considered themselves immortal ; seventy lives was the reward promised to every one of them who fell in action. A body of about 5,000 had collected in the neighbourhood of Narnaul, and were in open rebellion. Cities and districts were plundered. Tahir Khan, *faujdar*, considering himself not strong enough to oppose them, repaired to the presence. The King resolved to exterminate the insurgents. . . .The royal forces marched to the encounter ; the insurgents showed a bold front, and although totally unprovided with the implements of war, made good use of what arms they had. . . .The heroes of Islam fought with impetuosity, and crimsoned their sabres with the blood of these desperate men.'[5]

Khafi Khan's more sober narrative gives other details.

'One of the remarkable occurrences of this year (May, 1672)' he writes, 'was the outburst of the Hindu devotees called *Satnamis*, who are also known by the name of *Mundihs* (i.e., clean shaven fellows). There

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 184.
2 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 336 ; for a fuller account of these and other minor disturbances in North India between 1685-1707, see Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 397-402.
4 Cited by Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 337.
5 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 185-87.

were four or five thousand of these, who were householders, in the *parganas* of Narnaul and Mewat. These men dress like devotees, but they nevertheless carry on agriculture and trade, though their trade is on a small scale. In the way of their religion they have dignified themselves with the title of "Good Name," this being the meaning of *Satnam. They are not allowed to acquire wealth in any but a lawful calling. If any one attempts to wrong or oppress them by force, or by exercise of authority, they will not endure it.* Many of them have weapons and arms.

'At the time Aurangzeb was returning from Hassan Abdal, a strong altercation arose one day near Narnaul, between a man of this sect, who was engaged in agricultural work, and a man who was keeping watch over the harvest. The latter broke the *Satnami's* head with his staff. A number of *Satnamis* then collected and beat the watchman, so that they left him for dead. When intelligence reached the *shiqdar*, he assembled his men and sent them to arrest those *Satnamis.* Meantime numbers of the *Satnamis* assembled. They attacked the *shiqdar's* men, overpowered them, wounded several, and took away their arms. Their numbers went on increasing, and information was carried to Kar-talab Khan, *faujdar* of Narnaul. . . .To shorten a long story, suffice it to say that after several fights, the *faujdar* was killed, and the town of Narnaul fell into the hands of the *Satnamis.* They proceeded to collect the taxes from the villages, and established posts of their own. When the Emperor reached Delhi, he was informed of this outbreak, and he sent force after force to quell it, but they were all defeated and dispersed. It was said that swords, arrows and musket-balls had no effect upon these men, and that every arrow and ball which they discharged against the royal army brought down two or three men. Thus, they were credited with magic and witchcraft, and stories were currently reported about them which were utterly incredible. They were said to have magic wooden horses like live ones on which their women rode as an advance guard.

'Great *rajas* and veteran *amirs* were sent against them with powerful armies. But the rebels were eager for the fight, and advanced to about sixteen or seventeen *kos* from Delhi. The royal army went forth boldly to attack them ; but the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood, and some cowardly Rajputs, seized the opportunity to throw off their obedience, and to withhold the government dues. They even broke out into open violence, and the flames daily increased. The King ordered his tents to be brought out. He then wrote some prayers and devices with his own hands, which he ordered to be sewn on the banners and standards, and carried against the rebels. At length, by the exertions of Raja Bishan Singh, Hamid Khan and others, several thousands of them were killed, and the rest were put to flight, so that the outbreak was quelled.'[1]

The Sikhs

The Sikh religion, founded by Baba Nanak (1469-1539 A.D.), was the outcome of the impact of Islam on Hinduism. In the words of Bhai Gurudas : 'Truth is hidden both from the Hindus and the Muhammadans ; both sects have gone astray. But when they lay aside superstition they form one body of Sikhs.' The apostolate of the Sikhs, from Baba Nanak, the founder, to Guru Govind Singh, the last Guru, consisted of ten leaders. Their total regime lasted from 1469-1708, i.e., almost exactly synchronous with the Great Mughals, from Babur to Aurangzeb. The second, Guru Angad (1539-52), was a contemporary of Humayun (1530-56). The fifth, Guru Arjun

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 294-96.

(1581-1606), had become so important that, according to a contemporary, 'The Emperor (Akbar) and kings bow before him. Wealth ever cometh to him.' We have already observed the fate of this Guru under Jahangir : his sympathy with the rebellious prince Khusru ended in his virtual execution. His son and successor, Har Govind (1606-45), was cast in a martial mould. "I wear two swords," he said, "as emblems of spiritual and temporal authority. In the Guru's house religion and worldly enjoyment shall be combined." He had to undergo twelve years' confinement in Gwalior fort for his father's non-payment of the fine imposed upon him by Jahangir. Early in the reign of Shah Jahan (1628), Har Govind's pompous retinue came into conflict with the Imperial hunting party. This led to military retaliation, in which the Imperialists were routed with heavy loss at Sangrana, near Amritsar. But finally, the rebellious Guru was forced to take refuge at Kiratpur in the Kashmir Hills, where he died in 1645. Dara Shikoh paid frequent visits to Har Rai, the seventh Guru (1645-61), and was blessed by him. When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, he called upon Har Rai to answer for this : but Har Rai only sent his eldest son Ram Rai to the Imperial Court. The latter having fallen into the Imperial trap, was disinherited by the father who consequently at the time of his death (in 1661), nominated his second son, Har Kishen, successor. Ram Rai thereupon contested the *gadi* with the support of Aurangzeb. Har Kishen was sent for, but death snatched him away in 1664. However, the choice of the Sikh community now fell on Tegh Bahadur, the youngest son of Har Govind. In 1668, this new Guru appears to have fought in the Mughal ranks in the Assam war, under Ram Singh, son of Mirza Rajah Jai Singh. But on his return to the Punjab, "he was drawn into the whirlwind which Aurangzeb had raised by his policy of religious persecution. A soldier and priest could not remain indifferent while his creed was being wantonly attacked and its holy places desecrated."[1] So he threw himself heart and soul into the movement against forcible conversions that had been going on in Kashmir and other places. Such conduct was bound to arouse Imperial wrath sooner or later; and when that happened the Guru ended his life as a martyr.

There are different versions of the details of this tragedy. Prof. Sarkar says, "Taken to Delhi, he was cast into prison and called upon to embrace Islam, and on his refusal was tortured for five days and then beheaded on a warrant from the Emperor."[2] According to M'Gregor, Tegh Bahadur was sent for by Aurangzeb at the instigation of Ram Rai, as a usurper of the Sikh *gadi* : The Guru was told that unless he gave some explanation of his conduct, he should not be liberated. At length the Guru gave his answer, "Since you wish it, I will give the explanation required. I will place a written paper round my neck, which you cannot cut with a sword." Having said this, and written on a piece of paper, he tied it rounded his neck and then requested the Emperor to order some one to cut it ! The blow was given, and the head of the Guru rolled on the floor ! The paper was then read and contained these words :

"Sir dya aur Sirr na dya."[3]

Cunningham, on the other hand, writes : "Tegh Bahadur followed

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 354. The whole of the above account is abstracted from Sarkar, who quotes Khafi Khan to show that 'Aurangzeb ordered the temples of the Sikhs to be destroyed and the Guru's agents (*masanns*) for collecting the titles and presents of the faithful to be expelled from the cities.'

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 354-55.

3 i.e., "I gave my head, but not my secret."—M'Gregor, *The History of the Sikhs*, I, p. 67.

the example of his father with unequal footsteps, and choosing for his haunts the wastes between Hansee and the Sutlej, he subsisted himself and his disciples by plunder, in a way, indeed, that rendered him not unpopular with the peasantry. He is further credibly represented to have leagued with a Mahometan zealot, named Adum Hafiz and to have levied contributions upon rich Hindoos, while his confederate did the same upon wealthy Musulmans. They gave a ready asylum to all fugitives, and their power interfered with the prosperity of the country ; the imperial troops marched against them, and they were at last defeated and made prisoners. The Mahometan saint was banished, but Aurangzeb determined that the Sikh should be put to death." He was accordingly summoned to Delhi, where the incident described by M'Gregor took place. "Such is the narrative of a rude and wonder-loving people," concludes Cunnigham, "yet it is more certain that Tegh Bahadur was put to death as a rebel in 1675, and that the stern and bigoted Aurangzeb had the body of the unbeliever publicly exposed in the streets of Delhi."[1]

Finally, V. A. Smith gives a flattering anecdote in this connexion, for which, however, no definite authority is cited by him : "According to a famous story he (Teg Bahadur) was accused while imprisoned at Delhi of turning his gaze in the forbidden direction of the imperial female apartments. He replied to the charge by saying :

'Emperor Aurangzeb, I was on the top story of my prison, but I was not looking at thy private apartments, or at thy queens. I was looking in the direction of the Europeans who are coming from beyond the seas to tear down thy hangings (*pardas*) and destroy thy empire'."[2]

Tegh Bahadur, on his way to Delhi, anticipating his fate, had handed on the torch of hatred to his son and successor, Govind Singh. "Girding upon him the sword of Har Govind, he hailed him as the Gooroo of the Sikhs. He told him he was himself being led to death, he counselled him not to leave his body a prey to dogs, and *he enjoined upon him the necessity and the merit of revenge.*" At the time of these happenings Govind Singh was only fifteen years of age. "The violent end and the last injunction of the martyr Gooroo, made a deep impression on the mind of Govind, and in brooding over his own loss and the fallen condition of his country, he became the irreconcilable foe of the Mahometan name, and conceived the noble idea of moulding the vanquished Hindoos into a new and aspiring people."[3]

We need not trace in detail the personal history and training of Guru Govind for the task he had set himself."[4] "In the heart of a powerful empire he set himself the task of subverting it, and from the midst of social degradation and religious corruption, he called up simplicity of manners, singleness of purpose, and enthusiasm of desire. Govind was equally bold, systematic, and sanguine. He thought that the minds of men might be wrought upon to great purpose,. . . .and he believed the time had come for another teacher to arouse the latent energies of the human will. His memory was filled with the deeds of primaeval seers and heroes ; his imagination dwelt on successive dispensations for the instruction of the world,"[5] In short, Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and

1 *A History of Sikhs*, pp. 92-94.
2 *O.H.*, p. 454.
3 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-95.
4 *The Vichitra Natak*, which forms the Tenth Book of the *Granth*, is an autography of Guru Govind Singh.
5 Cunningham, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

last of the Sikh Apostolate (1676-1708), was one of whom it had been said : ' He could convert jackals into tigers and sparrows into hawks.' He inspired his followers with the belief that 'where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints ; where there are five Sikhs, there is God !' He made the Sikhs homogeneous by the abolition of all caste distinctions, and making them 'as free in matters of eating and drinking as a Muslman.' "I shall make men of all four castes, lions," he said, "and destroy the Mughals." He drilled and disciplined his men into a body of Ironsides. Indeed, as Prof. Sarkar has well observed : "If Cromwell's Ironsides could have been inspired with the Jesuits' unquestioning acceptance of their Superior's decisions on moral and spiritual questions, the result would have equalled Guru Govind's Sikhs as a fighting machine."[1]

To oppose Mughal Imperialism he assumed the outward insignia of its grandeur. He lived in princely state, "kept a train of poets in his court, and made plenty of gold ornaments for himself and his family. His bodyguards were provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of Rs. 16 each ; and he had a big war drum made in imitation of the Mughal imperial band."[2] But among fellow Sikhs he lived on terms of perfect equality. When he introduced the new baptism, to the great astonishment of his disciples, he received it in ret (?) at their hands ! When he reorganized the Sikh community as the *Khalsa* (the pure, or God's own people), he gave them the appellation of Singhs or lions. They were always to wear the five Ks : *Kes*—long hair, *Kanga*—a comb, *Kirpan*—a sword, *Kacch*—shorts, and *Kara*—a steel bracelet. The nature of the transformation is well indicated in the Guru's first address to his disciples : "Since the time of Baba Nanak," he said, "*Charanpahul* hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility ; *but Khalsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms.* Therefore, I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger and change my followers from *Sikhs* (disciples) to *Singhs* (lions)." Ere long he gathered together a formidable force of about 80,000 followers.

He had for a long time to contend with the local chieftains and *Rajahs* in Kashmir and the Punjab, then ultimately with the organized might of the Empire. In the course of these struggles, strongly reminiscent of the trials and tribulations, the fortitude and courage and determination of Rana Pratap Singh, he lost two of his sons in fighting, and two others gave their heads as the penalty for refusing to apostatise. On hearing of these losses the Guru uprooted a shrub by his side, and exclaimed, "As I dig up this shrub by the roots, so shall the Turks be extirpated."[3] Of course he did not live to achieve this ambition. But as Cunningham truly points out, success is not always the measure of greatness. "The last apostle of the Sikhs did not live to see his own ends accomplished, but he effectively roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people, and filled them with a lofty, although fitful, longing for social freedom and national ascendancy."[1]

The last act of Guru Govind breathing defiance was the letter he addressed to Aurangzeb, known as the *Zafar Nama.* When the Emperor summoned him to his presencc, he wrote to him declaring—

'I have not a particle of confidence in thee. I was forced to

Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-59.
Ibid., p. 359.
A similar anecdote is related of Chanakya re the Nandas.
Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

engage in the combat and fought to the utmost of my ability. When an affair passeth beyond the reign of diplomacy, it is lawful to have recourse to the sword. If thou come to the village of Kangar, we shall have an interview. Thou shall not run the slightest danger on the way, for the whole tribe of Bairars are under me. I am a slave and servant of the King of kings and ready to obey His order with my life. If thou hast any belief in God, delay not in this matter. It is thy duty to know God. He never ordered thee to annoy others. Thou art seated on an Emperor's throne ; yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion ! Alas ! A hundred times alas ! for thy sovereignty ! Strange, strange is thy decree ! Smite not any one mercilessly with thy sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not reckless, fear God. He is the Emperor of earth and heaven. He is the Creator of all animals from the feeble ant to the strong elephant. He is the Protector of the miserable and destroyer of the reckless. What, though my four sons were killed ? I remain behind like a coiled snake ! What bravery is it to quench a few sparks of life ? Thou art merely exciting a raging fire. I will not enter thy presence, nor travel on the same road with thee, but if God so will it, I will proceed against thee. When thou lookest to thine army and wealth, I look to God's praises. Thou art proud of thine Empire, while I am proud of the Kingdom of the Immortal God. Be not heedless ; *this caravanserai is only for a few days.* People leave it at all times. Even though thou art strong, annoy not the weak. *Lay not the axe to thy Kingdom.*'[1]

The Emperor, indeed, left this caravanserai in a few days, and the prophetic Guru was saved for the time being. When Prince Muazzam was on his way to secure Aurangzeb's throne, Guru Govind joined him. In recognition of the service rendered by the Khalsa army, Bahadur Shah put Govind Singh in command of 5,000 horse. But during the campaign in the Deccan, whither Guru Govind had accompanied the Emperor, he was assassinated by a Pathan who had an ancient grudge to feed fat on him. This happened at Nander on the Godavari (150 miles north-west of Haidarabad) in 1708. With him ended the Sikh Apostolate of the Ten Gurus. His constant desire had been

Now be pleased to grant me the boon I crave with clasped hands :
That when the end of life cometh, I may die fighting in a mighty battle !

His last message to his followers was : "I have entrusted you to the Immortal God. Ever remain under His protection ; trust no one besides. Wherever there are five Sikhs assembled, who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them. . . .I have infused my soul into the *Khalsa* and the *Granth Sahib*. . . .Obey the *Granth Sahib*. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me diligently search its hymns."[2]

Rajput Resistance

Chitor dismantled

Towards the close of Shah Jahan's reign (1653-54 A.D.) Rana Jagat Singh of Udaipur had made bold to restore the walls of Chitor, against treaty-stipulations since their destruction by Akbar. As the *Shah Jahan-nama* has it :

1 Abridged from *Ramanand to Ram Tirth* (Natesan, Madras), pp. 155-57.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

"From the time of the late Emperor Jahangir, it had been settled that no one of the Rana's posterity should ever fortify it ; but Rana Jagat Singh, the father of Raja Jai Singh, having set about repairing it, had pulled down every part that was damaged, and built it up very strongly anew.' Shah Jahan when he came to know this, 'dispatched Allami, with a large number of nobles and *mansabdars* and 1,500 musketeers, amounting altogether to 30,000, for the purpose of hurrying on in that direction, and demolishing the fort of Chitor . . . . He also directed him, if perchance the Rana did not tender his obedience, to overrun his territory with the royal forces, and inflict suitable chastisement on him. The Rana having temporised, 'On his arriving within twelve *kos* of Chitor, which is the frontier of the Rana's territory, inasmuch as the latter's negotiations had not yet been satisfactorily terminated, he commenced plundering and devastating, and depasturing his cattle on the crops. On the 5th of *Zil hijja*, this year, having reached the environs of Chitor, he directed working parties with pick-axes and spades to overthrow that powerful stronghold. According in the course of fourteen or fifteen days, they laid its towers and battlements in ruins, and having dug up and subverted, both the old and the new walls, levelled the whole of the ground. The Rana having awoke from his sleep of heedlessness at the advent of the prosperous banners at Ajmir, the irresistible force of the royal arms, the dispersion of the peasantry, and the ruin of his territory, sent off a letter containing the humblest apologies to Court, along with his eldest son, who was in his sixth year, and a number of his principal retainers, in company with Shaikh 'Abdul Karim, the Prince Buland Iqbal's *Mir-i-buyutat*. *A farman* was then issued to Jamdat-ul-Mulk ('Allami), that since the fort had been domolished, and the Rana had sent off his son to Court, *the pen of forgiveness had been drawn through the register of his delinquencies* at the Prince Buland Iqbal's solicitation.'[1]

Lull before Storm

Rajputana was at peace with the Empire for a quarter century since this happened. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) commanded Mughal armies against the Marathas, as we shall see in a later section of this chapter. During the fateful War of Succession, the former had, indeed, fought against Aurangzeb at Dharmat, and betrayed him at Khajwah. But Aurangzeb finally won him over. The crafty Emperor, as Tod says, 'always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms' and 'addressed a letter to Jaswant, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Gujarat if he would withdraw his support from Dara, and remain neuter in the contest.' This was achieved through the mediation of Mirza Raja Jai Singh, after Khajwah and before Deorai (5th January—13th March, 1659). In spite of their good services, however, the two Rajas shared an equally disastrous fate. Aurangzeb suspected both of complicity with Shivaji, and ultimately got rid of both by poisoning the one and sending the other "beyond the Attock to die."[2]

Sighs never ceased from Aurangzeb's heart, it was said, while Jaswant Singh lived. In the estimation of the immortal historian of Rajasthan : "The life of Jaswant Singh is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajpootana . . . . Throughout the long period of two and

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 103-04.
2 Tod, *Rajasthan*, II, pp. 878-79 and 1207.

forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Aurangzeb, ... to his conflicts with the Afghans. Although the Rathors had a preference amongst the sons of Shah Jahan, estimating the frank Dara above the crafty Aurangzeb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own ; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all."[1]

Invasion of Marwar

The twenty-five years of Rajput acquiescence, following the dismantling of Chitor, therefore, formed merely the lull before a storm.[2] The death of Jaswant Singh at Jamrud, on 10th December, 1678 was practically a signal for war. The valiant Rujput had been sent to fight the Afghans with the hope that he might not return. During his absence 'Maroo' (Marwar) had been left in the charge of Prithvi Singh, Jaswant Singh's heir. Aurangzeb summoned Prithivi Singh to his Court and at the end of flattering entertainment presented him with a poisoned 'dress of honour'—"That day was his last !" This bereavement together with the loss of two other sons at Kabul, hastened the death of Jaswant Singh who had been sufficiently worn out by the trials of the campaign. Before three weeks were out Aurangzeb's plans regarding Jodhpur had already been set in motion.

The State being virtually without a head, and Jaswant's best troops away in Afghanistan, the Mughals had an easy way to everything. Muslim officers were at once appointed to the posts of *Faujdar*, *Qiladar*, *Kotwal* and *Amin* at Jodhpur. On 9th January, 1679, Aurangzeb himself set out for Ajmer to overawe opposition. On 7th February, Khan-i-Jahan Bahadur was despatched with a band of high officers 'to occupy the country, to demolish its temples, and seize the late Maharajah's property."[3] On 2nd April, Aurangzeb returned to Delhi and took the momentous step of reimposing the *jiziya*. Evidently he was flushed with the triumph of having subjugated Jodhpur, the rallying centre of militant Hindusim in the North. Next month Khan-i-Jahan returned to Court taking with him cart-loads of broken idols from Jodhpur to be trodden under foot by pious Muslims at the capital. To complete the work of humiliating Marwar, the throne of Jaswant Singh was sold to the Chief of Nagar for 36 *lakhs* of rupees, and the latter occupied it on 26th May, 1679, under Imperial escort.

Ajit Singh and Durgadas

But soon a cloud appeared on the horizon. Two widowed queens of the dead Maharajah had given birth to two sons at Lahore in February. Though one of these succumbed within a few weeks, the other lived to sit on his father's throne, at the end of a very romantic career This was Ajit Singh the protege of the heroic Durgadas, whom Tod describes as the Ulysses of the Rathors, and whom the Rajputs still adore as the epitome of their chivalry :

"Eh ! Mata poot esa jin
Jessa Doorga-das !
Band Moordra rakheo
Bin thama akas !"[4]

"This model of a Rajput, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 879-80.
2 See "Origins of the Rajput-War (1679-81)" by Yashpal, *I.H.Q.*, XVII, 4, Dec. 1941, pp 430-41.
3 Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 370.
4 Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 892. "Oh, mother ! produce such sons as Doorgadas, who first supported the dam of Moordra, and then propped the heavens (without a pillar) !"

his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent and more difficult salvation."[1]

Aurangzeb, when he heard of the posthumous children, at once thought of capturing them. They were brought to Delhi, but the strategy of Durgadas saved Ajit Singh for Marwar. The narrative of how it happened may be told in the words of Khafi Khan :

> 'There was an old standing grievance in the Emperor's heart respecting Raja Jaswant Singh's tribute, which was aggravated by these posthumous proceedings of the Rajputs. He ordered the *kotwal* to take his own men, with an additional force obtained from the *mansabdars*, as well as some artillery, and to surround the camp of the Rajputs, and keep guard over them . . . .
>
> 'Meanwhile the Rajputs had obtained two boys of the same age as the Raja's children. They dressed some of the female attendants in the garments of the *ranis*, and taking every precaution that their stratagem should not be discovered, they left these women and the boys under guard in their camp. The (real) *ranis*, disguised as men, went off at night in charge of two trusty servants and a party of devoted Rajputs, and made their way with all speed to their own country. The brave and active chiefs, who might have stopped or overtaken them, were keeping guard over the tents in which the pretended children of the Raja were. After two or three watches, when a report of the fact was made, some officials were sent to make inquiries, and it was repeatedly stated that the *ranis* and the children were still there. Orders were then given for taking all the Raja's followers into the fortress. The Rajputs and the disguised women, who were ready to fight like men for the honour of their Raja, made a determined resistance. Many were killed, but a party escaped.
>
> 'The flight of the *ranis* was not clearly proved (!) Some men, who wished to show their zeal, and to cover their negligence in the matter, asserted that the boys had escaped, and that the *wazir* had sent out a force to secure them. The Royal forces went in pursuit twenty *kos* from Delhi, but they could not overtake the Rajputs, and returned unsuccessful. The two (substituted) boys were given into the charge of the women of the royal *harem*, and were there brought up. The two boys whom the Rajputs carried off were for a long time *rejected by Aurangzeb, who refused to acknowledge that they were the sons of Jaswant*, until all doubt was removed by the Rana of Chitor, who married Ajit Singh to a girl of his family.'[2]

The whole strategy had been planned and executed by Durgadas, a son of Jaswant Singh's minister Askaran, Baron of Drunera. "Fighting against terrible odds and a host of enemies on every side, with distrust and wavering among his own countrymen, he kept the cause of his chieftain triumphant. Mughal gold could not seduce, Mughal arms could not daunt that constant heart. Almost alone among the Rathors he displayed the rare combination of the dash and reckless valour of a Rajput soldier with the tact, diplomacy and organizing power of a Mughal minister of State."[3] The other death-loving Rajputs, who immortalized themselves by staying the Mughal persuit of the fugitives at every step, at the cost of their own lives, were Raghunath Bhatti and Ranchhordas Jodha. While

1 *Ibid.*
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 297-98.
3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 375-76.

the route from Delhi to Marwar, up to the point of the pursuers' exhaustion, was being dyed with the blood of brave Rajput bands, the custodians of Ajit Singh reached Jodhpur with their precious charge (23rd July, 1679). Marwar quickly rallied round its infant king.

Muhammadi Raj !

But Aurangzeb, ever resourceful in political legerdemain, declared Ajit Singh a pretender, and proclaimed a milk-man's lad of equal age, in his own custody, the real heir of Jaswant Singh. This Imperial ward was brought up in the Mughal *harem* as a rival to Ajit Singh, under the sinister name of Muhammadi Raj ! At the same time a strong force of Mussalmans was sent to Marwar for the reconquest of that State. "Anarchy and slaughter were let loose on the doomed province."

Second Invasion of Marwar

On 25th September, Aurangzeb once again took up his headquarters at Ajmer. Prince Muhammad Akbar, who was soon to play the role of Destiny, was put in charge of the campaign, with Tahawwur Khan *faujdar* of Ajmer, as second-in-command. The first scene of the tragedy opened with the slaughter of the brave band of mairtia Rathors under Raj Singh—the Leonidas of this Thermopylae—at the temple of the Sacred Boar, near Lake Pushkar. Thereafter every house in Marwar became a stronghold to be captured, and every Rathor a stubborn Hereward the Wake. 'Maroo' was transformed into one vast arena of bloodshed, pillage, and devastation. Mosques arose like mushrooms on the sites of temples to proclaim the triumph of Islam in this Jerusalem of the Hindus. The nest was scattered though the bird had flown !

Mewar joins

'As the cloud pours water upon the earth, so did Aurangzeb pour his barbarians over the land.' It was indeed not a calamity for Marwar alone, but an imminent danger to Mewar and other Rajput States as well. "The annexation of Marwar was but the preliminary to an easy conquest of Mewar.[1] Besides, the rage for temple destruction was not likely to be stopped by the Aravali range. Already the demand for *jiziya* had been made even from the Maharana. The Sisodias, therefore, had every reason to make common cause with the Rathors. The fact that Ajit Singh's mother was a Mewar Princess, made such a combination both easy and natural.

Maharana Rai Singh, accordingly, began preparations for the defence of Mewar. He again fortified Chitor, and blocked the Deobari Pass leading to his capital. But Aurangzeb was too experienced a general to await developments. He left Ajmer on 30th November, 1679, for Udaipur. Deobari was occupied on 4th January, 1680. The Rajputs, finding themselves unequal to the enemy on the low lands, retired to the mountains, leaving even their capital deserted. So, Udaipur was occupied without much struggle. Its only defenders were in the great temple—'One of the wonders of the age and a building that had cost the infidels much money ; but the Muslims made short work of them.' This and three more tamples of Udai-Sagar met with the same fate. Hassan Ali Khan, the Mughal commander, desperately in search of the fugitives, found himself in a quandary, for some time. The Rana was, however, defeated on 22nd January. No less than 173 temples in the environs of Udaipur, and 63 in Chitor, fell under the strokes of the enemy. His work thus accomplished, Aurangzeb returned to Ajmer on 22nd March. Prince Akbar, with his base at Chitor, was left in charge of the rest. The Mughals had to pay

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 382-83.

dearly for this hasty retreat of the Emperor. Akbar was either too ill-equipped or too incompetent to meet the situation.

The Sisodias began to harass the enemy with the elusive tactics of guerilla warfare. By May the Rana inflicted heavy losses on the Mughals. "A few days later, the Rajputs carried off a convoy of *banjaras* with 10,000 pack-oxen bringing grain to the prince's army from Malwa." Bhim Singh, the Rana's son, inflicted swift and sudden blows at unexpected points. "Our army," Akbar complained, "is motionless through fear !"

Third Invasion of Marwar

With this confession of defeat, Akbar was transferred to Marwar. The Mewar command was now entrusted to Prince Azam (26th June); the other two Princes were merely to co-operate with him in delivering a threefold attack : Azam from Chitor, Muazzam from Rajsamudra, and Akbar from Deosuri. The plan, however, miscarried.

Akbar took up his headquarters at Sojat (in Marwar) on 18th July, 1680. But the situation became so perilous that the Prince only made a show of movement without any real action. At the end of September, he shifted to Nadol, and on 19th November, under impatient orders from Aurangzeb, like 'the whining schoolboy, with his satchel,. . . .creeping like snail unwillingly to school' (but without his 'shining morning face'), Akbar advanced up to Deosuri. But the result of this pressure in an impossible situation was far from what Aurangzeb had ever dreamt of. The year 1681 dawned with treason on its brow.

Akbar's Revolt

On 1st January, Prince Muhammad Akbar donned the imperial robes with the blessings of four *Mullahs* who declared Aurangzeb deposed for '*violation of the Islamic Canon Law* !'[1] According to Khafi Khan, Prince Muazzam was first tempted by the Rajputs, but he failed to respond to their seduction.

> 'When they despaired success in this quarter, the Rajputs betook themselves to Prince Muhammad Akbar, taking advantage of his youth (he was only 23 years of age), and the favour of some of his friends. *Durgadas was their spokesman.* He was noted among them for his plausibility, and he used all his arts and wiles to persuade the Prince that they would supply him with forty thousand Rajput horse and with abundance of treasure. This so dazzled the Prince that he was deluded, and several of his evil companions (Tahawwur Khan among them) artfully used their persuasions. So the inexperienced Prince was led astray from the path of rectitude, and through his youth and covetousness he fell into the snares of the Rajputs.'[2]
>
> Prince Muazzam warned Aurangzeb of this defection, but he 'thought that Muazzam's letter about his brother Akbar was sheer calumny. Accordingly he wrote to him, and accused him of making a false charge, and praying that the Almighty would keep him in the right course, and preserve him from listening to the evil suggestions of designing people.'
>
> But, 'soon afterwards the secret became public. Thirty thousand Rajputs under *Durgadas* joined the Prince. The news spread from tent to tent, and was the talk of young and old. It was reported that he had ascended the throne, and that coins had been struck in his name ; that Tahawwur Khan had been made a *half-hazari*, and had received the title of *Amir-ul-umra* ; that Mujahid Khan and other

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 406.
2 E. & D., *op. cit* , pp. 300-1.

great servants of State, who were with the Prince, had received distinguished honours, which some of them had felt themselves constrained to accept. The Prince was doing his best to win the affections of all, and was said to be marching against Aurangzeb.

'On the forces being sent off under the command of Prince Akbar, against the infidels,' Khafi Khan continues, 'only Asad Khan and a limited number of officers and men were left in attendance upon the Emperor. All his retinue, counting the eunuchs and writers, did not exceed seven or eight hundred horsemen. A great panic fell upon the royal camp, and wild confusion followed. A letter under the royal signature was sent off in haste to Prince Muhammad Muazzam, urging him to come with all his army, and with the greatest haste, to Aurangzeb. . . .The Prince obeyed the summons, and hastened to wait upon his father.'[1]

Meanwhile, there were a few important defections in the camp of the rebel Prince. Shihab-ud-din Khan (father of the first Nizam of Hyderabad) was the first Mughal captain, after a hard two days' ride of 120 miles, to bring his brother Mujahid Khan from Akbar to Aurangzeb. Next was Akbar's right-hand man Tahawwur Khan, who was weaned away by a threatening letter from his father-in-law Inayet Khan (Aurangzeb's secretary). In it Tahawwur Khan was promised a pardon for his indiscretion, and failing response he was threatened that 'his women would be publicly outraged and his sons sold into slavery at the price of dogs.' (What a contrast to the conduct of Durgadas, who, when Akbar was in flight, as we shall presently see, gave shelter to his family and provided for their education at the hands of Muslim tutors !) The fate of Tahawwur, for all his whimsical conduct, was terrible. When he reached Aurangzeb's camp, he asserted the dignity of a Mughal courtier to enter the presence without being disarmed. This insistence was looked upon with suspicion of designs on the Emperor's life. From words at last they came to blows. 'Numbers fell upon him, and he was soon killed, and his head was cut off.'[2]

Aurangzeb's Ruse

However this might have happened, says Khafi Khan, 'his murder caused great divisions in the Prince's army, and among his Rajputs, and they were much dispirited.' At such a moment Aurangzeb, it is alleged, thought of a ruse similar to that designed by Sher Shah in his campaign against Mal Dev of Jodhpur : 'It was commonly reported,' says our historian, 'that Aurangzeb craftily wrote a letter to Prince Muhammad Akbar and contrived that it should fall into the hands of the Rajputs. In it he praised the Prince for having won over the Rajputs, as he had been instructed, and that now he should crown his service by bringing them into a position where they would be under the fire of both armies (viz., Akbar's and Aurangzeb's). This letter was the cause of great divisions among them.' In fact the plot eminently succeeded, and Prince Akbar awoke one morning to find himself deserted by his allies. The Rajputs discovered the reality too late. 'For all the mighty force which Prince Akbar brought against his father, the sword was not drawn, and no battle was fought, but his army was completely broken. The Prince was soon informed that the Rajputs had abandoned him. There remained with him only Durgadas, two or three confidential officers of the Rana, and a small force of two or three thousand horse. Of all his old servants and men, these alone remained. He

1 *Ibid* , p. 302.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 303.

lost all courage, self-reliance, and hope, and being utterly cast down, he took to flight. . . .Prince Muhammad Muazzam was ordered to pursue him.[1]

End of Akbar

The rest of the story of Akbar may be briefly told. He made his way, in spite of being hotly pursued, ultimately to the Court of Sambhaji at Raigarh in the South. There he was well received. Sambhaji 'came forth to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort Rahiri, and fixed an allowance for his support.'[2] But Aurangzeb had issued orders to 'Khan-Jahan Bahadur, *Subadar* of the Dakhin, and to all the *faujdars*, directing them to stop him (Akbar), wherever he might come, to take him prisoner *alive if possible, if not, to kill him.*' When 'the report also came that an army had been sent under the command of Itikad Khan to effect the conquest of Rahiri, Prince Muhammad Akbar. . . .thought it advisable to make his way as best as he could to Persia.' He embarked in February, 1687, in a ship hired at Rajapur and commanded by the Englishman, Bendal.[3] But unfortunately, 'through the stress of weather,' Prince Akbar was stranded upon an island belonging to the Imam of Maskat, who 'affected to treat the Prince with hospitality and respect ; but in reality kept him under surveillance, and wrote to Aurangzeb offering to surrender the Prince for the sum of two *lacs* of rupees and for a charter exempting goods carried in the ships of Maskat from the payment of duty in the port of Surat. If Aurangzeb would send one of his officers, the Imam promised to give up the Prince.'

'Upon receiving this letter, Aurangzeb wrote to the officials of the port of Surat, directing them to act in accord with the proposition of the Imam.' But, in the meanwhile, the Shah of Persia (the overlord of the Imam of Maskat) directed the Imam to render up 'the Prince (his guest) to him without delay, or an army would be appointed to deliver him and punish the Imam. So perforce the Imam delivered up the Prince to the Shah's Officers.' He was received well in Persia, where he conceived the high ambition of invading India, as Humayun had done before him, with Persian assistance. But at Garmsir in Khurasan he died 'towards the close of the reign of Aurangzeb'.[4]

Peace with Mewar

"Akbar's rebellion," as Prof. Sarkar has observed, "failed to change the sovereign of Delhi, but it brought unhoped for relief to the Maharana. It disconcerted the Mughal plan of war at a time when their net was being drawn closer round his State and even his hill refuge had been proved to be not invulnerable. Akbar's defection broke the cordon, and, by diverting all the untainted imperial troops into Marwar, gave automatic relief to Mewar."[5] The valiant Rana Raj Singh had in the meantime died (22nd October, 1680) ; his successor, Jai Singh, was incapable of sustaining the struggle. Aurangzeb too now wanted to concentrate his attention in the South. Shivaji's death in April, 1680, had given rise to fresh hopes in that direction. The flight of Akbar (16th January, 1681) and the consequent pursuit had necessitated the diversion of the Imperial forces into the Deccan. Moreover, Sambhaji had provoked him by giving shelter to the fugitive Prince.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 304.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 309. For Akbar's activities and disappointments in Maharashtra, see Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 290, 299-301.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 307.
4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 308-09, 312-13.
5 Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, III, p. 419.

So, all things pointed to the expediency of peace in the North. A welcome mediator was found in Shyam Singh of Bikanir who offered to hold the olive branch for either side.

Prince Muhammad Azam personally visited the Maharana on 14th June, 1681, near Rajsamudra, and the following terms were agreed upon between Mewar and the Empire :

1. In lieu of the *jiziya* demanded from Udaipur, the *parganahs* of Mandal, Pur, and Bednor were to be permanently ceded to the Empire.

2. The Mughals were to withdraw all their forces from Mewar territory.

Jai Singh was recognized as Rana, holding the rank of 5,000 horse in the Imperial peerage. Two months later Bhim Singh, the hero of Mewar, entered Mughal service, was invested with the dignity of a Raja and posted at Ajmer, for the war with the Rathors continued till August, 1709.

Marwar continues the War

This back-sliding of her ally did not affect the hostile attitude of Marwar towards the Empire. For the Rathors there could be no peace until Ajit Singh was restored to the throne of his ancestors. Aurangzeb had, indeed, left for the South. But Mughal officers were still in charge of the State : the army of occupation was still an eyesore to Maroo. The war of independence, therefore, continued, until the death of Aurangzeb and the restoration of Ajit Singh.

Three definite stages may be marked out in this protracted struggle : (1) From 1681-87 it was entirely a people's war—kingless, leaderless and desultory; (2) 1687-1701 under Durgadas and Ajit Singh, who now assumed the leadership but could not, despite their victories, oust the Muslims from the sacred soil ; and (3) 1701-07 during which period, after much bloodshed and many reverses on both sides, the Mughal policy of greed and aggression completely broke down, and Marwar recovered her national ruling dynasty.

First Stage (1681-87). Ajit Singh was still an infant and in concealment ; and Durgadas was away in the Deccan. But the Rathors continued to fight against the Imperialists in much the same manner as the Netherlands did against the Spaniards, or the Marathas against the Mughals after the death of Sambhaji. They took refuge in the hills and out of the way places, and as one of their own bards put it : 'An hour before sunset every gate of Maroo was shut. The Muslims held the strongholds, but the plains obeyed Ajit. . . .The roads were now impassable.' Their guerilla methods rendered them irrepressible and at the same time ruinous to the army of occupation. Their deadliest tactics were to cut off the Mughal supplies.[1]

Second Stage (1687-1701) The return of Durgadas from Maharashtra, in 1687, gave a fillip to the Rathor war of independence. A valuable ally was also just then gained in Durjan Sal Hada of Bundi who strengthened the national army with an addition of a thousand horse. Though the great Hada chief died soon after, the united Bundi and Marwar forces succeeded in driving away most of the Mughal outposts, and also raided Imperial territory almost to the gates of Delhi.

In 1690, Durgadas won a conspicuous victory over Safi Khan, the

1 Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 392-93.

Governor of Ajmer. But in Shujaet Khan, the Viceroy of Gujarat who was also now entrusted with the charge of Marwar, the Rajputs found an adversary at once tough and subtle. With the help of the historian Ishwardas, a Nagar Brahman who had served in Jodhpur as revenue officer, Shujaet Khan induced Durgadas to send away Akbar's daughter (his ward) to the Imperial Court (1694). It was then that fanatical Aurangzeb was awakened to the spirit of Rajput chivalry in contrast to his own bigotry ; for Durgadas had not even neglected the education of his Muslim ward,— she had been enabled to learn the Muhammadan scriptures in the very stronghold of the infidels ! But Akbar's son, Buland Akhtar was still in Durgadas's custody, and he was not restored until 1698, when Aurangzeb granted Ajit Singh the *parganas* of Jhalor, Sanchod, and Siwana as his *jagir* with a *mansab* in the Imperial army. Though this might be looked upon as a humiliating compromise, it was highly expedient, and the two Rajput leaders only made use of it to gain time and opportunity for further advance. Durgadas himself was rewarded with the *faujdari* of Patan and a *mansab* of 3,000. This he kept until 1701-02, when he again rebelled. The opportunity was afforded by the succession of Prince Muhammad Azam as Viceroy of Gujarat. Durgadas set fire to his tents and baggage and immediately rode away towards Marwar with all his followers, by forced marches."[1]

Third Stage (1701-1707). With this event the Rathor struggle entered on its third and last stage. To his great chagrin, however, Durgadas found Ajit "impatient of advice, imperious in temper, and jealous" of his well-merited influence in the royal council and popularity among his clansmen. The economic exhaustion of Marwar, too, was complete, and war-weariness had seized the Rathors after a quarter century of incessant fighting. Once more, therefore, both Ajit and Durgadas bowed the head of submission to the proud Emperor (1704-05). But the final opportunity came on the eve of Aurangzeb's death. The twin fighters had again risen in revolt when the welcome news of the Emperor's demise reached their ears. On 7th March, 1707, Ajit was again on the march towards his ancestral capital. Jaffar Kuli, the deputy *faujdar* of Jodhpur, was soon expelled, and the son of Jaswant Singh at last sat on his father's throne. Durgadas's Herculean labours had not been in vain !

IV. South India

When Aurangzeb marched South in pursuit of his fugitive son, Prince Akbar, he marched to his doom. The Deccan was to prove his graveyard ; and when, in 1707, he was buried there, more things went under the stone than the body of the dead Emperor. But before we come to the denouement of the great drama of Aurangzeb's life, we have to resume the tangle of South Indian history where we left it, viz., at the commencement of the fratricidal strife in 1657.

A. Fall of the Adil-Shahi

Introduction

On 4th October, 1657, Aurangzeb retreated from Kalyani on account of happenings we have already narrated. The conquest of Bijapur was then deferred for more vital considerations. The peace that had been secured by Adil Shah, through the intercession of Dara with Shah Jahan, could not last, in the nature of things. The Bijapur ruler had promised to pay an indemnity on one *crore*

1 *Ibid.*, p. 396.

of rupees and to cede the forts of Bidar, Kalyani, and Parenda. But no sooner than Aurangzeb turned his back on the Deccan, it became clear that Adil Shah would not yield without further struggle. On 1st January, 1658, Mir Jumla returned to Aurangabad baffled in his attempts to secure fulfilment of the treaty with Bijapur. Then came Aurangzeb's engrossing pre-occupations in North India. The History of Bijapur in the intervening period is mixed up with that of the Marathas and is not relevant to our purpose here. We may, therefore, hasten to relate the tragedy of the two Muhammadan kingdoms of the south, viz., Bijapur and Golkonda ; for, once we have finished with them, we shall be free to consider undistracted Aurangzeb's last and fatal struggle with Maharashtra.

Jai Singh at Bijapur, 1665-66

Jai Singh, who had been sent against Shivaji (about whom later), had, by June 1665, succeeded in concluding the treaty of Purandar detaching the Marathas from their alliance with Bijapur ; nay more, he had secured from Shivaji, a promise to assist the Mughals with 7,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, under his own and his son Sambhaji's leadership respectively, in the intended campaign against Bijapur. Adil Shah was further weakened by the enticement of his nobility (e.g., Mulla Ahmad a Navayat from Konkan who occupied the second place among the Bijapur nobles), by profuse bribery. Attempts were also made to induce Kutb Shah to keep aloof in the coming struggle. Nevertheless, 40,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry from Golkonda threw in their weight on the side of Bijapur. Jai Singh had under him 40,000 Imperial troops, besides 2,000 Maratha cavalry and 7,000 infantry under Netaji Palkar. The last played a truant and took bribes from both sides ; and although, therefore, Jai Singh came within 12 miles of Bijapur before the end of December (1665), after fighting a series of futile battles he was obliged to retreat.

Ali Adil Shah II had made effective preparations for the defence. The regular garrison had been reinforced with 30,000 doughty Karnatakis, and the whole country around to a radius of 6 miles had been rendered a desert, so that the enemy might find neither shelter nor provisions. The result was that Jai Singh had to retreat effecting worse than nothing. The campaign was a military failure. "Not an inch of territory, not a stone of a fortress, nor a piece of indemnity was gained by it. As a financial speculation it was even more disastrous. In addition to thirty *lakhs* of Rupees from the Imperial treasury, Jai Singh had spent more than a *krore* out of his own pocket. Profuse as Jai Singh's payments were, they were exceeded by the engagements he made on behalf of his master."[1]

In October, 1666, he has ordered to return to Aurangabad ; next March he was recalled to Court. In May 1667, he made over charge of the southern command to Prince Muazzam and Jaswant Singh. On 2nd July, 1667, the broken-hearted general died at Burhanpur on his way to the capital.[2]

Anarchy in Bijapur

Bijapur was no doubt saved for the time being. But the doomed city was a constant prey to rival factions. Afghans, Abyssinians and Deccani Musalmans vied with the Marathas in maintaining anarchy in the State. For the next ten years the Mughals carried on their depredations within the Adilshahi territory. "Looking collectively at the Mughal gains in the Deccan during the first twenty years of Aurangzib's reign," observes Sarkar, "we find that he had

1 Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 245-46.
2 According to Abbe Carz and Manucci, Jai Singh was poisoned by order of Aurangzeb : See Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, p. 215, and n. 12.

in 1657 annexed Kalyani and Bidar in the north-eastern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur ; the fort and district of Parenda in the extreme north had been gained by bribery in 1660 ; Sholapur had been acquired by treaty in July 1668 ; and now Naldrug and Kulbarga were annexed. Thus, the vast tract of land enclosed by the Bhima and the Manjira eastwards up to an imaginary line joining Kulbarga to Bidar (77° E. longitude) passed into Mughal hands, and the Imperial boundary on the south reached the north bank of the Bhima, opposite Halsangi, within striking distance of Bijapur city,—while south-eastwards it touched Malkhed, the fortress of the western border of the kingdom of Golkonda."[1]

Ali Adil Shah II died on 24th November, 1672, and with him departed the glory of Bijapur. He was succeeded by his infant son Sikandar, a boy of four, and a period of anarchy ensued which ended only with the extinction of the dynasty and the independence of the kingdom in 1686. The weakness and humiliation of Bijapur during this period are illustrated by the defection, to the Mughal camp, of 10,000 Bijapuris (Afghans, Deccani Musalmans and Marathas), and the compulsory submission of the Sultan's sister Shahar Banu (Padishah Bibi) to the Mughal *harem*. The idol of her family and people alike, this Princess left the city of her birth, on 1st July, 1679, amidst the wailings of her near and dear ones, to enter the hated Sunni's seraglio.

Dilir Khan's Campaign

Shivaji came to the rescue of distressed Bijapur with an army of 30,000 horse and provisions. He raided the Imperial territory between the Bhima and the Narmada, burning, slaying, and plundering on all sides. Dilir Khan, the Mughal general despite great handicaps, retaliated with worse horrors in the Adil-shahi dominion. "The villages in his path were utterly sacked ; all their men, both Hindus and Muslims, were taken prisoner for being sold into slavery ; and the women committed suicide by jumping down into the wells with their children. . . .He next roamed about like a mad dog, slaying and looting with fiendish cruelty needlessly inflicting unspeakable misery on the innocent peasants, and turning into a barren wilderness the region from Bijapur city southwards to the Krishna and eastwards to the fort between the Krishna and the Bhima."[2] Despite all this, Dilir Khan could effect no more than Jai Singh before him. On 23rd Feb., 1680, he was recalled utterly discomfited.

Fall of Bijapur : 12th Sept., 1686

Prince Muazzam's viceroyalty had proved a failure. His place was taken by Prince Azam to whom had been married the Bijapur Princess above referred to. Aurangzeb wrote threatening letters to Sultan Sikandar to make his submission and to allow the Mughal troops to march through his territory against the Marathas. But the Bijapur Prince answered these demands as the Belgians did the Kaiser at the commencement of the Great War (1914). The result was the utter devastation of Bijapur.

The desolation of the country all round and lack of supplies at first threatened the Mughal army with starvation. The price of corn rose at one time to Rs. 15 a seer ! The army was in despair. But the courage and determination of Prince Azam steeled them : "You have spoken for yourselves," he said to his officers. "Now listen to me. Muhammad Azam with his two sons and Begum will not retreat from this post of danger so long as he has life. After my death, His Majesty may come and order

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 252.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57.

my corpse to be removed for burial. You, my followers, may stay or go away as you like." The council of war then responded as Babur's men had done before Khanua.

The siege of Bijapur began on 1st April, 1685. It dragged on for 15 months, till June 1686, when Aurangzeb appeared in person. A deputation of Muslim theologians waited upon him, remonstrating : "You are the orthodox believer, versed in Canon Law, and doing nothing without the warrant of the *Quran* and the decrees of the theologians. Tell us how you justify this unholy war against brother Muslims like us." Aurangzeb silenced them saying, "Every word you have spoken is true. I do not covet your territory. But the infidel son of the infernal infidel (Sambhaji) stands at your elbow and has found refuge with you. He is troubling Muslims from here to the gates of Delhi, and their complaints reach me day and night. Surrender him to me and the next moment I shall raise the siege." On neither side was there sincerity. The siege went on.

On Sunday, 12th Sept., 1686, the Adil Shahis capitulated. At one o'clock in the afternoon the proud Sikandar Shah, the last of the Adil Shahs, went down before Aurangzeb in his camp in Rasulpur. His subjects with tears and lamentations lined the streets of Bijapur as he marched past. He was well received, but shorn of his royal dignity. Sikandar was enrolled in the Mughal peerage with the title of *Khan*, and given a pension of one *lakh* of rupees a year. The victorious Aurangzeb rested in the Sultan's palace for a few hours, rendered thanks to God for his triumph, and erased from its walls paintings drawn in violation of the Quranic injunction not to vie with the Creator in depicting life. An inscription recording the victory was also put upon the famous cannon *Malik-i-Maidan*. Desolation started at the city of Bijapur after this. Even the water seemed to dry up in the springs. Plague followed war and swept away more than half its population. Sikandar Sultan defeated, dethroned, imprisoned (in the fort of Daulatabad for some time), died near Satara on 3rd April, 1700, hardly 32 years of age. According to his last wish, "his mortal remains were carried to Bijapur and there buried at the foot of the sepulchre of his spiritual guide Shaikh Fahimullah, in a roofless enclosure."[1]

B. Fall of the Kutb-Shahi

The Kutb-shahi kingdom of Golkonda, though internally in no better condition than Bijapur,[2] had helped the latter more than once in the hour of trial. So long as Aurangzeb was engrossed with the task of extinguishing the Adil-Shahi, he thought it at least expedient to treat with Kutb-ul-Mulk. But no sooner than his hands were free and strengthened by his conquest of Bijapur, he turned his earnest attention towards the annexation of the other Shia kingdom of the Deccan.[3] In the eyes of Aurangzeb the worst offence of Kutb Shah was his fraternizing with infidels. Shivaji, after his flight from Agra, in 1666, had received effective help from Golkonda in recovering his forts from the Mughals. In 1677, he had been again rapturously received at Haidarabad and promised an annual subsidy of one *lakh* of *hun* for the defence of his territory. Above all, the Brahmans Madanna and Akanna had been allowed to dominate

1 *Ibid.*, p. 267.
2 For details, see *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.
3 The strained relations between Aurangzeb and Golkonda are reflected in some interesting letters : See Golconda "Court Letters," K. K. Basu, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XXVI, pt. 4.

the entire administration. Khafi Khan thus describes the condition that justified interference by Aurangzeb :

'It now became known to the Emperor that Abul Hasan Kutb-ul-Mulk, Sovereign of Haidarabad, had entrusted the government of his kingdom of Madanna and Akanna, two infidels, who were bitter enemies to the Musalmans, and brought great and increased troubles from them. The King himself was given up to luxury, drinking and debauchery. . . .Aurangzeb having turned his attention to the conquest of Haidarabad, and the subjugation of Abul Hasan, he first sent Khan Jahan Kokaltash. . . .After this, Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam with. . . .were sent to effect the conquest of the country of Telingana.

Imperial Demands

'Aurangzeb now sent Mirza-Muhammad, the superintendent of his *ghusl-khana*, to Abul Hasan Kutb-ul-Mulk ; with a message to this effect : "It has come to our hearing that you have two very fine diamonds of 150 *surkhs* in weight, with sundry other rarities. We wish you to ascertain the value of these gems, and to send them to us for the balance of tribute due." But he told his envoy confidentially that he did not send him to obtain the two diamonds, which he did not at all want, but rather to ascertain the truth of the evil reports which had reached him. . . .Abul Hasan swore that he had no such gems, and that if he had, he would have been happy to send them without any demand being made for them. . . .Such stones as his predecessors possessed had been sent to the late Emperor. . . .

'Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam was desirous of avoiding actual war by all means in his power. He sent a message to Khalilullah Khan (the Kutb-shahi commander), offering peace on the following terms : *Abul Hasan must express regret for his offences and ask forgiveness. He must remove Madanna and Akanna from the management of affairs, and place them in confinement. . . .The parganas of Siram, Ramgir, etc., which had been taken by force, upon unjust grounds, from the possession of servants of the Imperial throne, must be restored. The balance of tribute due must be forwarded without delay.* The foolish *amirs* of the Dakhin, in their pride, sent improper answers, regardless of the Imperial anger. So preparations for battle were made on both sides.'[1]

When, however, Abul Hasan saw that some of his trusted nobles deserted to the Mughals, he fled to the fort of Golkonda for refuge. Following this there was great destruction and plunder at Haidarabad.

Destruction of Haidarabad

'Before break of day,' writes our historian, 'the Imperial forces attacked the city, and a frightful scene of plunder and destruction followed, for in every part and road and market there were *lacs* upon *lacs* of money, stuffs, carpets, horses, and elephants, belonging to Abul Hasan and his nobles. Words cannot express how many women and children of Musulmams and Hindus were made prisoners, and how many women of high and low degree were dishonoured, carpets of great value, which were too heavy to carry, were cut to pieces with swords and daggers, and every bit was struggled for. Prince Shah Alam appointed officers (*sazawal*) to prevent the plunder, and they did their best to restrain it, but in vain. The *kotwal* of the army received orders to go with the Imperial *diwan*, with an escort of four or

1 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 315.

five hundred horse, to take possession of what was left of the property of Abul Hasan'.

A Truce

Then, Khafi Khan proceeds to tell us, a deputation came from Abul Hasan to wait upon Prince Mu'azzam 'most humbly and earnestly begging forgiveness of the sins which he had and had not committed. . . .After a good deal of negotiation, the Prince took pity upon Abul Hasan and the inhabitants of the place. He accepted his proposal, upon certain conditions. *A tribute of one krore and twenty lacs of rupees was to be paid, in addition to the usual annual tribute. Madanna and Akanna, the two brothers, and the chief causes of the war, were to be imprisoned and deprived of all authority. The fort of Siram and the pargana of Khir, and other districts which had been conquered, were to remain in the hands of the Imperialists, and Abul Hasan was to ask forgiveness of his offences from Aurangzeb.*'[1]

While these negotiations were proceeding, 'some women of great influence in the *harem*, without the knowledge of Abul Hasan, laid a plot for the murder of Madanna and Akanna. . . .Whilst the two doomed wretches were proceeding from the *darbar* to their own houses, a party of slaves attacked them and killed them. . . .Many *Brahmans* lost their lives and property on that day. The heads of the two brothers were cut off, and were sent to Prince Shah Alam by the hands of a discreet person.'[2]

Siege of Golkonda : 1687

Shah Alam returned to Aurangzeb's camp at Sholapur on 7th June, 1686. Bijapur fell on the 12th September, and on the 28th January following (1687) the Emperor arrived within two miles of Golkonda. The fort, surrounded with a strong granite wall over four miles in length and of great thickness, was further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, 'each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton.' Within it were mansions of nobles, bazars, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines, stables, and cultivated fields, and space enough to accommodate the whole population of Haidarabad in times of danger. The whole was encircled by a deep ditch 50 feet broad.

Regular siege operations were commenced on the 7th February, 1687. Aurangzeb's charge-sheet against the ruler of Golkonda reads as follows :

> *'The evil deeds of this wicked man pass beyond the bounds of writing ; but by mentioning one out of a hundred, and a little out of much, some conception of them may be formed. First, placing the reins of authority and government in the hands of vile tyrannical infidels ; oppressing and afflicting the* SAIYADS SHAIKHS, *and other holy men ; openly giving himself up to excessive debauchery and depravity ; indulging in drunkenness and wickedness night and day ; making no distinction between infidelity and Islam, tyranny and justice, depravity and devotion ; waging obstinate war in defence of infidels ; want of obedience to the Divine commands and prohibitions, especially to that command which forbids assistance to an enemy's country, the disregarding of which had cast a censure upon the Holy Book in the sight both of God and man. Letters full of friendly advice and warning upon these points had been repeatedly written, and had been sent by the hands of discreet men. No attention had been paid to them ; moreover it had lately become known*

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 320-21.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 321.

that a LAC *of* PAGODAS *had been sent to the wicked Sambha. That in his insolence and worthlessness, no regard had been paid to the infamy of his deeds, and no hope shown of deliverance in this world or in the next.'*

Whatever the plea, Aurangzeb was determined to lick up Golkonda. So, when Prince Shah Alam showed inclinations to relent and intercede on behalf of Abul Hasan, he was ordered into the royal presence, his *mansabs* and *jagirs* were confiscated, and he was imprisoned. It was seven years before Aurangzeb's successor recovered his liberty.

'Day by day and week by week, the approaches (to the fort) were pushed forward under the direction of Ghazi-ud-din Firoz Jang, but they were encountered with great daring by the besieged under the command of Shaikh Nizam, Mustafa Khan Lari, otherwise called Abdur Razzak, and others. The fighting was desperate and many were killed on both sides. . . .After one sharp encounter, in which a sally of the garrison was driven back with loss, Shaikh Minhaj, Shaikh Nizam, and others deserted Abul Hasan, and came over to the besiegers, when Aurangzeb granted to them suitable *mansabs* and titles.'

The siege continued for over eight months, the Mughals suffering heavy losses. Finally, when about 3 o'clock in the morning of 21st September, 1687, the Imperialists entered and captured the fort, it was treachery that decided the fate of Abul Hasan and not the military superiority of the Mughals. As Khafi Khan puts it, 'Several times the valour of the assailants carried them to the top of the walls; but the watchfulness of the besieged frustrated their efforts; so they threw away their lives in vain, and the fortress remained untaken. But the fortune of Alamgir at length prevailed, and after a siege of eight months and ten days, the place fell into his hands; *but by good fortune, not by force of sword and spear.*'

Fall of Golkonda : 21st Sept., 1687

Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardar Khan, who was a fortune-hunting Afghan, and had successively broken faith with Bijapur and the Mughals, now did the same with Abul Hasan, and opened the gates of Golkonda for a bribe. In noble and heroic contrast to this petty fogging treachery stand the courageous loyalty of Abdur Razzak, and the dignified nonchlaance of Abul Hasan himself in the hour of utter discomfiture.

'Of all the nobles of Abul Hasan', writes Khafi Khan, 'the one who never forsook him until the fall of the place, and who throughout exerted himself in an inconceivable manner, was Mastafa Khan Lari, or, as he was also called, Abdur Razzak. Springing on a horse without any saddle, with a sword in one hand and a shield in the other, and accompanied by ten or twelve followers, he rushed to the open gate through which the Imperial forces were pouring in. Although his followers were dispersed, he alone, *like a drop of water falling into the sea, or an atom of dust struggling in the rays of the sun,* threw himself upon the advancing foe, and fought with inconceivable fury and desperation, shouting that he would fight to the death for Abul Hasan. Every step he advanced, thousands of swords were aimed at him, and he received so many wounds from swords and spears that he was covered with wounds from the crown of his head to the nails of his feet. But his time was not yet come, and he fought his way to the gate of the citadel without being brought down. He received twelve wounds upon his face alone, and the skin of his

forehead hung down over his eyes and nose. One eye was severely wounded, and the cuts upon his body seemed as numerous as the stars. His horse also was covered with wounds, and reeled under his weight, so he gave the reins to the beast, and by great exertion kept his seat.'

When at last he was borne down by sheer exhaustion, Abdur Razzak was picked up senseless by the Imperial officers. 'A little bird made the matter known to Aurangzeb, who had heard of Abdur Razzak's daring and courage and loyalty, and he graciously ordered that two surgeons, one a European, the other a Hindu, should be sent to attend the wounded man, who were to make daily reports of his condition to Aurangzeb. The Emperor sent Ruhullah Khan, and told him that if Abul Hasan had possessed only one more servant devoted like Abdur Razzak, it would have taken much longer to subdue the fortress. The surgeons reported that they had counted seventy wounds, besides the many wounds upon wounds which could not be counted. Although one eye was not injured, it was probable that he would lose the sight of both. They were directed carefully to attend to his cure. At the end of sixteen days, the doctors reported that he had opened one eye, and spoken a few faltering words, expressing a hope of recovery. Aurangzeb sent a message to him, forgiving him his offences, and desiring him to send his eldest son Abdul Kadir with his other sons, that they might receive suitable *mansabs* and honours, and return thanks for the pardon granted to their father, and for the *mansabs* and other favours. When this gracious message reached that devoted and peerless hero, he gasped out a few words of reverence and gratitude, but he said that there was little hope of his recovery. If, however, it pleased the Almighty to spare him and give him a second life, it was not likely that he would be fit for service ; but should he ever be capable of service, *he felt that no one who had eaten the salt of Abul Hasan, and had thriven on his bounty, could enter the service of King Alamgir* (Aurangzeb). On hearing these words, a cloud was seen to pass over the face of His Majesty ; but he kindly said, "When he is quite well, let me know." Most of Abdur Razzak's property had been plundered, but such as was left was given over to him.'

The last Kutub Shah

If the account given by Khafi Khan is true, the last king of Golkonda, whatever his other short-comings, acted with a composure and dignity worthy of the master of such a servant. When he heard that all was over, 'He went into his *harem* to comfort his women, to ask pardon of them, and take leave of them. Then, though his heart was sad, he controlled himself, and went to his reception room, and took his seat upon the *masnad* and watched for the coming of his unbidden guests. When the time for taking his meals arrived, he ordered the food to be served up. As Ruhullah Khan and others arrived, he saluted them all, and never for a moment lost his dignity. With perfect self-control he received them with courtesy, and spoke to them with warmth and elegance . . . . Abul Hasan called for his horse and accompanied the *amirs*, carrying a great wealth of pearls upon his neck. When he was introduced into the presence of Prince Muhammad Azam Shah, he took off his necklace of pearls and presented it to the Prince in a most graceful way. The Prince took it, and placing his hand upon his back, he did what he could to console and encourage him. He then conducted him to the presence of Aurangzeb, who also received him very courteously. After a few days the Emperor sent him to the fortress

of Daulatabad, and settled a suitable allowance for providing him with food, raiment and other necessaries. Officers were appointed to take possession of Abul Hasan and his nobles.

'The property of Abul Hasan which was recovered after its dispersion amounted to eight *lacs* and fifty-one thousand *huns*, and two *krores*, and fifty-three thousand rupees, altogether six *krores*, eighty *lacs* and ten thousand rupees, besides jewels, inlaid articles, and vessels of gold and silver. The total in *dams* was one *arb*, fifteen *krores*, sixteen *lacs* and a fraction, which was the sum entered on the records.'[1]

C. Struggle with the Marathas

In hastening with the fall of Bijapur (1686) and Golkonda (1687) we anticipated the history of half a century. During this period the seeds of a mighty power were sown that was to prove fatal to the Empire whose history we have been tracing. Shahaji's capitulation, in 1636, before the joint forces of Khan-zaman, the Imperial officer, and Randaula Khan, the Bijapur commander, was indeed an act of expediency. This combination between the Empire and the Adil-shahi, as we have already seen, was not to last long. The Maratha-shahi that was to arise between these two powers was so placed geographically that it could successively bargain with either to the final discomfiture of both. Shivaji, the embodiment of this new power, though he did not live to witness the destruction of Bijapur and Golkonda, had while making use of both against the Mughals, so harassed them that their fall was only a question of time. The history of this period taken in all its phases is very complex and intriguing. But we shall narrate here only such parts of it as have a direct bearing on our principal theme. It would be convenient to study the Mughal-Maratha relations from the Angle of Maratha leadership, which is the only way to avoid confusion. The rest of Maratha history is not relevant to our purpose.

1. Shahji : 1636

The personal history of Shahji, father of Shivaji, need not detain us long. Abdul Hamid Lahori introduces him to us in the following passage :

'Nizam-ul-Mulk was in confinement in the fort of Gwalior, but *evil-minded Sahu, and other turbulent Nizam-ul-Mulkis*, had found a boy of the Nizam's family, to whom they gave the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. They had got possession of some of the Nizam's (Ahmadnagar) territories, and were acting in opposition to the Imperial government. Now that the Emperor (Shah Jahan) was near Daualtabad, he determined to send Khan-dauran, and Shayista Khan, at the head of three different divisions, to punish these rebels . . . .'[2] The upshot of the whole campaign was that Shahu finally submitted with the young Nizam. 'He agreed to enter the service of Adil Khan and the Imperial general . . . . Accordingly the forts of Junir, Trimbak, Tringalwari, Haris, Judhan, Jund, and Harsira, were delivered over to Khan-zaman. . . .Randaula, under the orders of Adil Khan, placed the young Nizam in the hands of Khan-zaman, and then went to Bijapur, accompanied by Shahu.'[3]

2. Shivaji : 1646-80

Shahji's estate at this time, held under Adil Shah, consisted of the Poona district, "from Chakan to Indapur, Supa, Shirwal, Wai, and Jadgir, or a tract bounded on the

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 331-36.
2 *Badshah-nama* ; E.& D., *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

west by the Ghats, on the north by the Ghod river, on the east by the Bhima and on the south by the Nira river."[1] This was the nursery, seed-bed or nucleus of Shivaji's future power and greatness.

1646 was a year of crisis in the history of Bijapur : it was also the year of Shivaji's opportunity. He seized Torna and its treasure of two *lacs* of *hun*, and five miles east of it built a new fort called Rajagarh. Further conquests, all in the Bijapur territory, followed, leading to Shahji's imprisonment as a hostage. Shivaji in his dilemma approached the Mughal prince Murad Baksh to secure the release of his father. There was some diplomatic correspondence between prince Murad and Shahji on the matter, in the course of the year 1649. Through whatever agency[2] Shahji was released at the end of that year, and Shivaji kept quiet till 1655. During the latter year he captured Javli from the Mores, which considerably added to his power.[3]

Shivaji's activities are thus characterized by the hostile historian Khafi Khan :

> 'He was distinguished in his tribe for courage and intelligence ; and for craft and trickery he was reckoned a sharp son of the devil, the father of fraud. In that country, where all the hills rise to the sky, and the jungles are full of trees and bushes, he had an inaccessible abode . . . . Adil Khan of Bijapur was attacked by sickness, under which he suffered for a long time, and great confusion arose in his territory . . . . Shivaji seeing his country left without a ruler, boldly and wickedly stepped in and seized it, with the possessions of some other *jagirdars*. This was the beginning of that system of violence which he and his descendants have spread over the rest of the Konkan and all the territory of the Dakhin . . . . He assembled a large force of Maratha robbers and plunderers, and set about reducing fortresses. . . .Evil days fell upon the kingdom of Bijapur in the time of Sikandar Ali Adil Khan II, whose legitimacy was questioned, and who ruled when a minor as the *locum-tenens* of his father. The operation of Aurangzeb against that country when he was a Prince in the reign of his father, brought great evil upon the country, and other troubles also arose. Shivaji day by day increased his strength, and reduced all the forts of the country, so that in course of time he became a man of power and means. . . .He built several forts also in those parts, so that altogether he had forty forts all of which were well supplied with provisions and munitions of war. Boldly raising his standard of rebellion, he became the most noted rebel of the Dakhin.'[4]

Nevertheless, the same sharp critic does not fail to add, *'But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever*

1 Sarkar, *Shivaji*, p. 22.
2 Sarkar thinks Shahji's release was secured by the friendly mediation of Sarza Khan and the bail of Randaula Khan, two leading nobles of Bijapur, and not by the intervention of the Mughal Emperor or Prince Murad.—*Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.
3 "The annexation of Javli not only opened to Shivaji a door for the conquest of the south and the west, but brought a very important accession to his strength, in the form of many thousands of Mavle infantrymen from among the subjects and former retainers of Chandra Rao. In short, his recruiting ground for these excellent fighters along the Sahyadri range, was now doubled. The Mores had accumulated a vast treasure in eight generations of undisturbed and expanding rule, and the whole of it fell into Shivaji's hands."—*Ibid.*, p. 47.
4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 256-68.

a copy of the sacred Kuran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until the relations came with suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave-girl, he looked upen her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, PAUL SIYAH *(copper money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them ; but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be by them paid over to Shivaji's Government.*'[1]

(*i*) *First Clash with the Mughals.* Shivaji for a long time kept peace with the Mughals either because he did not feel strong enough to antagonize the Empire and Bijapur at the same time, or because of the vigilance of Aurangzeb's viceroyalty of the Deccan. When, however, on the death of Muhammad Adil Shah (4th Nov., 1656), Aurangzeb began to mobilize for an attack on Bijapur, Shivaji offered to join the Imperialists on certain terms ; evidently the legalization of his usurpations in Bijapur territory. But Aurangzeb, temporized and when the war broke out, Bijapur won over Shivaji to its own side.

In March, 1657, two of Shivaji's Maratha officers raided the Mughal territory and "carried devastation and alarm to the very gates of Ahmednagar, the most notable city in Mughal Deccan." While Shivaji himself stole into Junnar city, slaughtered the guards, and carried off 300,000 *hun,* 200 horses, besides jewellery and rich clothing. Aurangzeb sent Nasiri Khan after Shivaji, ordering him to "pursue the Marathas and extirpate them.' The vigorous measures that were being taken were interrupted, first by the rainy season, and then by the War of Succession occasioned by Shah Jahan's illness in September, 1657. Bijapur made peace with Aurangzeb before he left for the north, and Shivaji also followed suit. In reply to Shivaji's embassy Aurangzeb wrote diplomatically : "Though your offences do not deserve pardon, I forgive you as you have repented. You propose that if you are granted all the villages belonging to your home (i.e., Shahji's old *jagir*) together with the forts and territory of Konkan, after the Imperialists have seized the old Nizam-shahi territory now in the charge of Adil Shah,—you will send Sona Pandit as your envoy to my Court and a contingent of 500 horse under one of your officers to serve me, and you will protect the Imperial frontiers. You are called upon to send Sonaji, and your prayers will be granted."[2] At the same time he wrote to Mir Jumla and Adil Shah : "Attend to it, as *the son of a dog* (meaning Shivaji) is waiting for his opportunity." Pedgaon was also fortified as a base of operations against Poona. But the Succession War of 1658-59 gave Shivaji the needed respite, so far as the Mughals were concerned. It was during this period that the tragedy of Afzul Khan, the Bijapuri general sent against Shivaji, took place at Pratapgarh. The controversy that has raged round this incident need not distract us here.[3] Our next incident is that relating to Shayista Khan.

(*ii*) *Shayista Khan's Offensive.* Greatly encouraged by his triumph over Afzul Khan, Shivaji continued his activities on all sides. Aurangzeb

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 260-61.
2 Parasnis MS., Letter 5—cited by Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
3 See Sarkar, *op. cit* , pp. 81, 93.

after his second coronation (July, 1659) had appointed his uncle Shayista Khan viceroy of the Deccan. He now directed him to punish Shivaji and put him down. '*Amir-ul umara* (Shayista Khan),' according to Khafi Khan, 'marched, in accordance with these orders, from Aurangabad at the end of *Jumad-al-awwal*, 1070 H. (end of January, 1660 A.D.), towards Puna and Chakan, which in those days were Shivaji's places of abode and security.'[1] At the same time Siddhi Jauhar (now made Salabat Khan) launched another offensive on behalf of Bijapur from the south against Shivaji, and invested Panhala (May, 1660). Though Jauhar proved 'both fool and traitor' in letting Shivaji escape from Panhala, another Bijapuri force followed up and took Panhala 'in a twinkle'. It was in the course of this flight of Shivaji from Panhala to Visalgarh that the brave Baji Prabhu (*Deshpande* of Haridas *maval*) fought his heroic rear-guard action at the Thermopylae of Maharashtra and died with his brave seven hundred ! Where

> 'Death clamoured, and tall figures strewed the ground
> Like trees in a cyclone.'[2]

Shayista Khan, too, relentlessly pursued his campaign. But, 'the daring freebooter Shivaji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage of *Amir-ul-umara's* army wherever they met with it. When the *Amir* was informed of this, he appointed 4,000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every march, Shivaji's Dakhinis swarmed round the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Cossacks, they carried off horses, camels, men, and whatever they could secure, until they became aware of the approach of the troops. The Imperial forces pursued them, and harassed them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for fight, they dispersed. At length they reached Puna and Shivpur, two places built by that *dog* (Shivaji). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them.'[3] The next great fortress to be captured after a great struggle was Chakan (Aug., 1660), which was of considerable strategic importance to the Mughals as covering the retreat to Ahmadnagar. Then followed desultory warfare during the years 1661-63, ending with the famous *coup* of Shivaji on Shayista Khan's camp in Poona on 5th April, 1663. On this occasion, says Prof. Sarkar, "Shivaji dealt a masterly blow at the Mughals,—a blow whose cleverness of design, neatness of execution and completeness of success created in the Mughal Court and camp as much terror of his prowess and belief in his possession of magical powers, as his *coup* against Afzul Khan had done among the Bijapuris. He surprised and wounded the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan in the heart of his camp, in his very bedchamber, within the inner ring of his bodyguards and female slaves."[4] The details of this incident are only of legendary interest. The curious reader may find the Muslim account in Khafi Khan's narrative[5] and the Maratha version in the *Sabhasad* or Chitnis *bakhar*.[6] But there is one aspect of it which is worthy of being pointed out here, viz., the part played by Raja Jaswant Singh.

Cosme da Guarda, a Portuguese biographer of Shivaji, who wrote his account in 1695, states :

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 261.
2 Aurobindo Ghose, *Baji Prabhu*. In this ballad, however, the poet has changed the setting of the incident.
3 Khafi Khan, E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 261-62.
4 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
5 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 269-71.
6 Sen, *Siva Chhatrapati*, pp. 201-07.

'Jassomptissinga was a Gentio. Sevagy took advantage of this (fact) for he was a (Hindu) and sent him one night a rich present of precious stones, a large quantity of gold and silver with many rich and precious jewels. With these marvellous cannons Sevagy fought and reduced that fortress. The message was as follows : "Though Your Highness has the greatness of a Sovereign King and (now) also that of the General of so powerful an Emperor, if you recollect that I am a Gentio like you, and if you take account of what I have done, you will find that all I have done, was due to the zeal for the honour and worship of your gods whose temples have been destroyed everywhere by the Mouros. If the cause of religion have precedence over all the gods of the world and even over life itself, I have for the same cause risked mine so many times. . . .I offer you in the name of the gods themselves these trifles. I do not ignore that [a person of] your high caste has, for honour and loyalty, to defend those whose salt and water you eat and drink. I know, moreover, that you hold the *jagir* of the Great Mogol and cannot, on that account, take the side of another, *but you may so behave that you will not fail in the loyalty professed by your illustrious family* (*sangue*) *or in the respect due to your gods that I may mix with the people of Sextaghan, to be able to do as I like* (*para ser senhor das accaoens*), *and to do to him, without the knowledge of the Mouros, what I can.*"

'Jassomptissinga was less devout and more ambitious and so did not attend to these scruples ; he was much obliged for the presents and still more for the promises for which *he confederated with Sevagy promising not to obstruct his cause and even to connive at what he might design against the Mouros.*'[1]

The European version of the Shayista Khan incident is contained in the sequel to the above passage (pages 66-70). 'When this occurrence,' says Khafi Khan, 'was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the *Amir* and Raja Jaswant. The *Subadari* of the Dakhin and the command of the forces employed against Shivaji were given to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. The *Amir-ul-umara* was recalled, but a subsequent order (1st December, 1663) sent him to be *Subadar* of Bengal. Maharaja Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.'[2] Does this acquit Jaswant Singh ?

(iii) *First Sack of Surat.* During the period of the change of viceroys and commanders, Shivaji indulged in another adventure, viz., a raid on Surat, 'the greatest emporium of the Orient and the richest jewel of the Mogol.'[3] His object in doing this was, according to da Guarda, 'to plunder the riches of the wealthiest city of the east to show Sextaghan and the Mogol how little he thought of their power and army.'[4] The same writer tells us, 'Some confused news of his intention reached Surrate but caused a great laughter as hundred and eight thousand cavalry were encamped in the very territories of which Sevagy had become master.' The Maratha, however, entered like 'a furious tiger in a herd of cows.' 'There was such a confusion in the city among the Mouros, Baneanes, Guzarates, and all other Hindus as will not be easy to describe. Men, women, and children ran naked without knowing where and to whom. *But no one was in the peril of life, for it was the strict order of Sevagy that unless resis-*

1 Sen, *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, pp. 64-66. *Cf.* Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 104.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 271.
3 Cosme da Guarda in Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

tance was offered no one should be killed, and as none resisted none perished.[1] Sevagy's men then entered the houses and slighting the richest silk and silver coins, took only rupees of gold, each of which was worth sixteen of silver. . . .Neither the quantity of money he got nor the speed with which it was conveyed by 900 bullocks is credible."[2]

M. de Thevenot observes, 'Sivagy's Men entered the Town and plundered it for the space of four days burning several Houses. None but the English and Dutch saved their quarters from the pillage, by the vigorous defence they made, and by means of the cannon they planted, which Sivagy would not venture upon, having none of his own."[3]

The Mughal governor of Surat, Inayet Khan, shut himself up in the fort ; and 'the governor's men continued to fire all night long, *but more damage was done to the town than the enemy*. . .Everything of beauty existing in Surat was that day reduced to ashes and many considerable merchants lost all that the enemy had not plundered, through this terrible fire, narrowly escaping with their lives. Two or three Banian merchants lost several millions and the total loss was estimated at 30 millions. . . . He (Sivagy) and his followers appropriated only the most valuable spoils and distributed the less valuable things, which could only hamper their retreat, among the poor, whereby many acquired much more than they had lost through fire and pillage. . . .(Sivagy) departed at the first gleam of daylight, delighted to have plucked such a fine feather from Aurangzeb's tail !'[4]

> *After the Sack.* 'The Governor of Surrate reported the abovementioned incident to the Great Mogal in such a manner that when it was read and heard it seemed worse than it (actually) was. As the advantage, the Great Mogal derived from Surrate, was enormous and the Governor had informed him that all was lost and the merchants were arranging for a change of place on account of the scant security of Surrate, he resolved to remedy everything by sending an army that would totally destroy Sevagy and detain the merchants. He ordered that they should be excused duties for three years (?) during which period nothing should be paid for import or export. This appeased and relieved all, for it was a very great favour in view of the large capital employed by those Gentios in trade. The wealth of these people is so great that when the Great Mogal sent for a loan of four millions to Beneane Duracandas Vorase, he answered that His Majesty should name the coin and the sum would immediately be paid in it. There are in Surrate the following coins : rupias, half and quarter (rupias) of gold, the same of silver. There are pagodas of gold and *larins* of silver, and in any of these eight (coins) he offered to render four millions. *What is still more surprising is that the major part of the Baneane's capital was invested at Surrate and this (offer) was (made) four years after the sack by Sevagy.* So much had already been accumulated and so considerable had been the profit of those three years when no tax was paid. *The Mogal usually repays such loans with the taxes, and it is done with such punctuality that he gets for the mere asking whatever sums he wants, for the subjects deliver their purses in accordance with the degree of satisfaction that they get from the kings.*'[5]

1 For contrary accounts, see Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-110.
2 Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 178.
4 Sen, *op. cit.*, Francois Valentyn's Account, pp. 360-62.
5 *Ibid.* (Cosme da Guarda), pp. 79-80.

In a letter to the Director of the Dutch East India Company, dated 4th August, 1664, their Governor-General states : 'King Orangech has ordered the town of Surat to be surrounded by a stone wall and has granted a *year's* exemption of tolls and duties to the merchants, the Company and the English being also included. This exemption was to begin from March 16, 1663, and we calculate that the Company will then gain a sum of f. 50,000 (£ 4,200) so that *this catastrophe has brought us profit.*'[1]

The Governor Inayet Khan was replaced by Ghias-ud-din Khan. Shivaji had arrived in Surat at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 6th January, 1664 ; he left the place at 10 a.m. on Sunday, the 10th. 'Thursday and Friday nights,' says one account, 'were the most terrible nights for fire. The fire turned the night into day, as before the smoke in the daytime had turned day into night, rising so thick that it darkened the sun like a great cloud.'

(*iv*) *Treaty of Purandar* (*June, 1665*). These activities of Shivaji alarmed Aurangzeb who at once despatched abler generals to tackle with him. Khafi Khan writes, 'Despatches arrived from Prince Muazzam to the effect that Shivaji was growing more and more daring, and every day was attacking and plundering the Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jiwal, Pabal and others near Surat, and attacked the pilgrims bound to Mecca. He had built several forts by the sea-shore, and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. He had also struck copper coins (*sikka-i pul*) and *huns* in the fort of Rajgarh. Maharaja Jaswant had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. Raja Jai Singh (and Dilir Khan) were sent to join the armies fighting against him.'

This was indeed hard time for Shivaji for both Jai Singh[2] and Dilir Khan[3] were veteran generals and had come with an iron determination to subdue him. Jai Singh organized a whirlwind campaign so as to encompass Shivaji from every possible quarter. In this he tried to secure the co-operation of Adil Shah, the Europeans on the west-coast, the petty *rajahs* and *zamindars*, the Siddis, and also tried to corrupt Shivaji's supporters. The heart and centre of this mammoth design was to capture Purandar where Shivaji happened to be at this time.

> 'When he (Jai Singh) arrived there,' writes Cosme da Guarda, 'Even Sevagy could not help being frightened, for besides the 400,000 cavalry, the number of men and animals that followed these (Mughal) armies, could neither be credited nor ascertained. There went with it 500 elephants, 3 millions camels, 10 millions oxen of burden, men

1 The Dutch losses amounted to f. 20,000 (£ 1,700). *Ibid.*, pp. 371-72.

2 "Jai Singh's career," writes Sarkar, "had been one of undimmed brilliancy, from the day when he, an orphan of twelve [now he was 60], received his first appointment in the Mughal army (1617). Since then he had fought under the Imperial banner in every part of the Empire, from Balkh in Central Asia to Bijapur in the Deccan, from Qandahar in the west to Mungir in the east....in diplomacy he had attained to a success surpassing even his victories in the field. Wherever there was a difficult or delicate work to be done, the Emperor had only to turn to Jai Singh. A man of infinite tact and patience, an adept in the ceremonious courtesy of the Muslims, a master of Turki and Persian, besides Urdu and the Rajput dialect, he was an ideal leader of the composite army of Afghans and Turks, Rajputs and Hindustanis, that followed the crescent banner of the sovereign of Delhi... His foresight and political cunning, his smoothness of tongue and cool calculating policy, were in striking contrast with the impulsive generosity, reckless daring, blunt straightforwardness, and impolitic chivalry which we are apt to associate with the Rajput character."—*Shivaji*, pp. 112-13.

3 His proper name was Jalal Khan Daudzai. He had served under Prince Sulaiman Shikoh during the War of Succession, and was with Mir Jumla in the Assam campaign. He was the founder of Shahjahanabad in Rohilkhand. He died at Aurangabad in 1682-83.

of useless service and merchants without number. The first thing that Sevagy did was to tempt this general in the same way as he had done in the case of the other. He sent him a very large and very valuable present desiring his friendship. The Raya refused both and ordered to inform Sevagy that he had not come to receive presents but to subdue him, and for (his own) good he asked him to yield and avoid many deaths, or he would make him yield by force. This resolution perturbed Sevagy.' The siege went on, and Guarda continues, 'the Raya had brought with him a large number of heavy artillery of such a calibre that each cannon was drawn by forty yokes of oxen, but they were of no use for bombarding a fortress of this kind ; for it was not a handiwork of man, but of the author of Nature (God), and (because) it also had foundations so (strongly) laid and fortified that they laughed at balls, wind and even the thunderbolts. The plain at the top, where the men communed with the stars, was more than half a league in breadth, provided with food for many years and the most copious water that, after regaling men was precipitated through the hill to fertilize the plants with which it was covered.'[1]

It was in the defence of this fort that Murar Baji, another heroic captain of Shivaji, to be remembered with Baji Prabhu and Tanaji Malusare, laid down his life together with three hundred lion-hearted Mavles. The garrison, says Sarkar, "with a courage worthy of the mother of Brasidas, the Spartan, continued the struggle, undismayed by their leader's fall and saying, 'What though one man Murar Baji is dead ? We are as brave as he, and we shall fight with the same courage.' (*Sabhasad*, 43-44 ; T. S.)"[2]

But the struggle was in vain. Consequently, in the words of Khafi Khan, 'Shivaji sent some intelligent men to Raja Jai Singh, begging forgiveness of his offences, promising the surrender of several forts which he still held and proposing to pay a visit to the Raja.' But the Raja knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously, until the intelligence was brought that Shivaji had come out of the fortress. Some confidential Brahmans now came from him and confirmed his expressions of submission and repentance with the most stringent oaths.

'The Raja promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor, and of agreeing to enter him into his service. He also promised him the grant of a high *mansab*, and made preparations for suitably receiving him. Shivaji then approached him with great humility. Raja sent his *munshi* to receive him, and he also sent some armed Rajputs to provide against treachery. The *munshi* carried a message to say that if Shivaji submitted frankly, gave up his forts, and consented to show obedience, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor. If he did not accept these terms, he had better return and prepare to renew the war. When Sivaji received the message, he said with great humility that he knew his life and honour were

1 Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-84. The highest point of this fort is 4,564 ft. above sealevel and more than 2,500 ft. above the plain at its foot. It is really a double fort—Purandar and Vajragarh (also called Rudramala). "It was by seizing Vajragarh that Jai Singh in 1665 and the English in 1817 made Purandar untenable for the Marathas."—Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-25.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

safe if he made his submission. The Raja then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

'When Shivaji entered, the Raja arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself. Sivaji then with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts with the country of the Konkan, to the Emperor's officers, and I will send you my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services are required, I will, on receiving orders discharge my duty loyally." The Raja cheered him up, and sent him to Dilir Khan.

'After direction had been given for the cessation of the siege, seven thousand persons, men, women and children, came out of the fort. All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the forces. Dilir Khan presented Shivaji with a sword, etc. He then took him back to the Raja, who presented him with a robe. . . .and renewed his assurances of safety and honourable treatment. Shivaji, with ready tact, bound on the sword in an instant, and promised to render faithful service. When the question about the time Shivaji was to remain under parole, and of his return home, came under consideration, Raja Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for Shivaji and the grant of a robe to him, and awaited instructions....A mace-bearer arrived with the *farman* and a robe,....and Shivaji was overjoyed at receiving forgiveness and honour.

'A decision then arose about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the thirty-five forts which he possessed, the keys of twenty-three should be given up, with their revenues, amounting to ten *lacs* of *huns*, or forty *lacs* of rupees. Twelve small forts, with moderate revenues, were to remain in the possession of Shivaji's people. Sambha, his son, a boy of eight years old. in whose name a *mansab* of 5,000 had been granted at Raja Jai Singh's suggestion, was to proceed to Court with the Raja, attended by a suitable retinue. Sivaji himself, with his family, was to remain in the hills, and endeavour to restore the prosperity of his ravaged country. Whenever he was summoned on Imperial service, he was to attend. On his being allowed to depart, he received a robe, horse, etc.'[1]

In addition to the above terms, Shivaji further engaged : 'If lands yielding 4 *lakhs* of *hun* a year in the lowlands of Konkan and 5 *lakhs* of *hun* a year in the uplands (Balaghat Bijapuri), are granted to me by the Emperor and I am assured by an Imperial *farman* that the possession of these lands will be confirmed in me after the expected Mughal conquest of Bijapur, then I agree to pay to the Emperor 40 *lakhs* of *hun* in 13 yearly instalments.'

These lands were to be wrested from Bijapur by Shivaji himself, and Sarkar observes. "Here we detect the shrewdness of Jai Singh's policy in throwing a bone of perpetual contention between Shivaji and the Sultans of Bijapur. As he wrote to the Emperor, 'This policy will result in a three-

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 272-75.

fold gain : *first*, we get 40 *lakhs* of *hun* or 2 *krores* of rupees ; *secondly*, Shivaji will be alienated from Bijapur ; *thirdly*, the Imperial army will be relieved from the arduous task of campaigning in these two broken and jungly regions as Shiva will himself undertake the task of expelling the Bijapuri garrisons from them.' In return for it, Shiva also agreed to assist the Mughals in the invasion of Bijapur with 2,000 cavalry of his son Shambhaji's *mansab* and 7,000 expert infantry under his own command."[1]

This splendid achievement was accomplished by Jai Singh in less than three months. In the Bijapur campaign of Jai Singh, which we have already described, Shivaji faithfully carried out his promises. Yet, distrustful of the wily Maratha chief, Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, "Now that Adil Shah and Qutb Shah have united in mischief, it is necessary to win Shiva's heart by all means and to *send him to Northern India* to have audience with your Majesty."[2]

(v) *Shivaji's Escape from Agra.* To cut a long story short, after much diplomatic discussion and most solemn assurances on the part of Jai Singh as to his safety and honour, Shivaji set out for Agra, to the Imperial Court. His disappointment there and his romantic escape are familiar to every school-boy in India. There are several versions of the details,[3] but the following account given by Khafi Khan ought to serve our purpose :

'After giving Sivaji every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he (Jai Singh) made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Sivaji's arrival was brought as the festival of the accession (9th year of the reign, 1666 A.D.) was being celebrated. It was ordered that Kunwar Ram Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, with Mukhlis Khan, should go out to meet and conduct *that evil malicious fellow* to Agra. On the 18th *Zil kada*, 1070 H., Sivaji, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 *asharfis* and 6,000, rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *panj-hazari*. But his son, a boy of eight (?) years, had privately (previously ?) been made a *panj-hazari* and Nathuji, one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Raja Jai Singh in his campaign against Bijapur, had been advanced to the same dignity, *so that Sivaji had a claim to nothing less than the dignity of a haft-hazari* (7000). Raja Jai Singh had flattered Sivaji with promises ; but as the Raja knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Sivaji, he artfully refrained from making known the hopes he had held out. The *istikbal*, or reception, of Sivaji had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed, and so, before the robe and jewels and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Ram Singh that he was disappointed. The Kunwar tried to pacify him, but without effect.[4] When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Raja Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kunwar Ram Singh. A letter was sent to Raja Jai Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Sivaji was forbidden to come to

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 151.
3 For a special study of this subject read Deshpande, *The Deliverance or the Escape of Shivaji the Great from Agra* (Poona, 1929).
4 It is said that when the Emperor enquired as to what was the matter, Kunwar Ram Singh diplomatically answered, "The tiger is a wild beast of the jungle, and feels oppressed by the heat of a place like this and has taken ill !"

the Royal presence until the Raja's answer and advice should arrive. His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Ram Singh. . .

'After Sivaji returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the *kotwal* to place guards round it. Sivaji, reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. He thought of nothing else but of delivering himself by some crafty plan from his perilous position. His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with the *amirs*, and with Kunwar Ram Singh. He sent them presents of Dakhin products, and, by expressing contrition for his past conduct, he won them over to advocate the acceptance of his shame and repentance.

'Afterwards he feigned to be ill, and groaned and sighed aloud. Complaining of pains in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and, as if prostrated with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this artifice. At length he made known his recovery. He sent presents to his doctors and attendants, food to the Brahmans, and presents of grain and money to needy Musulmans and Hindus. For this purpose he had provided large baskets covered with paper. These being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the *amirs* and to the abodes of *fakirs*. Two or three swift horses were procured, and, under the pretext of being presents to Brahmans, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen *kos* from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were privy to his plans. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Sivaji's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a fine piece of muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand ; and when any one came in, to feign to be asleep. Sivaji with his son, got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the *Brahmans* and *fakirs* of Mathura.'[1]

After various adventures Shivaji returned to the South via Mathura. Allahabad, Benares, and Telingana. The alarm was raised too late at Agra, and even then the Imperial sentinels were too tardy of motion.[2] 'The *kotwal* and Kunwar Ram Singh were censured, and as Ram Singh was suspected of having prompted the evasion, he was deprived of his *mansab* and forbidden to come to Court. Orders were sent to the provincial governors, and to the officials in all directions, to search for Sivaji, and to seize him and send him to the Emperor. Raja Jai Singh, who just at this time had retired from Bijapur, and had arrived at Aurangabad, received orders. . . *.to watch carefully for the bird escaped from the cage, and not suffer him to re-establish himself in his old haunts and to gather his followers around him.*'[3] But the old Rajput general was completely baffled ; he was recalled in May, 1667, and died on the 2nd July following, at Burhanpur on his way to the capital.

The return of Prince Muazzam, as viceroy of the Deccan, together with Jaswant Singh, gave Shivaji the opportunity he needed. Though the Mughal arms were strengthened with the joining of Dilir Khan, in October, 1667, Shivaji soon retrieved his lost position. The Empire being threatened in the North-West at the same time (1667), and the Imperial

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 276-81.
2 For an interesting version of the sequel, according to Cosme da Guarda, see Sen, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36. Also *Cf.* my *Maratha History Re-examined.*
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 281.

officers in the Deccan quarrelling among themselves, a peace was patched up with the Marathas (9th March, 1668), which lasted for two years. Shivaji's title of *Rajah* was recognized by the Emperor, and the English factory records of the time speak of the "great tranquillity", "Shivaji being very quiet, not offering to molest the king's country." Sambhaji was again created a *mansabdar* of 5,000 and was sent to the viceroy's Court of Aurangabad with a contingent of 1,000 horse. It was during this period (1667-69) that Shivaji laid the foundations of his government, broad and deep, to the admiration of after ages.[1]

On the ostensible ground of Aurangzeb's campaign of temple destruction in 1669, Shivaji launched his offensive once again, about the close of that year or the beginning of the next, One of the great exploits of this campaign was the capture of Kondana (thenceforward called Simhagarh) by the brave Tanaji Malusare. His exploits are still sung by rustic bards in Maharashtra, and one ballad reads :

'On pour the host in conquering might,
Tear down the Mogul's ensign white,
And o'er the fortress of their foes.
Their monarch's orange standard rose.
And now the cannon's thunder loud
Peal'd o'er the plain the conquest proud ;
Five times they spoke in flame and smoke,
And, Rajghur's distant towers awoke ;
"Singhur is ours," proclaimed the king,
And bid ten guns his answer ring.

. . . . . .

And ye, Marathas brave ! give ear,
Tanaji's exploits crowd to hear.
Where from your whole dominion wide
Shall such another be supplied ?'[2]

While Shivaji was thus conquering, reconquering, and consolidating, Prince Muazzam and Dilir Khan were again quarrelling and recriminating each other. In March, 1670, consequently, the English factors at Surat wrote, "Shivaji marches now not [as] before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes, and is not disturbed though the Prince lies near him."[3]

(vi) *Second Loot of Surat.* On 3rd October, 1670, Shivaji for a second time plundered Surat. The incidents of the previous raid repeated themselves in the course of three days. Property worth about 132 *lakhs* of rupees was carried away, and Surat remained in continuous dread of the Marathas until 1679. "But the real loss of Surat," observes Sarkar, "was not to be estimated by the booty which the Marathas carried off. The trade of this, the richest port of India, was practically destroyed. . . . Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this the greatest emporium of Western India."[4]

(vii) *Coronation to Death of Shivaji (1674-80).* The rest of Shivaji's relations with the Mughals may be briefly enumerated. Between the years 1671-72, in addition to the recovery of most of the territory ceded by the treaty of Purandar (1665), the Marathas annexed Baglana (north of Nasik district), and the Koli country (Jawahar and Ramnagar of Dharampur),

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
2 Acworth, *Ballads of the Marathas*, pp. 51-55.
3 O.C., 3415, cited by Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 203.

between Surat and Thana. In 1673 Panhala was annexed, and Kolhapur and Poona in 1675. By this time Shivaji had also got himself crowned (1674) at Raigarh, by which act he at once elevated himself from being a mere rebel or freebooter to the status of a crowned monarch. As Sarkar has well observed, "So long as he was a mere private subject, he could not, with all his power, claim the loyalty and the devotion of the people over whom he ruled. His promises could not have the sanctity and continuity of the public engagements of the head of a State. He could sign no treaty, grant no land with legal validity and an assurance of permanence. The territories conquered by his sword could not become his lawful property, however, undisturbed his possession over them might be in practice. The people living under his sway or serving under his banners, could not renounce their allegiance to the former sovereign of the land, nor be sure that they were exempt from the charge of treason for their obedience to him. The permanence of his political creation required that it should be validated as the act of a sovereign."[1]

During the last six years of his life (1674-80) Shivaji's conquests were mainly confined to the lands south of the limits already named. In a history of the Mughal Empire they have a place only as the future battle-ground between the Marathas and the Mughals, as the legacy of the fight with Shivaji after the death of the great enemy of the Empire. This comprised the southern division of Shivaji's *swarajya* (consisting of the Konkan, south of Bombay, Savant-vadi and the North Kanara coast, the Karnatak districts of Belgaum and Dharwar to Kopal west of the Tungabhadra river, and lastly portions of Mysore, Bellary, Chittur, and Arcot districts up to Vellore and Jinji) ; the northern division consisting of the *Dang* and Baglana, the Koli country south of Surat, Konkan north of Bombay, and the Deccan plateau of *Desh* southwards to Poona, and the Satara and Kolhapur districts.

"Outside these settled or half-settled parts of his kingdom, there was a wide and very fluctuating belt of land subject to his power but not owning his sovereignty. They were the adjacent parts of the Mughal Empire (*Mughalai* in Marathi), which formed the happy hunting-ground of his horsemen," and whence he levied *chauth*.[2]

3. Sambhaji (1680-89)

Shivaji died on 4th April, 1680.[3] This event followed by the escape of the rebellious Prince Akbar into the Deccan obliged Aurangzeb to come to the South,[4] where he was

1 *Ibid.*, p. 239.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 407.
3 He was then 50 years of age at that time. "Shivaji's real greatness," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "lay in his character and ability rather than in the originality of conception or length of political vision. Unfailing insight into the character of others, efficiency of arrangements, and instinctive perception of what was practicable and most profitable under the circumstances (*tact des choses possibles*)—these were the causes of his success in life. The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of the scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people. And he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty Powers like the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India, and the Abyssinians of Janjira.

'No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State defeat enemies ; they can conduct their own defence ; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry ; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own, and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners. He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth.' (*Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 240).
4 Aurangzeb arrived at Aurangabad on 22nd March, 1682.

destined to spend the remaining twenty-seven years of his life. Shivaji was succeeded by his reckless son Sambhaji, who though brave like his father was profligate to a degree. This prince, before his barbarous execution in 1689, followed the strategy of the great Maratha, and harried and plundered the Mughal territories in the Deccan. He also, like Shivaji, befriended the Kutb-shahi and Adil-shahi Sultans whenever it was convenient to co-operate with them against the Mughals.[1] Thus, in 1677, the Marathas had been promised 3,000 *hun* a day or 4½ *lakhs* of rupees a month and a contingent of 5,000 for the conquest of the Karnatak. Kutb Shah had also agreed to pay an annual subsidy of one *lakh* of *hun* regularly and to keep a Maratha ambassador at his Court. With this aid Shivaji had conquered, in the course of 1677-78, a territory of 40 by 60 leagues estimated to yield 20 *lakhs* of *hun* a year, and including a hundred forts. Similarly, in 1679, Shivaji had gone to the succour of helpless Bijapur and 'poured like a flood through the districts of Mughal Deccan, plundering and burning in their track and taking an immense booty in cash and kind." But this was Shivaji's last campaign.

(i) 'When Shivaji was dead,' writes Khafi Khan, 'his wretched son Sambha desired to surpass his father. He raised the standard of rebellion, and on the 20th *Muharram*, in the twenty-third year of the reign, corresponding with 1091 A.H. (15th Feb., 1680), he attacked Karkar Khan, who acted as collector of the *jiziya* under Khanzaman, the Subahdar of the Dakhin . . . . he fell upon Bahadurpur, one *kos* and a half from Burhanpur. This place was rich, and there were many bankers and merchants in it. Jewels, money and goods from all parts of the world were found in vast abundance. He surrounded and attacked this place, ... and his attack was so sudden and unexpected, ... that no one was able to save *dam* or a *diram* of his property, or a single one of his wives and children . . . . Seventeen other places of note, such as Hasanpura, etc., in the neighbourhood of the city, all wealthy and flourishing places were plundered and burnt.'[2]

(ii) When Prince Muhammad Akbar sought shelter in the Deccan (1680), he found his way to Rahiri (Raigarh), the capital of Sambhaji. 'This chieftain,' says Khafi Khan, 'came to receive him, gave him a house of his own to dwell in, about three *kos* from the fort of Rahiri, and fixed an allowance for his support.'[3] This, as we have seen already drew down the might of the Empire upon him, and Akbar finally escaped to Persia.

(iii) In the final campaign of Aurangzeb against Golkonda (1685-86), readers will remember that, among the Imperial charges against Abul Hasan, it was also stated : 'moreover it had lately become known that a *lac of pagodas* had been sent to the wicked Sambha.'

(iv) All these were sufficient grievances for Aurangzeb to organize his forces to crush Sambhaji. So, 'Prince Muhammad Azam Shah was sent in the 34th year of the reign, 1101 A.H.,[4] and some experienced *amirs* to punish the infidels about Bahadurgarh and

1 For a fuller study of the history of Golkonda, read Bendrey, *Kuth-shahi of Golkonda in the Seventeenth Century*. (Poona, 1934).
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 306.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 309.
4 The Mughal offensive was opened at the end of the rainy season, about the middle of September, 1683. (Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 302).

Gulshanabad. Firoz Jang, with another army, was sent to reduce the forts in the neighbourhood of Rajgarh. Mukarrab Khan, otherwise called Shaikh Nizam Haidarabadi, was sent against the infidel Sambha. Each of them endeavoured to distinguish himself in the performance of the service on which he had been sent. Mukarrab Khan distinguished above all the nobles of the Dakhin for his military knowledge and enterprise. He laid siege to the fort of Parnala, near Kolhapur, and sent out his spies in all directions to gather intelligence, and especially to get information about Sambha, *who in his vile and evil course of life was ten times worse than his father Sivaji* . . . .

'This ill-bred fellow left his old home at Rahiri, and went to the fort of Khelna. After satisfying himself of the state of its stores, and the settlement of the country round, under the guidance of adverse fortune, which kept him ignorant of the approach of the Imperial forces, he went to bathe in the waters of the Ban-Ganga, on the borders of the district of Sangamnir (Sangameshwar in the Ghats), one day's journey from the sea-shore. The place was situated in a valley, surrounded by high mountains of difficult passage. Here Kabkalas (Kalusha, Kavikulesh, or Kavikalas, a Kanauji boon companion of Sambhaji), the filthy dog had built a house, embellished with paintings and surrounded with a garden full of fruit-trees and flowers. Sambha, with Kabkalas, and his wives, and his son Sahu, went there, accompanied by a force of two or three thousand horse, *entirely unaware of the approach of the falcon of destiny.*' So writes Khafi Khan.

'After bathing, he lingered there, viewing the lofty hills, the arduous roads full of ascents and descents, and the thick woods of thorny trees. *Unlike his father he was addicted to wine, and fond of the society of handsome women, and gave himself up to pleasure.* Messengers brought him intelligence of the active movements of Mukarrab Khan ; but he was absorbed in the pleasures which bring so many men of might to their ruin . . . .' The other details need not be followed. Sambhaji and all his friends and family were taken prisoner to the Emperor. The degree of rejoicing that accompanied this event may be fairly taken as the measure of the Imperial satisfaction at the triumphant termination of Aurangzeb's long drawn out struggle with Shivaji and his son.

'It is said that during the four or five days when Mukarrab Khan was known to be coming with his prisoners, the rejoicings were so great among all classes, from chaste matrons to miserable men, that they could not sleep at night, and they went out two *kos* to meet the prisoners, and gave expression to their satisfaction. In every town and village on the road or near it wherever the news reached, there was great delight ; and wherever they passed, the doors and roofs were full of men and women, who looked on rejoicing. . . .' (So says the Imperial historian).[1]

1 Mukarrab Khan was well rewarded for this 'splendid and unparalleled success.... He granted to him an increase of 1,000 horse, gave him the title of Khan Zaman Fath-Jang, a present of 50,000 rupees, and of a horse, elephant, etc. etc. His son Ikhlas Khan, who held a *mansab* of 4,000 personal and 4,000 horse, had it increased a thousand, and received the title of Khan-i-Alam. His four or five sons and nephews also received titles and marks of favour.' (Khafi Khan—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 342).

'After they had been sent to their places of confinement, some of the councillors of the state advised that their lives should be spared, and that they should be kept in perpetual confinement, on condition of surrendering the keys of the fortress held by Sambha . . . .the Emperor was in favour of seizing the opportunity of getting rid of these prime movers of the strife, and hoped that with a little exertion their fortresses would be reduced. He, therefore, rejected the advice, and would not consent to spare them on condition of receiving the keys of the fortresses. He gave orders that the tongues of both should be torn out. Then, with ten or eleven other persons, they were to be put to death with a variety of tortures, and lastly, he ordered that the skins of the heads of Sambha and Kabkalas should be stuffed with straw, and exposed in all the cities and towns of the Dakhin, with beat of drum and sound of trumpet. Such is the retribution for rebellious, violent, oppressive evil-doers' (so says Khafi Khan).[1]

'Sahu, the son of Sambha, a boy of seven years of age, was spared, and orders were given for his being kept within the limits of the palace. Suitable teachers were appointed to educate him, and a *mansab* of 7,000 was granted to him . . . . . Some women, including the mother and daughters of Sambha, were sent to the fortress of Daulatabad.'[2]

4. Rajaram : 1689-1700

Sambhaji's tragedy was the outcome of his own impolicy and ineptitude. As Sarkar has well observed, "While Aurangzib was directing the full strength of his empire against Bijapur and Golkonda, Shambhuji made no adequate effort to meet the danger that threatened all the Deccani Powers alike. His soldiers plundered places in the Mughal territory as a matter of routine, but these raids did not influence the military situation. Aurangzib disregarded such pin-pricks. The Maratha king was not wise enough to follow any large and well-thought-out plan for diverting the Mughals from the sieges of Bijapur (1686) and Golkonda (1687) and averting their fall ; his Government was also hopelessly weakened by rebellions among his vassals and plots among his courtiers."[3]

The weakness of hereditary monarchy, in an unsettled country with no defined principles of succession, had been demonstrated in Maharashtra as well, immediately after Shivaji's death. Rajaram, a lad of ten years (the younger son of Shivaji by another wife), had been preferred by some of the nobility to his profligate elder step-brother Sambhaji. But within a short time Sambhaji came into his own, with the results we have witnessed. Aurangzeb found hardly any respite even after the execution of Sambhaji. Rajaram immediately stepped into the shoes of his deceased step-brother. 'Messengers now brought to the knowledge of the Emperor,' writes Khafi Khan, 'that the forces of Ram Raja (as he calls Rajaram) had marched in various directions to ravage the territories and reduce the forts belonging to the Imperial throne.'[4]

The wearisome campaigning of the next ten years may be only very briefly told here. "The years 1688 and 1689 were a period of unbroken triumph to the Emperor. His armies took possession of the forts and provinces of the annexed kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, e.g., Sagar

1 This tragedy was enacted at Koregaon, on the banks of the Bhima, 12 miles N.E. of Poona, on 11th March, 1689.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 337-42.
3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 307.
4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 346.

(the Berad capital), Raichur and Adoni (in the east), Sera and Bangalore (in Mysore), Wandewash and Conjeveram (in the Madras Karnatak), Bankapur and Belgaum (in the extreme south west), besides Raigarh (the capital) and many other Maratha forts. In Northern India, too, signal success attended his arms ; the Jat rising under Rajaram was put down and that leader was slain (on 4th July, 1688)."[1]

The Marathas were past-masters in tactics. Rajaram under the advice of his minister (*Amatya*) Ramchandra Nilkantha Bavdekar, escaped to Jinji in order to divide the Imperial forces by creating a diversion in the eastern Karnatak. In the Maratha dominions nearer home the *Amatya* himself was appointed Dictator (*Hakhmatpanah*) with his headquarters at Vishalgarh. Between these two fronts the Mughal forces were frittered away. "The difficulties of Aurangzib," observes Sarkar, "were only multiplied by the disappearance of a common head and a central government among the Marathas, as every Maratha captain with his own retainers fought and raided in a different quarter and on his own account. It now became a people's war, and Aurangzeb could not end it, because there was no Maratha government or State army for him to attack and destroy."[2] "It was no longer a simple military problem, but had become a trial of endurance and resources between the Mughal empire and the indigenous people of the Deccan."[3]

(i) The first reverse of the Imperialist came in May, 1690, when the Mughal general Rustam Khan was captured and his camp looted by the Marathas. This was the achievement of the Maratha general Santaji Ghorpade.

> 'Every one who encountered him,' says Khafi Khan, 'was either killed or wounded and made prisoner ; or if any one did escape, it was with his mere life, with the loss of his army and baggage. Nothing could be done, for wherever *the accursed dog* went and threatened an attack, there was no Imperial *amir* bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made boldest warriors quake. Ismail Khan was accounted one of the bravest and most skilful warriors of the Dakhin, but he was defeated in the first action, his army was plundered, and he himself was wounded and made prisoner. After some months he obtained his release, on the payment of a large sum of money. So also Rustam Khan, otherwise called Sharza Khan, the *Rustam* of the time and as brave as lion, was defeated by him in the district of Satara, and after losing his baggage and all that he had with him, he was taken prisoner, and had to pay a large sum for his ransom. Ali Mardan Khan, otherwise called Husaini Beg Haidarabadi, ... was defeated and made prisoner with several others. After detention of some days, they obtained their release on paying a ransom of two *lacs* of rupees."[4]

(ii) In 1691, the Mughal position at Jinji became very critical. Next year matters were made worse by the negotiations of Prince Kam Bakhsh with the enemy ; so he was arrested by his colleagues (Dec., 1692 to Jan., 1693). Between 1691-96, the activities of Pidia Nayak, the Berad chief, harassed the Imperial arms in the strategically important tract between Bidar and Bijapur and from Raichur to Malkhed.

(iii) "At last, by April, 1695, Aurangzeb came to realize that he had

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 316.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 326.
4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 347.

really gained nothing by the conquest of the Adil-shahi and Qutb-shahi capitals and the extinction of their royal lines. He now perceived that the Maratha problem was no longer what it had been in Shivaji's time, or even in Shambhuji's. They were no longer a tribe of banditti or local rebels, but *the one dominating factor of Deccan politics*, the only enemy left to the empire, and yet an enemy all-pervasive from Bombay to Madras across the Indian peninsula, elusive as the wind, without any headman or stronghold whose capture would naturally result in the extinction of their power."[1] Giving up all hopes, therefore, of being able to return to the North, Aurangzeb in May, 1695, sent his eldest surviving son, Shah Alam, to govern and guard the north-west (the Punjab, Sindh, and then Afghanistan). For the next $4\frac{1}{2}$ years he settled down at Islampuri (Bahadurgarh) to conduct the operations. The chief incidents of this period were the destruction of two Mughal generals, Kasim Khan (Nov., 1695) and Himmat Khan (Jan., 1696), the murder of Santaji Ghorpade in a domestic feud, and the return of Rajaram as a result of the fall of Jinji in January, 1698.

The circumstances attending on the defeat of Kasim Khan are thus detailed by Khafi Khan :

> 'In fine, for a month they were besieged within the four walls (of Danderi), and, every day affairs grew worse with them. They were compelled to kill and eat their baggage and riding horses, which were themselves nearly starved. For all the greatest care and economy, the stores of grain in the fort were exhausted. . .To escape from starvation many men threw themselves from the walls and trusted to the enemy's mercy. . . .People brought fruit and sweetmeats from the enemy's *bazar* to the foot of the walls, and sold them at extravagant prices. . . .Reverses, disease, deficiency of water and want of grain, reduced the garrison to the verge of death. Kasim Khan, according to report, poisoned himself, or died from want of the usual potion of opium, for he was overcome with disappointment and rage.
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> 'Ruhullah Khan and the other officers were compelled to make overtures for a capitulation. . . .Some officers went out to settle the terms of the ransom. Santa said, "Besides the elephants and horses, and money and property, which you have with you, I will not take less than a *lac* of *huns*," equivalent to three *lacs* and 50,000 rupees. A Dakhini officer said, "What are you thinking of! this is a mere trifle. This is a ransom which I would fix for Ruhullah Khan, alone." Finally, seven *lacs* of rupees was settled as the ransom, the payment of which was to be distributed among the officers. Each one's share was settled, and he made an engagement to pay as ransom, and to leave a relation or officer of rank with Santa as bail for payment. Santa's officers sat down at the gate of the fort, and allowed each officer to take his horse and his personal clothing, the others were allowed to carry out as much as they could bear in their arms. Everything else, money and jewels, horses and elephants, etc., were confiscated by Santa. . . .*The Government and personal property lost during this war and siege exceeded fifty or sixty lacs of rupees.*"[2]

(iv) With the flight of Rajaram from Jinji began the last phase of

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 317.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 356-57.

Aurangzeb's war in the Deccan. "The rest of his life (1699-1707) is a repetition of the same sickening tale : a hill-fort captured by him after a vast expenditure of time, men and money, the fort recovered by the Marathas from the weak Mughal garrison after a few months, and its siege begun again by the Mughals a year or two later ! His soldiers and camp-followers suffered unspeakable hardships, in marching overflooded rivers,[1] muddy road, and broken hilly tracts ; porters disappeared ; transport beasts died of hunger and overwork ; scarcity of grain was ever present in his camp. His officers wearied of this labour of Sisyphus ; but Aurangzeb would burst into wrath at any suggestion of return to Northern India and taunt the unlucky counsellor with cowardice and love to ease. The mutual jealousies of his generals ruined his affairs as completely as the French cause in the Peninsular War was ruined by the jealousies of Napoleon's marshals. Therefore, the Emperor must conduct every operation in person, or nothing would be done. The siege of eight forts—Satara, Parli, Panhala, Khelna (Vishalgarh), Kondana (Simhagarh), Rajgarh, Torna and Wagingera,—occupied him for five years and a half (1699-1705)."[2]

(v) The fact that, with the exception of Torna, all other forts yielded to the golden key of bribery, throws a lurid light on the extent of demoralization that had come over the successors of Baji Prabhu or Tanaji. Out of this welter we might choose for description only the siege of Satara which is reminiscent of the siege of Chitor by Akbar, in its strenuous effort and appalling toll of destruction.

> 'At the end of *Jumad-as-sani* (Dec., 1699) the royal army arrived opposite Satara, and the camp was pitched at a distance of a *kos* and a half. Prince Muhammad Azam Shah encamped on another side, and the *amirs* and officers were posted according to the judgment of Tarbiyat Khan. They all vied with each other in throwing up lines, digging mines, and carrying on other siege operations. . . . On both sides a heavy fire was kept up. . . .and the garrison rolled down great stones, which came bounding down and crushed many men and animals. The rain obstructed the arrival corn ; the enemy were very daring in attacking the convoys, and the country for twenty *kos* round the fortress had been burnt, so that grain and hay became very scarce and dear. A battery twenty-four yards (*dar'a*) high was thrown up in face of the hill, and on the Prince's side also the batteries were carried to the foot of the hill. A hundred and sixty thousand rupees were paid for the services of the troops and *mawalis* of that country, who are very efficient in sieges. . . .Matters went hard with the garrison, and the chance of firing a gun or a musket was no longer in their power ; all that they could do was to roll down stones from the walls. . . .
>
> 'Stone-masons were employed by the besiegers to cut two vaults

1 Here is a description of one such flood, given by Khafi Khan : "In the month of *Muharram* of this year (1695-96), the river Bharana (Bhima) near which the royal camp was pitched, rose to a great height, and overflowed, causing enormous destruction. The *amirs* had built many houses there. The waters began to overflow at midnight, when all the world was asleep....The floods carried off about ten or twelve thousand men, with the establishments of the king, and the princes and the *amirs* ; horses, bullocks and cattle in countless numbers, tents and furniture beyond all count. Numberless houses were destroyed, and some were so completely carried away that not a trace of them was left. Great fear fell on all the army....*The King wrote out prayers with his own hand, and ordered them to be thrown into the water, for the purpose of causing it to subside !*" (*Ibid.*, p. 361).

2 Sarkar, *op, cit.*, p. 319.

in the side of the rock four yards broad and ten yards long, which were to be used as stations for sentinels. But when they were found not to answer for this purpose, they were filled with powder. . . .On the morning of the 5th *Zil kada* in the fourth month of the siege, one of these was fired. The rock and the wall above it were blown into the air and fell inside the fortress. Many of the garrison were blown up and burnt. The besiegers, on beholding this, pushed boldly forward. All that time the second mine was fired. A portion of the rock above was blown up, but instead of falling into the fortress as was expected, it came down upon the heads of besiegers like a mountain of destruction, and several thousands were buried under it. . . .The garrison then set about repairing the walls and they again opened fire and rolled down the life-destroying stones.

'When Aurangzeb was informed of the disaster and of the despondency of his men, he mounted his horse, and went to the scene of action as if in search of death. He gave orders that the bodies of the dead should be piled upon each other and made to serve as shields against the arrows of calamities ; then with the ladder of resolution, and the scaling-ropes of boldness, the men should rush to the assault. When he perceived that his words made no impression on the men, he was desirous to lead the way himself, accompanied by Muhammad Azam Shah. But the nobles objected to this rash proposition.

'An extraordinary incident now occurred. A great number of Hindu infantry soldiers had been killed all at once (in the explosion), and their friends were unable to send and bring out their bodies. The violence of the shock had entirely disfigured them, and it was not possible to distinguish between Musulman and Hindu, friend and stranger. The flames of animosity burst forth among all the gunners against the commander of the artillery. So at night they secretly set fire to the defences (*marhala*), which had been raised at great trouble and expense against the fire from above, in the hope and with the design that the fire might reach the corpses of the slaughtered Hindus. A great conflagration followed, and for the space of a week served as a bright lamp both for besiegers and besieged. A number of Hindus and Musulmans who were alive in the huts were unable to escape, and were burnt, the living with the dead."[1]

5. Last Phase : 1700-1707

Rajaram, who since his return from Jinji had occupied himself with inspecting his forts in Konkan and forming plans of extensive raids in Khandesh and Berar, died at Simhagarh on 2nd March, 1700. He had left Satara on 26th October, 1699, in order to escape falling into the hands of the enemy. The news of his death disheartened the besieged at Satara and led to the capitulation of that fortress in April, 1700.

The nature of the struggle after the death of Rajaram is thus depicted by Khafi Khan :

'When Ram Raja died, leaving only widows and infants, men thought that the power of the Marathas over the Dakhin was at an end. But Tara Bai, the elder wife (of Rajaram), made her son[2] of

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 364-66.

2 This was Shivaji III. He had been preceded by Karna, a natural son of Rajaram, who had been crowned by the ministers as Shivaji II ; but he died of small-pox in three weaks' time.

three years old successor of his father, and took the reins of government into her own hands.[1] She took vigorous measures for ravaging the Imperial territory, and sent armies to plunder the six *subas* of the Dakhin as far as Sironj, Mandisor, and the *suba* of Malwa. She won the hearts of her officers, and for all the struggles and schemes the campaigns and sieges of Aurangzeb up to the end of his reign, the power of the Marathas increased day by day. By hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Shah Jahan, and by sacrifice of many thousands of men, he had penetrated into their wretched country, had subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still the daring of the Marathas increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went. In imitation of the Emperor, who with his armies and enterprising *amirs* was staying in those distant mountaias, the commanders of Tara Bai cast the anchor of permanence wherever they penetrated, and having appointed *kamaishdars* (revenue collectors), they passed the years and months to their satisfaction with their wives and children, tents and elephants. Their daring went beyond all bounds. They divided all the districts (*parganas*) among themselves, and following the practice of the Imperial rule, they appointed their *subadars* (provincial governors), *kamaishdars* (revenue collectors), and *rahdars* (toll-collectors). . . .They attacked and destroyed the country as far as the borders of Ahmadabad and the districts of Malwa, and spread their devastation through the provinces of the Dakhin to the environs of Ujjain. They fell upon and plundered large caravans within ten or twelve *kos* of the Imperial camp, and even had the hardihood to attack the royal treasure.' Khafi Khan winds up by saying, 'It would be a troublesome and useless task to commit to writing all their misdeeds : but it must suffice to record some few of the events which occurred in those days of sieges, *which, after all, had no effect in suppressing the daring of the Marathas.*'[2]

There was corruption in both the camps, as well as feuds and defections among important officers. But this weakness was more than counterbalanced by the determination of Aurangzeb on the one hand, and the intrepid leadership of Tara Bai on the other. For a time the Emperor tried to make political capital out of Shahu (Sambhaji's eldest son) who was in the Imperial camp ever since the capture and execution of his father ; but this proved of no avail. As Bhimsen puts it, "As the Marathas had not been vanquished and the entire Deccan had come into their possession like a deliciously cooked pudding, why should they make peace ? . . . .The envoys of the Prince returned in disappointment, and Raja Sahu was again placed under surveillance in the *gulal bar.*"[3]

So the laborious and endless task of capturing individual fortresses was continued. After Satara (1700) came Parli (1701), Panhala (1701), Khelna (1701), Kondana (1703), Raigarh (1703) and Torna (1704),—all excepting the last being taken, not so much by assault, as by what Khafi Khan calls 'negotiations with the commandants and promises of material advancement.'[4] The last expedition ever led by Aurangzeb in person was

1 Elsewhere the same writer speaks of Tara Bai as a clever and intelligent woman, who had obtained a reputation during her husband's lifetime for her knowledge of civil and military matters.—*Ibid.*, p. 367.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 373-75.
3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 377.

against the Berad[1] chief Pidiya Naik. He proved the last political straw that broke the Imperial camel's back. The capture of Wagingera, in April, 1705, was a pyrrhic victory for Aurangzeb. "Wagingera was captured, but its chieftain had escaped and lived to give trouble to the victors. Thus, all Aurangzeb's labours for these three months were lost."

Desolation and Death

The ultimate result of Aurangzeb's nearly a quarter century of campaigning in the Deccan is thus described by Manucci, a contemporary European observer : "Aurangzeb withdrew to Ahmednagar leaving behind him the fields of these provinces devoid of trees and bare of crops, their place being taken by the bones of men and beasts. Instead of verdure all is blank and barren. There have died in his armies over a hundred thousand souls yearly, and of animals, pack-oxen, camels, elephants etc., over three hundred thousand. . . .In the Deccan provinces, from 1702 to 1704, plague[2] (and famine) prevailed. In these two years there expired over two millions of souls."[3] The retreat of Aurangzeb to Ahmednagar brought no rest to his army or peace to his Empire. In April or May, 1706, a great Maratha army under all its leaders appeared within four miles of his camp, and they were repulsed only after a very severe contest.

In the twinkle, in a minute, in a breath, the condition of the world changes.

The last moment of Aurangzeb's life came on the morning of Friday, 20th February, 1707. The events leading up to it are thus described by Khafi Khan :

1 This is evidently a mistake for *Bedaru* or hunters. Sarkar uses the form as used in the text, I do not know for what reasons The Persians used it as *be-dar*, i.e., 'fearless'. Khafi Khan says of their chief Parya Naik, as he calls him, 'Having taken up his residence at Wakinkera, he showed no signs of moving, but set about strengthening and adding to the defences, and laying in warlike stores. Favoured by fortune, he in time collected nearly 14 or 15 thousand infantry of vigour and audacity. He made his hill a strong fortress, and collecting in a short time 4 or 5 thousand horses, he ravaged flourishing places far and near, and plundered caravans. Whenever an army was sent against him, the strong force which he had collected around him, the strength of his retreat, the influence of money spent in bribery, a practice which he well understood, his knowledge of *darbar* proceedings, and his own audacity, carried him through ; and bags of money and a variety of presents covered all discrepancies in his statements. In his letters he made all sorts of artful excuses, and represented himself as one of the most obedient of *Zamindars* and punctual of revenue-payers. Every month and year he exerted himself in increasing his buildings, strengthening his powers and walls, in gathering forces, and acquiring guns, great and small At last his place became well known as the fort of Wakinkera, and he became a fast ally of the Marathas, the disturbers of the Dakhin.'—*Ibid.*, p. 378.

2 Here is Khafi Khan's account of the plague :
'The plague (*ta-un*) and pestilence (*waba*), which had for several years been in the Dakhin as far as port of Surat and the city of Ahmedabad, now broke out with violence in Bijapur, and in royal camp. It was so virulent that when an individual was attacked with it, he gave up all hope, and thought only about his nursing and mourning. The black-pated guest-slayer of the sky sought to pick out the seed of the human race from the field of the world, and the cold blast of destruction tried to cut down the tree of life from thv surface of the world. The visible marks of the plague were swellings as big as a grape or banana under the arms, behind the ears, and in the groin, and a redness was perceptible round the pupils of the eyes, as in fever or pestilence (*waba*). It was the business of heirs to provide for the interment of the dead, but thousands of obscure and friendless persons of no property died in the towns and markets, and very few of them had the means of burial....It began in the 27th year of the reign and lasted for seven or eight years.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 337.

3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 375-76.

In April, 1705, 'The Emperor was seized with illness, and had severe pains in his limbs, which caused grave apprehension. But he exerted himself, took his seat in the public hall, and engaged in business, thus giving consolation to the people. But his illness increased, he had fainting fits and lost his senses so that very alarming reports spread abroad, and for ten or twelve days the army and camp were in great distress. But by the mercy of God he grew better, and occasionally showed himself to the people in the public hall. The army was in the enemy's country, without house or home; and if the sad calamity (of the Emperor's death) were to happen, not one soul would escape from that land of mountains and raging infidels.' After his recovery he proceeded to Ahmednagar (20th Jan., 1706). 'Prince Muhammad Azam Shah was in the province of Ahmedabad. When he heard of his father's illness, he wrote for leave to visit his father, stating as an excuse that the climate of Ahmedabad was very unfavourable to him. This displeased the Emperor, who replied that he had written a letter of exactly the same effect to his father Shah Jahan when he was ill, and that he was told in answer, that every air (*hawa*) was suitable to a man except the fumes (*huwa*) of ambition. But the Prince wrote repeatedly to the same effect, and was then appointed to the *suba* of Malwa. He did not, however, go to Ujjain, but wrote for leave to visit his father. A grudging permission was given, and the Prince made the best of his way, so that he arrived at the end of the month. The *suba* of Ahmedabad, which was taken from him, was given to Muhammad Ibrahim Khan. . . .

'When Prince Muhammad Azam Shah reached his father's Court, his confidence in his own courage and boldness, and his pride in the army and treasure he had got together at Ahmedabad, made him aspire to the royal state and treasure. He thought nothing about his elder brother, but considered himself the chief in every way. Prince Muhammad Khan Bakhsh he looked upon as removed from rivalry by incompetence. But he had observed the altered temper of his father, whose feelings were not always in their natural state. His first thoughts fell upon Prince Muhammad Azim (Azimu-sh-Shan, son of Muazzam), who was at Azimabad or Patna, in Bihar, where he had been sometime *Subadar*, and had obtained a repute for amassing treasures. Therefore, he wished to remove him by getting him recalled to Court; and by various representations, some false, some true, he so worked upon the mind of the Emperor, that orders were issued for his recall, . . .and the Prince proceeded to wait upon his grandfather.

'Confirmation was received, through the Governor of Multan, of the death of Prince Muhammad Akbar, in Garmsir, the report of which had been current for a year past. . . .

'Prince Azam Shah. . . .now sought a pretext for a quarrel with Prince Kam Bakhsh. The Emperor slightly improved in health; but although for some days he went into the public hall of audience and the Court of Justice, he was very weak, and death was clearly marked on his face. Prince Azam's feelings towards Prince Kam Bakhsh, who was a poet and learned man, now displayed themselves in various slights and improper actions whenever an opportunity offered. Kam Bakhsh was dear to his father, for it often happens that men have the greatest affection for their youngest sons. So the Emperor appointed a nobleman to act as the *bakhshi* of Kam Bakhsh, and to

him he entrusted the Prince, with instructions to take care of him. . . .

'The foresight of the Emperor told him that his health was failing, and he saw that Prince (Azam's) pretensions increased daily. He knew that if two unchained lions were left together, after his decease there would be divisions in the army, and great disturbances among the people. His affection for Kam Bakhsh also worked upon him. He sent Kam Bakhsh with all the signs and honours of royalty to Bijapur, and the drums of the royal *naubat-khana* were ordered to play as he departed. The sight of all this made Prince Azam writhe like a poisonous serpent, but he could not say a word. In two or three days he also received orders to proceed to Malwa in charge of strict officers.

'After the departure of the two Princes, the Emperor grew much worse, and fever increased. But for the next four or five days, notwithstanding the severity of the disease, he attended carefully to the regular prayers. In this state of things Hamid-ud-din Khan presented a letter containing the advice of astrologers, recommending the giving away of an elephant and a valuable diamond in charity. To that the Emperor wrote in reply, the giving away of an elephant was the practice of the Hindus and of star-worshippers ; but he sent four thousand rupees to the chief *kazi*, for him to distribute among the deserving. In the same letter he wrote, saying "*Carry this creature of dust quickly to the first (burial) place and consign him to the earth without any useless coffin.*" It is said that he wrote a will dividing his kingdom among his sons, and entrusted it to Hamid-ud-din Khan.[1]

'On Friday, the 28 *Zil-ka'da*, in the fifty-first year of the reign, corresponding with 1118 A.H. (February 21, 1707 A.D.), after performing morning prayers and repeating the creed, at about one watch of the day, the Emperor departed this life. He was ninety years and some months old, and had reigned fifty years, two months and a half. He was buried near Daulatabad (at Khuldabad) by the tombs of Shaikh Burhan-ud-din and other religious worthies, and of Shah Zari Zar-bakhsh, and some districts of Burhanpur were assigned for the maintenance of his tomb.'

Finally, Khafi Khan winds up with the following estimate of the Emperor :

The following (India Office Library MS. 1344, f. 49b), said to have been written with his own hand by Aurangzeb and left under his pillow on his death-bed, is also given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar :

'I was helpless [in life] and I am departing helpless. Whichever of my sons has the good fortune of gaining the kingship, he should

1 A translation of this alleged will as given in the *Ahkam-i-'Alamgiri*, ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan Bahadur, is given by Sarkar. The following extracts from it may be noted : 'Four rupees and two annas, out of the price of the caps sewn by me, are with Aia Beg, the *mahaldar*. Take the amount and spend it on the shroud of this helpless creature. Three hundred and five Rupees, from the wages of copying the Quran, are in my purse for personal expenses. Distribute them to the faqirs on the day of my death... Take the remaining necessary articles from the agent of Prince Alijah (Azam), as he is the nearest heir among my sons, and on him lies the responsibility of the lawful or unlawful [practices of my funeral] ; this helpless person (i.e., Aurangzeb) is not answerable for them, because the dead are at the mercy of the survivors... Cover the top of the coffin on my bier with the coarse white cloth called *gazi*. Avoid the spreading of a canopy and innovations like [processions of] musicians and the celebration of the Prophet's Nativity (*Mauled*).'

not trouble Kam Bakhsh, if the latter is constant with the two provinces of Bijapur and Haidarabad. There is not, nor will there [ever] be any wazir better than Azad Khan. Dianat Khan, the diwan of the Deccan, is better than other imperial servants. With true devotion entreat Muhammad Azam Shah—if he agrees to the mode of partitioning the empire which was proposed in my lifetime, then there will be no fighting between armies and no slaughter of mankind. Do not dismiss my hereditary servants, nor molest them. The occupant of the throne should have [one of] the two subahs of Agra and Delhi, and whoever agrees to take the former [of these] will get four subahs of the old kingdom—Agra [*sic*] Malva, Gujarat, and Ajmir and the *chaklas* dependent on them,—and four subahs of the Deccan, namely, Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad, and Bidar and their ports. And whosoever agrees to take the latter [i.e., Delhi] will get the eleven subahs of the old kingdom—Delhi, Punjab, Kabul, Multan, Tatta, Kashmir, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, Allahabad and Oudh.' [Another version is given in Fraser's *Nadir Shah*, 36-37. See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, i. 6]—*Ibid.*, 387-90.

Of all the sovereigns of the House of Timur—nay, of all the sovereigns of Delhi—no one since Sikandar Lodi, has ever been apparently so distinguished for demotion, austerity, and justice. In courage, long suffering, and sound judgment he was unrivalled. But from reverence for the injunctions of the Law, he did not make use of punishment, and without punishment the administration of a country cannot be maintained. Dissensions had arisen among his nobles through rivalry. So every plan and project that he formed came to little good ; and every enterprise which he undertook was long in execution, and failed of its object. Although he lived for ninety years, his five senses were not at all impaired, except his hearing, and that too only so slight an extent that it was not perceptible to others. He often passed his nights in vigils and devotion, and he denied himself many pleasures naturally belonging to humanity.'[1] So passed away Aurangzeb whom Sarkar calls "the greatest of the Great Mughals save one."[2]

The last years of the Emperor were crowded with bereavements. "His domestic life." observes Sarkar, "was darkened, as bereavements thickened round his closing eyes. His best-loved daughter-in-law, Jahanzeb Banu, died in Gujarat in March, 1705. His rebel son Akbar had died in exile in a foreign soil in 1704. Still earlier his gifted daughter, the poetess Zeb-un-nisa, had ended her days in the prison of Delhi (1702). And now Gauhar-ara Begum, the sole survivor among his numerous brothers and sisters, died in 1706, and the news of it dragged out of his heart the pathetic cry, which he repeated again and again, 'She and I alone were left among Shah Jahan's children !' In May, 1706, his daughter Mihr-un-nisa and her husband Izid Bakhsh (Murad's son) both died together in Delhi, and next month Buland Akhtar, the son of Akbar. Two of his grand-children died shortly before his own death (1707), but his ministers mercifully withheld the news from the sinking man."[3]

The pathos of this double tragedy, domestic and political, rings through Aurangzeb's last letters written to his sons. One may be quoted *in extenso* as a sample of the rest.

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 382-87.
2 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 384.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Last Letter to Azam

'Peace be on you !

'Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong ; strength has left my limbs. I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have left only regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry.

'Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not ; no trace is left of the days that are no more ; and of the future there is no hope.

'My fever has departed, leaving only the skin and husks behind it. My son Kam Bakhsh, who has gone to Bijapur, is near me. And you are nearer even than he. Dear Shah Alam is farthest of all. Grandson Muhammad Azim has, by order of the Great God, arrived near Hindustan (from Bengal).

'All the soldiers are feeling helpless, bewildered, and perturbed like me, who, having chosen to leave my Master, are now in a state of trepidation like quicksilver. They think not that we have our Lord Father (ever with us). I brought nothing with me (into the world), and am carrying away with me the fruits of my sins. I know not what punishment will fall on me. Though I have strong hopes of His grace and kindness, yet in view of my acts anxiety does not leave me. When I am parting from my own self, who else would remain to me ? (Verse)

Whatever the wind may be,

I am launching my boat on the water.

'Though the Lord Cherisher will preserve His slaves, yet from the point of view of the outer world, it is also the duty of my sons to see that God's creatures and Muslims may not be unjustly slain.

'Convey to my grandson Bahadur (i.e., Bidar Bakht) my parting blessing. At the time of going away I do not see him ; the desire of meeting remains (unsatisfied). Though the Begum is, as can be seen, afflicted with grief, yet God is the master of our hearts. Shortness of sight bears no other fruit than disappointment.

'Farewell ! Farewell ! Farewell !'[1]

V. Aurangzeb and the Europeans

Aurangzeb's relations with the Europeans, except when they were piratical or otherwise recalcitrant, were on the whole friendly. Though the days of active patronage of the Christians were over, they did not suffer as might have been expected under Aurangzeb's pontifical regime. Being strong where the Empire was weak, namely at sea, they were distinctly in a diplomatically advantageous position. Besides this, on the west coast, they could and did play a double game as between the Mughals and the Marathas ; they tried to bargain with both. As artillerymen their services were greatly appreciated in that military age. Their contribution to the revenues of the Empire, by way of customs was not negligible. If not kept friendly they were a source of great irritation and danger to the pilgrim and other traffic at the ports and in the sea. The principal nationals concerned in this were the Portuguese and the English ; the

1 Sarkar's translation from Br. Museum Addl. 26240—*Ibid.*, p. 385.

Dutch and the French played only a secondary role, at least in their direct relations with the Empire.

A. The Portuguese

Khafi Khan gives the following account of the Portuguese in the time of Aurangzeb :

'The officers of the King of Portugal occupied several neighbouring ports, and had erected forts in strong positions and under the protection of hills. They built villages, and in all matters acted very kindly towards the people, and did not vex them with oppressive taxes. They allotted a separate quarter for the Musalmans who dwelt with them, and appointed a *kazi* over them to settle all matters of taxes and marriage. *But the call to prayer and public devotion were not permitted in their settlements.* If a poor traveller had to pass through their possessions, he would meet with no other trouble ; but he would not be able to say his prayers at his ease. *On the sea they are not like the English, and do not attack other ships* which have not received their pass according to rule, or the ships of Arabia and Maskat, with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity offers. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands, they look upon it as their prize. *But their greatest act of tyranny is this.* If a subject of these misbelievers dies, leaving young children, and no grown-up son, the children are considered wards of the State. They take them to their places of worship, their churches, which they have built in many places, and the *padris*, that is to say the priests, instruct the children in the Christian religion, and bring them up in their own faith, whether the child be a Musulman *saiyid* or a Hindu *Brahman*. They also make them serve as slaves.

'In the Adil-shahi Konkan, close to the sea, in the fine and famous fort of Goa, their governor resides ; and there is a captain there who exercises full powers on the port of Portugal. They have also established some other ports and flourshing villages. Besides this, the Portuguese occupy the country from 14 or 15 *kos* south of Surat to the boundaries of the fort of Bombay, which belongs to the English, and to the borders of the territories of the Habshis which is called the Nizam-shahi Konkan. In the rear of the hills of Baglana, and in strong positions, difficult of access, near the fort of Gulshanabad, they have built seven or eight other forts, small and great. Two of these, by name Daman and Basi, which they obtained by fraud from Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, they have made very strong, and the villages around are flourishing. Their possessions measure in length about 40 or 50 *kos* ; but they are not more than a *kos* or a *kos* and a half in width. They cultivate the skirts of the hills, and grow the best products, such as sugar-cane, pine-apples, and rice ; and cocoa-nut trees, and betel-nut vines, in vast numbers, from which they derive a very large revenue.

'They have made for use in their districts a silver coin called *ashrafi*, worth nine *annas*. They also use bits of copper which they call *buzurg*, and four of these *buzurgs* pass for a *fulus*. *The orders of the King (of India) are not current there.* When the people there marry, the girl is given as the dowry, and they leave the management of all affairs, in the house and out of it, to their wives. They have only one wife, and concubinage is not permitted by their religion. . .'[1]

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp 344-46.

(i) *Pirates of Chatgaon.* The chief trouble to the Empire, as we saw under Shah Jahan, was from the pirates of Chatgaon. Besides the Maghs and Arrakanese, they included among them a good number of Portuguese and half-caste adventurers. Evidently these had never been tamed by the severe measures taken by Aurangzeb's father. Indeed, when their captain was asked by Shayistha Khan, the Mughal Governor of Bengal, "What did the *zamindar* of the Maghs fix as your salary ?" the corsair-chief had the audacity to reply, "*Our salary was the Imperial dominion ! We considered the whole of Bengal as our jagir.* All the twelve months of the year we made our collection (i.e., booty) without trouble. We had never to brother ourselves about *amlas* and *amins* ; nor had we to render accounts and balances to anybody. Passage over water was (land) survey. We never slackened the enhancement of *our* rents, viz., booty. For years we have left no arrears of (this) revenue. We have with us papers of the division of the booty, village by village, for the last 40 years."[1]

Mir Jumla, on account of his preoccupation with the Assam campaign and his sudden death, having failed to suppress these *Feringi* pirates, Shayistha Khan (who succeeded to the viceroyalty of Bengal on 8th March, 1664) determined to suppress them once for all. Their cruelties had become intolerable. Manucci describes them as 'men hard of heart, accustomed to kill even little children without regret.' The details of the campaign may be read in Sarkar.[2] On the morning of 26th January, 1666, the fort of Chatgaon, the nest of the pirates (Magh and *Feringi*), surrendered. "Large numbers of the peasants of Bengal who had been carried off and kept prisoners here, were now released from the Magh oppression and returned to their homes.' (*Alamgir-nama*). 'On 27th January, 1666, Buzurg Ummed Khan entered the fort of Chatgaon, reassured the people that their lives were safe, and firmly forbade his soldiers to oppress the people, in order to cause the place to be well-populated and prosperous.' (Shihabuddin). The place was re-named Islamabad.

(ii) *Diplomatic Relations.* In the war with the Marathas, as already noticed, the Portuguese, being placed between two fires, tried to receive warmth from both without getting scorched. By way of illustration may be cited the conduct of the Portuguese viceroy at the time of Jai Singh. In reply to letters from the latter, in 1665, the former replied assuring that he had sent orders to all the captains not to help Shivaji, according to Jai Singh's request.[3] A treaty was signed, in January, 1667, between the Portuguese and the Mughals, in which was agreed among other things that the 'Farangian should not protect (pardon, *lit.*) in their kingdom a man who rebels against the Mughal King, and should consider him as a rebel against the Portugal King.'[4] Yet, before Aurangzeb made peace with Shivaji in March, 1668, the Portuguese had already come to terms with the Marathas in December, 1667, a year after the treaty above referred to.[5] But when Sambhaji invaded Goa together with the rebellious Prince Akbar, in 1683-84, the Portuguese again acted in concert with the Imperialists, and again came to terms with the Marathas.[6] Nor were the Mughals more consistent. Shah Alam plotted to seize Goa by treachery. "This

Sarkar, *Anecdotes of Aurangzib and Historical Essays*, pp. 203-04.
From Shihabuddin Talish's account as preserved in the Bodlean MS. 589 and the *Alamgir-nama*.—*Ibid.*, pp. 205-26. *Cf.* "Piracy in the Western Seas in the reign of Aurangzib," A Duarte, *J.U.B.*, V, 4, Jan., 1737.
Heras, *A Treaty between Aurangzeb and the Portuguese*, p. 1.
Ibid., p. 7.
Ibid., p. 12.
Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, p. 299.

rupture with the Portuguese," observes Sarkar, "was the worst mistake that the prince could have committed, because it ultimately caused the annihilation of his army through famine. . . .The prince's only work in Konkan had been, as the English merchants remark, 'to range to and fro, as he pleases, with little resistance. He hath taken no stronghold but ruins the country, lays all waste, and burns all towns he comes near.' The scarcity in his camp reached an extreme point. The soldiers through fasting retained only the last breath of their lives. So, the baffled prince returned to the *ghat* on 20th February."[1] The friendliness of the Portuguese towards the Marathas once again brought down the Imperial arms into their Northern territory (i.e., Bassein and Daman), in 1693, when Matabar Khan (the governor of Kalyan) defeated their armies and made prisoners of their subjects. "The viceroy of Goa at last made peace by humble submission to the Emperor and the offer of presents."[2]

B. The English

The first English factory within the Mughal Empire was established at Surat in 1612. From there goods were exchanged, by the land route, with Agra and Delhi. In the Golkonda kingdom they had an agency at Masulipatam. Further north they established a factory at Hariharpur, 25 miles south-east of Cuttack, and another at Balasore in 1633. Outside the Empire they bought, in 1640, the site of Fort St. George (Madras), which was 'the first independent station in India'. Hugli was opened in 1651, and *nishan* (or order) was obtained from Prince Shuja (1652) permitting the English to trade in Bengal on payment of Rs. 3,000 annually in lieu of all kinds of customs and dues. "The Bengal trade continued to grow rapidly : in 1668 the company exported from the province goods worth £ 34,000, in 1675 the value rose to £ 85,000, in 1677 to £ 100,000, and in 1680 to £ 150,000. . . . The first British ship sailed up the Ganges from the Bay of Bengal in 1679."[3]

(i) *War in Bengal.* On the strength of the *nishan* above referred to, the English began to claim exemption from all duties, which led to friction and ultimately war. In March, 1680, Aurangzeb had also issued a *farman* allowing the English, on payment of a consolidated duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent at Surat, to trade freely within the Empire. This was differently interpreted by the two parties. Besides, the English refused to pay exactions like *rahdari, peshkash, farmaish*, etc., and protested against the practice (*sauda-i-khas*) of Imperial and local officials, opening packages of goods in transit and taking away articles at less than market prices.

Commenting on this, Sir Jadunath Sarkar observes, "On 10th April, 1665, Aurangzib issued an order that in all provinces there would be two uniform rates of customs duty on imports in future, namely $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for Muslims and 5 per cent for Hindus. The Mughal Government seems to have found it difficult to assess and levy the *jiziya* per head from the Europeans in the same manner as from the Hindus, and consequently it seems to have offered them (March, 1680) a compromise by turning the *jiziya* into an addition to the import duty on their goods, raising the latter to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

"The claims of the English in Bengal (a) to escape the duty on the actual value of their imports by a fixed annual payment of Rs. 3,000 (as conceded by Shuja in 1652), and (b) to trade absolutely free in all other parts

1 *Ibid.*, p. 303.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 353.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 403-04.

of India on payment of customs in Surat (in virtue of Aurangzib's farman of 1680), are both false and indefensible on any reasoning."[1]

But the English were determined to defend their evasion by force. A sample of their attitude is seen in Job Charnock's refusal to pay the sum of Rs. 43,000 decreed by an Indian judge against claims put forward by the Indian merchants and brokers employed by the East India Company, at Kasimbazar (1684-85) ; consequently Charnock's factory was invested by Imperial troops in August, 1685. The malfactor escaped to Hugli in April next. On 28th October, 1686, the English provoked a fight and sacked the Mughal town of Hugli. Shayistha Khan, on hearing of this, "decided to crush these disturbers of public peace." In December the English fell back on Sutanati (modern Calcutta). In February, 1687, they seized the island of Hijli, where they assembled all their land and sea forces in the Bay of Bengal, and burnt and looted Balasore for two days, Finally, they were overwhelmed by Mughal troops, and on 11th June the English evacuated Hijli fort, "carrying off all their ammunition and artillery, their drums beating and their banners flying !" In 1688, Job Charnock's place as Agent in Bengal was taken by Captain Heath who disgraced the name of England by his great excesses, ill-treating Christians and non-Christians, men and women alike. Being foiled in his project of wresting Chatgaon from the Mughals, he sailed for Madras in sheer disgust (17th Feb., 1689).

The Emperor, on hearing of these hostile activities, at once ordered the arrest of all Englishmen, the seizure of all their factories, and the prohibition of all trade and intercourse with them. Within a year (Feb., 1690), 'The Engilsh [of Surat] having made a most humble, submissive petition . . . .and [promised] that they would present the Emperor with a fine of Rs. 150,000. . . . and behave themselves no more in such a shameful manner. . . His Majesty pardoned their faults and agreed. . . .that they follow their trade as in former times.' After this the English were allowed to return to Bengal and trade freely without any further trouble. Job Charnock came back from Madras to Sutanati as Agent on 24th August. "This was the foundation of Calcutta and of the British Power in Northern India. On 10th February, 1691 an imperial order (*hasb-ul-hukm*) was issued by the grand wazir to the diwan of Bengal, allowing the English to carry on their trade in that province without molestation on paying Rs. 3,000 a year in lieu of all customs and other dues."[2] Although this was apparently a victory for the English, it was evidently the outcome of the intercession of Ibrahim Khan, the new *Subahdar* of Bengal, who was friendly to the English and had taken charge of the province in May, 1689.

(ii) *War on the West Coast.* Sir Josiah Child, Chairman of the East India Company, in London, had been responsible for the ignominious war in Bengal. He was ambitious, as we have pointed out elsewhere in this book, to lay 'the foundation of a large, wellgrounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come.' In the result, "The expedition, rashly planned and unfortunate in execution, was an utter failure."[3] Sir John Child, General and Director-in-Chief of English Factories in India, acting under instructions from home, led a similar expedition with no more honourable results. On 25th April, 1687, he abandoned Surat ("a fool's paradise") for Bombay ("the key of India"). He demanded from the Mughal Governor of Surat "compensation for past injuries and a new charter confirming and extending their privileges." The Mughal reply to such

1 For fuller discussion, see Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 405-06.
2 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 409.
3 Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 449.

conduct was the obvious. The English factory at Surat was invested by Imperial troops, and the English factors, including among them Benjamin Harris, the Chief of Surat Council, were imprisoned and kept in irons for 16 months (Dec., 1688—April, 1690). At the same time the Siddis of Janjira, as allies of the Mughals, attacked Bombay (May, 1689) and confined the English within their fort. "Governor Child, therefore, made an abject appeal for pardon, sending a mission to Aurangzib under G. Weldon and Abraham Navarro (10th Dec., 1689). The Emperor pardoned them, by an order dated 25th December, 1689. The English were restored to their old position in the Indian trade on condition of paying a fine of one-and-half lakhs of Rupees, and restoring the goods taken from Indian ships."[1]

(iii) *English Piracy.* European piracy in the Indian Ocean had commenced with Vasco da Gama at the close of the 15th century. "It excited no moral reprobation in Christendom."[2] In 1635, Cobb, captain of an English ship licensed by Charles I, plundered two Mughal vessels at the mouth of the Red Sea ; and in 1638, Sir William Courten, with a similar charter from the King of England, sent out four ships which robbed Indian vessels and tortured their crews." For these misdeeds the East India Company, at Surat was obliged to pay an indemnity of Rs. 170,000.

"In the second half of the 17th century," writes Sarkar, "an even more lawless race of men than the old Buccaneers appeared and extended their operations to the Indian Ocean, acting generally in single ships and plundering vessels of every nationality." "Of these men, chiefly English, the most notorious were Teach, Evory, Kidd, Roberts, England and Tew, and many others less known to fame. . . .Roberts alone was credited with the destruction of 400 trading vessels in three years. . . .The chief cause of their immunity lay in the fact that it was business of nobody in particular to act against them. . . .Their friends on shore supplied their wants and gave them timely information of rich prizes to be looked for, or armed ships to be avoided. *Officials high in authority winked at their doings, from which they drew a profit.* . . .Not only were the greater number of pirates of English blood, but pirate captains of other nationalities often sailed under English colours. The native officials, unable to distinguish the rogues from the honest traders, held the East India Company's servants responsible for their misdeeds."[3]

In 1681 two pirate ships flying English colours secured a booty of 6 *lakhs* of rupees in the Red Sea. The most notorious among these buccaneers was Henry Bridgman (*alias* Evory). His crowning achievement, the capture of the *Ganj-i-sawai*, is thus described by Khafi Khan :

> 'The royal ship called the *Ganj-i-sawai*, than which there was no larger in the fort of Surat, used to sail every year for the House of God (at Mecca). It was now bringing back to Surat 52 *lacs* of rupees in silver and gold, the produce of the sale of Indian goods at Mocha and Jedda. The captain of this ship was Ibrahim Khan . . . . There were 80 guns and 400 muskets on board, besides other implements of war. It had come within 8 or 9 days of Surat, when an English ship came in sight, of much smaller size, and not having a third or fourth part of the armament of the *Ganj-i-sawai.* When it came within gun-shot, a gun was fired at it from the royal ship.

1 Sarkar, *loc. it.*, p. 411.
2 *Ibid*
3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

By ill-luck, the gun burst, and three or four men were killed by its fragments. About the same time, a shot from the enemy struck and damaged the main mast, on which the safety of the vessel depends. The Englishmen perceived this, and being encouraged by it, bore down to attack, and drawing their swords, jumped on board of their opponents. The Christians are not bold in the use of the sword, and there were so many vessels on board the royal vessel that if the captain had made any resistance, they must have been defeated. But as soon as the English began to board, Ibrahim Khan ran down into the hold. There were some Turki girls whom he had bought in Mocha as concubines for himself. He put turbans on their heads and swords into their hands, and incited them to fight. These fell into the hands of the enemy, who soon became perfect masters of the ship. They transferred the treasure and many prisoners to their own ship. When they had laden their ship, they brought the royal ship to shore near one of their settlements, and busied themselves for a week searching for plunder, stripping the men, and dishonouring the women, both old and young. They then left the ship, carrying off the men. Several honourable women, when they found an opportunity, threw themselves into the sea, to preserve their chastity, and some others killed themselves with knives and daggers.

'This loss was reported to Aurangzeb, and the newswriters of the port of Surat sent some rupees which the English had coined at Bombay, with the superscription containing the name of their impure King. Aurangzeb then ordered that the English factors who were residing at Surat for commerce should be seized. Orders were also given to Itimad Khan, superintendent of the port of Surat, and Sidi Yakut Khan, to make preparations for besieging the fort of Bombay. The evils arising from the English occupation of Bombay were of long standing. The English were not at all alarmed at the threatenings. They knew that Siddi Yakut was offended at some slights he had received. But they were more active than usual in building bastions and walls, and in blocking up the roads, so that in the end they made the place quite impregnable. Itimad Khan saw all these preparations, and came to the conclusion that there was no remedy, and that a struggle with the English would result only in a heavy loss to the customs revenue. He made no serious preparations for carrying the royal order into execution, and was not willing that even a rupee should be lost to the revenue. To save appearances, he kept the English factors in confinement, but privately he endeavoured to effect an arrangement. After the confinement of their factors, the English, by way of reprisal, seized upon every Imperial officer, wherever they found one, on sea or on shore, and kept them all in confinement. So matters went on for a long time."[1]

(iv) Khafi Khan's Embassy. The sequel is of peculiar interest as the author of the narrative, on which we have so much depended, was himself one of the persons employed in the negotiations.

'During these troubles,' writes Khafi Khan, 'I, the writer of this work, had the misfortune of seeing the English of Bombay, when I was acting as agent for Abdur Razzak Khan at the port of Surat. I had purchased goods to the value of nearly two *lacs* of rupees, and had to convey them from Surat to Abdur Razzak, the *faujdar* of

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 350-51.

Rahiri.[1] My route was along the seashore through the possessions of the Portuguese and the English. On arriving near Bombay, but while I was yet in the Portuguese territory, in consequence of a letter from Abdur Razzak, I waited ten or twelve days for the escort of Sidi Yakut Khan. Abdur Razzak had been on friendly terms with an Englishman in his old Haidarabad days, and he had now written to him about giving assistance to the convoy. The Englishman sent out the brother of his *diwan*, very kindly inviting me to visit him. The Portuguese captain and my companions were averse to my going there with such valuable property. I, however, put my trust in God, and went to the Englishman. I told the *diwan's* brother, that if the conversation turned upon the capture of the ship, I might have to say unpleasant things, for I would speak the truth. The Englishman's *vakil* advised me to say freely what I deemed right, and to speak nothing but the truth.

'When I entered the fortress, I observed that from the gate there was on each side of the road a line of youths, of twelve or fourteen years of age, well dressed, and having excellent muskets on their shoulders. Every step I advanced, young men with sprouting beards, handsome and well clothed, with fine muskets in their hands, were visible on every side. As I went onwards, I found Englishmen standing with long beards, of similar age, and with the same accoutrements and dress. After that I saw musketeers (*barkandaz*), well dressed and arranged, drawn up in ranks. Further on I saw Englishmen with white beards, clothed in brocade, with muskets on their shoulders, drawn up in two ranks, and in perfect array. Next I saw some English children, handsome, and wearing pearls on the borders of their hats. In the same way, on both sides, as far as the door of the house where he abode, I found drawn up in ranks on both sides nearly 7,000 musketeers dressed and accoutred as for a review.

'I then went straight up to the place where he was seated on a chair. He wished me Good-day, his usual form of salutation ; then he rose from his chair, embraced me, and signed for me to sit down on a chair in front of him. After a few kind inquiries, our discourse turned upon different things, pleasant and unpleasant, bitter and sweet ; but all he said was in a kind and friendly spirit towards Abdur Razzak. He inquired why his factors had been placed in confinement. Knowing that God and the Prophet of God would protect me, I answered, "Although you do not acknowledge that shameful action, worthy of the reprobation of all sensible men, which was perpetrated by your wicked men, this question you have put to me is as if a wise man should ask where the sun is when all the world is filled with his rays." He replied, "Those who have an ill-feeling against me cast upon me the blame for the fault of others. How do you know that this deed was the work of my men ? By what satisfactory proof will you establish this ?" I replied, "In that ship I had a number of wealthy acquaintances and two or three poor ones, destitute of all worldly wealth. I heard from them that when the ship was plundered, and they were taken prisoners, some men, in the dress and with the looks of Englishmen, and on whose hands and bodies there were marks, wounds, and scars, said in their

1 This was the identical Abdur Razzak of Golkonda fame who had since reconciled himself to the Imperial Service.

own language, 'We got these scars at the time of the siege of Sidi Yakut, but to-day the scars have been removed from our heart.' A person who was with them knew Hindi and Persian, and he translated their words to my friends."

'On hearing this, he laughed loudly, and said, "It is true they may have said so. They are a party of Englishmen, who, having received wounds in the siege of Yakut Khan, were taken prisoner by him. Some of them parted from me, joined the *Habshi*, and became Musulmans. They stayed with Yakut Khan some time, and then ran away from him. But they had not the face to come back to me. Now they have gone and taken part with the *dingenars*, or *sakanas*, who lay violent hands on ships upon the sea ; and with them they are serving as pirates. Your sovereign's officers do not understand how they are acting, but cast the blame upon me."

'I smilingly replied, "What I have heard about your readiness of reply and your wisdom, I have (now) seen. All praise to your ability for giving off-hand, and without consideration, such an exculpatory and sensible answer ! But you must recall to mind that the hereditary kings of Bijapur and Haidarabad and the good-for-nothing Sambha have not escaped the hands of King Aurangzeb. Is the island of Bombay a sure refuge ?" I added, "What a manifest declaration of rebellion you have shown in coining rupees !"

'He replied, "We have to send every year a large sum of money, the profits of our commerce, to our country, and the coins of the King of Hindustan are of short weight, and much debased ; and in this island, in the course of buying and selling them, great disputes arise. Consequently we have placed our own names on the coins, and have made them current in our own jurisdiction." A good deal more conversation passed between us, and part of it seemed to vex him ; but he showed himself throughout very thoughtful of Abdur Razzak Khan, and mindful of his obligation to protect him. When the interview was over, he proffered me entertainment in their fashion ; but as I had resolved from the first that I would not depart from the usual course in the present interview, I accepted only *atr* and *pan*, and was glad to escape.'

Khafi Khan concludes this account with the following note :—'The total revenue of Bombay, which is chiefly derived from betelnuts and cocoanuts, does not reach to two or three *lacs* of rupees. The profits of the commerce of these misbelievers, according to report, does not exceed twenty *lacs* of rupees. *The balance of the money acquired for the maintenance of the English settlement is obtained by plundering the ships voyaging to the House of God, of which they take one or two every year.* When the ships are proceeding to the ports of Mocha and Jadda laden with the goods of Hindustan, they do not interfere with them ; but when they return bringing gold and silver and *Ibrahimi* and *rial*, their spies have found out which ship bears the richest burden, and they attack it.'[1]

(v) *Mughal Failure.* The culprits when they could be caught were imprisoned, the East India Company's factors and officers were indemnified, imprisoned or threatened with extradition, but European piracy continued triumphant in Indian waters in the absence of a strong Indian navy. After the *Ganj-i-sawai* incident, in September, 1695, the Dutch proffered to clear the seas in return for exclusive rights of trading within the Empire

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 351-54.

free of all duty ; but the Emperor declined the offer. An agreement, on the other hand, was made with the English for a similar responsibility in return for half the running cost of each double voyage of the escorting ship. Consequently all the English prisoners were set at liberty on 27th June, 1696. But the same year saw the renewal of piracy in a more virulent form under Captain William Kidd, "destined to blossom into the most redoubtable pirate who ever besmirched the honour of England."[1] He had been sent out by a syndicate of English noblemen on the *Adventure*, a very strong 30-gun vessel, to destroy piracy in the Indian Ocean ! "Arriving off Calicut early in 1697, he took to a life of piracy, shamelessly describing his robberies as legitimate acts of privateering authorized by the King of England. Kidd's success drew many restless English seamen into his party. 'Distributing his forces with the skill of a sea-strategist,' Captain Kidd dominated the Indian Ocean, with his munitions and stores drawn from a base in Madagascar. 'All told, the pirate fleet mounted 120 guns, and was manned by not less than 300 Europeans, of whom the great majority were Englishmen'."[2]

Finally, in December, 1698, Amanat Khan, the Mughal governor of Surat, surrounded the European factories and gave them an ultimatum either to give an undertaking to guard the seas or to leave the country within ten days. Consequently "the English, French and Dutch agreed to act in concert to suppress piracy, and signed bonds by which they *jointly* engaged to make good all future losses. On receiving this agreement, Aurangzeb reversed his embargo on European trade in the Mughal dominions, and he wrote to the Surat governor to settle the matter in his own way. In the terms of this agreement, 'the Dutch convoyed the Mecca pilgrims and patrolled the entrance to the Red Sea, besides paying Rs. 70,000 to the governor of Surat ; the English paid Rs. 30,000 and patrolled the South Indian seas, while the French made a similar payment and policed the Persian Gulf."[3]

Nevertheless, "a return prepared in January, 1702, showed that the captives at Surat numbered 109 persons, including 21 English officials of the Company. . . .and 15 seamen." Sir John Gayer was imprisoned for 6 years from February, 1701, with a few intervals ; but this was mainly due to the machinations of Sir Nicholas Waite, President of a new rival English Company established at Surat on 8th April, 1699. An ambassador from the King of England, Sir William Norris, waited upon Aurangzeb for 16 months (from 27th Jan., 1701 to 18th April, 1702), but with no result. Another piratical outrage was committed off Surat, on 28th Aug., 1703, when two ships returning from Mocha were captured. By way of indemnity, Itibar Khan, the governor of Surat, extorted from Vittal and Keshav Parekh (the Old English Company's brokers), 3 *lacs* of rupees, and another 3 *lacs* similarly from the Dutch. But when Aurangzeb heard of this, he disapproved of Itibar's action and set aside the agreement of 1699 under which the indemnity was demanded. Misadventures of this nature with consequent punishments, followed by piratical reprisals, continued, and Aurangzeb realized the helplessness of the situation in the absence of a strong Imperial navy. But he was too much preoccupied with his Deccan war. Khafi Khan notes with much concern, 'The Mahrattas also possess the newly-built forts of Khanderi, Kolaba, Kasa, and Katora, in the sea opposite the island fortress belonging to the *Habshis*. Their warships

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 416.

cruise about these forts, and attack vessels whenever they get the opportunity. The *sakanas* also, who are sometimes called *bawaril*, a lawless set of men belonging to Surat, in the province of Ahmedabad, are notorious for their piracies and they attack from time to time the small ships which come from Bandar Abbasi and Maskat. They do not venture to attack the large ships which carry the pilgrims. The reprobate English act in the same way as the *sakanas*.'[1]

VI. The Riddle of Aurangzeb

A Great Enigma

Aurangzeb's character was a great enigma even to his contemporaries; we are hardly in a better position to correctly understand him. His reign was a riddle in contrasts. To borrow the familiar antithesis from Dickens, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief, it was the epoch of incredulity, it was the season of Light, it was the season of Darkness, it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair, we had everything before us, we had nothing before us, we were all going direct to Heaven, we were all going direct the other way—in short, the period was so far like the present period, that some of its noisiest authorities insisted on its being received, for good or for evil, in the superlative degree of comparison only."

Only, on the throne of Delhi, instead of there being 'a king with a large jaw', there was one with a large nose[2] and an itching jaw; 'the queen with a plain face' was simply out of the picture.

A modern writer has pronounced Aurangzeb "a puzzling compound of contradictions."[3] Bernier found him, 'reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation.' He further said that 'every person in the court, excepting only his brother, Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character.'[4] This should be sufficient caution for all modern critics of Aurangzeb's strange enigmatic character. We shall here only make an attempt to present this Imperial chameleon in all his changing colours, instead of trying to dogmatise.

Aurangzeb's Ideal of Kingship

Aurangzeb's letters, of which over 2,000 are extant, are an invaluable document throwing abundant light upon his manifold character. In one of these, written to his father Shah Jahan, he writes. *"It is clear to your Majesty that God Almighty bestows His trusts upon one who discharges the duty of cherishing his subjects and protecting the people. It is manifest and clear to wise men that a wolf is not fit to be a shepherd, and that no poor-spirited man can perform the great duty of governing. Sovereignty signifies protection of the people, not self-indulgence and libertinism."*[5]

To an officer who suggested to Aurangzeb that, for consideration of health, he should spare himself, he is reported to have said:

'Being born the son of a King and placed on the throne, *I was sent into the world by Providence to live and labour, not for myself, but for others*; *. . . .it is my duty not to think of my own happiness, except so far as it is*

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p 355.
2 Dr. Gemelli Careri, who saw Aurangzeb on 21st March, 1695, in the Deccan, speaks of his white beard, trimmed round, contrasting vividly with his olive skin : 'he was of a low stature, *with a large nose* ; slender and stooping with age.'—Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 197.
3 Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, p. 87.
4 Bernier, *Travels*, p. 10.
5 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 253.

inseparably connected with the happiness of my people. It is the repose and prosperity of my subjects that it behoves me to consult ; nor are these to be sacrificed to anything besides the demands of justice, the maintenance of the royal authority, and the security of the State.' He also added, 'There can surely be but one opinion among wise men as to the obligation imposed upon a sovereign, in seasons of difficulty and danger, to hazard his life, and, if necessary, to die sword in hand in defence of the people committed to his care. . . .Alas ! we are sufficiently disposed by nature to seek ease and indulgence, we need no such officious counsellors. Our wives, too, are sure to assist us in treading the flowery path of rest and luxury.'[1]

Again, in another letter to his father, Aurangzeb expressed his sense of the responsibilities of kingship thus :—'My elevation to the throne has not, as you imagine, filled me with insolence and pride. You know, by more than forty years' experience, how burthensome an ornament a crown is, and with how sad and an aching heart a monarch retires from the public gaze. . . .*the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest kings.* The nations of the earth have often been subjugated by mere uncivilised barbarians, and the most extensive conquests have in a few short years crumbled to pieces. *He is the truly great king who makes it the chief business of his life to govern his subjects with equity.*'[2]

Benevolent Intentions

That these were no idle sentiments diplomatically expressed to deceive the world is borne out by the wise regulations he made for the guidance of his revenue officials. That he had also striven to act according to them has been amply demonstrated by his own civil achievements as Viceroy of the Deccan. We have space only for a few of these by way of illustration.

REVENUE REGULATIONS[3]

I

'The officers of the present and future *amils* of the Empire of Hindustan from end to end, should collect the revenue and other [dues] from the *mahals* in the proprotions and manner fixed in the luminious Law and shining orthodox Faith, and [according to] whatever has been meant and sanctioned in this gracious mandate in pursuance of the correct and trustworthy Traditions—

'And they should not demand new orders every year, but should consider delay and transgression as the cause of their disgrace in this world and the next.

First.—'They should practise benevolence to the cultivators, inquire into their condition, and exert themselves judiciously and tactfully, so that [the cultivators] may joyfully and heartily try to increase the cultivation, and every arable tract may be brought under tillage.

[*Commentary on the margin* :—"Concerning what has been written in the first clause the wish of the just Emperor is, "display friendliness and good management which are the causes of the increase of cultivation. And that (friendliness) *consists in this that under no name or custom should you take a dam or dirham above the fixed amount and rate. By no person should the ryots be oppressed or*

1 Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-30.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 167-68.
3 Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 197-223. The *farman* containing these was issued in 1668-69 A.D.

molested in any way. The manager of affairs at the place should be a protector (of rights) and just (in carrying out these orders).]"

Second.—'. . . .If you find that the peasants are unable to procure the implements of tillage, advance to them money from the State in the form of a *taqawi* after taking security.

Third.—. . . .[*Commentary* :—. . .'As the Emperor likes leniency and justice, (he here orders) that the officers should kindly wait for one year (for the return of a fugitive ryot) and, in the case of (direct) cultivation or lease, they should pay to him any surplus left above the Government revenue.']. . . .

Sixth.—'In places where no tithe or revenue has been laid on a cultivated land, fix whatever ought to be fixed according to the Holy Law. If it be revenue, *fix the revenue at such an amount that the ryots may not be ruined by the payment of it : and for no reason exceed half* [*the crop*], *even though the land may be capable of paying more.* Where the amount is fixed, accept it, provided that if it is *kharaj*, the Government share should not exceed one-half, lest the ryots be ruined by the exaction. *Otherwise reduce the former kharaj and fix whatever the ryots can easily pay.* If the land is capable of paying more than the fixed [amount] do not take more.

Seventh.—'You may change fixed revenue (*Muzzaf*) into share of crop (*Muqasema*), or *vice versa, if the ryots agree to it ; otherwise not.*

Ninth.—'In lands subject to fixed land revenues, *if any non-preventable calamity overtakes a sown field, you ought to inquire carefully, and grant remission to the extent of the calamity,* as required by truth and the nature of the case. And in realizing produce from the remnant, *see that a net one-half* [*of the produce*] *may be left to the ryots.*[1]

[*Commentary* :—'. . .In the case of fields which have been flooded, or where the rain-water has been exhausted, or any non-preventable calamity has over-taken the crop before reaping, so that the ryot has secured nothing, nor has time enough left for a second crop to be raised before the beginning of the next year—consider the revenue as remitted. . . .'

II

'Rasik-das, thrifty and obedient to Islam, hopes for Imperial favours and know—

'*That all the desires and aims of the Emperor are directed to the increase of cultivation, and the welfare of the peasantry and the people at large, who are the marvellous creation of and a trust from the Creator* (*glorified be His name*).

. . . .(Similar regulations). . . .

Twelfth.—'Report the names of those among the *amins* and *kroris* of the *jagirdars,* who have served with uprightness and devotion, and by following the established rules in every matter have proved themselves good officers,—so that as the result may be rewarded according to their attention to the gain of the State and their honesty. But if any have acted in the opposite manner, report the fact to the Emperor, that they may be dismissed from the service,

1 i.e., If the normal produce is 10 maunds, and 4 maunds have been destroyed by any calamity, take only *one* as revenue.

put on their defence and explanation [of their conduct], and receive the punishment of their irregular acts.

Thirteenth.—'With great insistence gather together the papers of the records at the right time. In the village in which you stay, every day secure from the officers the daily account of the collection of revenue and cess and prices current, and from the other *parganas* the daily account of the collection of revenue and cash (*maujudat*) every fortnight, and the balance in the treasuries of *fotahdars* and the *jam'a wasil baqi* every month, and the *tumar* of the total revenue and the *jama bandi* (annual revenue settlement) and the incomes and expenditures of the treasuries of the *fotahdars* season by season. After looking through these papers demand the refunding of whatever has been spent without being accounted for, and then send them to the Imperial Record Office. Do not leave the papers of the spring harvest uncollected up to the autumn harvest.'

It must have been clear to the readers from the above evidence that Aurangzeb had the right perspective for the ruler of an agricultural land like ours. Despite the loss in revenue it involved, Aurangzeb, it is well known, soon after his accession, remitted no less than 80 different taxes and duties. 'The movements of large armies through the country, especially in the eastern and northern parts, during the two years past, and scarcity of rain in some parts,' observes Khafi Khan, 'had combined to make grain dear. To comfort the people and alleviate their distress, the Emperor gave orders for the remission of the *rahdari* (toll) which was collected on every highway (*guzar*), frontier and ferry, and brought in a large sum to the revenue. He also remitted the *pandari*, a ground or house cess, which was paid throughout the Imperial dominions by every tradesman and dealer, from the butcher, the potter, and the greengrocer, to the draper, jeweller, and banker. Something was paid according to rule under this name for every bit of ground in the market, for every stall and shop, and the total revenue thus derived exceeded *lacs* (of rupees). Other cesses lawful and unlawful as the *sur-shumari*, *buz-shumari*, *bargadi*, the *charai* (grazing tax) of the *Banjaras*, the *luwa'ana*, the collections from the fairs held at the festivals of Muhammadan saints, and at the *jatras* or fairs of the infidels, held near Hindu temples, throughout the country far and wide, where *lacs* of people assemble once a year, and where buying and selling of all kinds goes on. The tax on spirits, on gambling-houses, on brothels, the fines, thank offerings, and the fourth part of debts recovered by the help of magistrates from creditors. These and other imposts, nearly eighty in number, which brought in *krores* of rupees to the public treasury, were all abolished throughout Hindustan. Besides these, the tithe of corn, which lawfully brought in twenty-five *lacs* of rupees, was remitted to alleviate the heavy cost of grain.'[1]

Aurangzeb's Mildness

In spite of stringent orders, however, many of these forbidden dues continued to be exacted by selfish local officials, or *jagirdars*. Khafi Khan gives two reasons for this: '*Firstly*, because throughout the Imperial dominions in the reign of Aurangzeb, no fear and dread of punishment remained in the hearts of *jagirdars*, *faujdars* and *zamindars*. *Secondly*, because the revenue, officers, through inattention, or want of consideration or with an eye to profit, contrary to what was intended, made deductions (for these cesses) from the *tankhwah* accounts of the *jagirdars*. So the *jagirdars*, under the pre-

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 246-47.

text that the amount of the cesses was entered in their *tankhwah* papers, continued to collect the *rahdari* and many other of the abolished imports, and even increased them. When reports reached the government of infractions of these orders, (the offenders) were punished with a diminution of *mansab*, and the delegation of mace-bearers to their districts. The mace-bearers forbade the collection of the imports for a few days, and then retired. After a while, the offenders, through their patrons or the management of their agents, got their *mansab* restored to its original amounts. So the regulation for the abolition of most of the imports had no effect."[1]

Lane-Poole's comments on this are worthy of attention. "Cynical critics," he observes, "have explained Aurangzeb's ineffectual generosity as an ingenious contrivance to carry favour with the people without impoverishing the treasury. Dr. Careri seems to incline to the opinion that the Emperor connived at his Amir's misdeeds in order to gain their support. A certain amount of conciliation of powerful chiefs, and even winking at their irregularities is inseparable from a quasi-feudal administration, and Aurangzeb may have felt himself compelled sometimes to shut his eyes lest worse things should happen. The plain interpretation, however, of the remission of taxes as an act of bounty dictated by the Quranic injunction of benevolence to 'the needy and the son of the road,' is simpler and more consistent with all we know of the Emperor's disposition. *He was not the man to connive at illegal extortion on the oppression of the poor.*"[2] We are disposed to agree. Aurangzeb's wise counsel to his son Shah Alam may be taken as representing his correct attitude in such matters : 'An Emperor ought to stand midway between gentleness and severity. If either of these two qualities exceeds the other, it becomes a cause of the ruin of his throne, because in case of excessive gentleness, the people display audacity, while the increase of harshness scares away heart.'[3]

Aurangzeb's Justice[4]

Not merely Indian writers but also foreigners bear testimony to the fair administration of justice under Aurangzeb. Ovington, who derived his opinions and information from Aurangzeb's 'least partial critics, the English merchants at Bombay and Surat,' says that the great Mogul 'is, the main ocean of justice. . . .He generally determines with exact justice and equity ; for there is no pleading of peerage or privilege before the Emperor, but the meanest man is as soon heard by Aurangzib as the chief Omrah : which makes the Omrahs very circumspect of their actions and punctual in their payments.'[5] The author of the *Mirat-i'-Alam*, Bakhtawar Khan, gives us the following picture of Aurangzeb, the judge :

> 'In his sacred Court no improper conversation, no word of backbiting or of falsehood is allowed. His courtiers on whom his lights is reflected, are cautioned that if they have to say anything which might injure the character of an absent man, they should express themselves in decorous language and in full detail. He appears two or three times every day in his Court of Audience with a pleas-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 248.
2 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-83.
3 Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 58. Or, as he expressed it in other words : 'Don't be so salt that [your suubjcts] would spit you out of their mouths, nor be so sweet that they may gulp you down.' *Ibid.*, p. 61.
4 *Cf* "Administration of Justice in the Mughal Empire," Sri Ram Sharma, *Calcutta Review*, March, 1943 Also by the same writer : "Administration of Justice in Aurangzeb's time," *in I.H.Q.*, XXI, 2 (June, 1945), pp 101-04.
5 Ovington, p. 198, cited by Lane-Poole, *op cit.*, p. 81.

ing countenance and mild look, to dispense justice to complainants who come in numbers without hindrance, and as he listens to them with great attention, they make their representations without any fear or hesitation, and obtain redress from his impartiality. If any person talks too much, or acts in an improper manner, he is never displeased, and he never knits his brows. His courtiers have often desired to prohibit people from showing so much boldness, but he remarks that by hearing their very words, and seeing their gestures, he acquires a habit of forbearance and tolerance. All bad characters are expelled from the city of Delhi, and the same is ordered to be done in all places throughout the whole empire. The duties of preserving order and regularity among the people are very efficiently attended to, and throughout the empire, notwithstanding its great extent, nothing can be done without meeting with the due punishment enjoined by the Muhammadan law. *Under the dictates of anger and passion he never issues orders of death.*[1]

This character is further confirmed by Dr. Careri, who saw him in the Deccan in 1695. Seated upon a square gilt throne, raised two steps above the dais, inclosed with silver banisters, 'they gave him his scimitar and buckler, which he laid down on his left side within the throne. Then he made a sign with his hand for those that had business to draw near ; who being come up, two secretaries, standing, took their petitions, which they delivered to the King, telling him the contents. I admir'd to see him indorse them with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful smiling countenance seemed to be pleased with the employment.'[2]

Aurangzeb's Activity

Great and incessant activity is a desideratum to great achievement. Aurangzeb shared this quality of his forefathers. Both Akbar and Shah Jahan never spared themselves ; Humayun's and Jahangir's love of ease were the cause of their comparative failure. Sher Shah made his mark by his watchful and unceasing labours. Aurangzeb, if ever he needed the lesson, knew his history well. "An emperor," he told his son Muazzam, "should never allow himself to be fond of ease and inclined to retirement, because the most fatal cause of the decline of kingdoms and the destruction of royal power is this undesirable habit. Always be moving about, as much as possible.

> It is bad for both emperors and water to remain at the same place,
>
> The water grows putrid and the king's power slips out of his control."[3]

His motto appears to have been like that of his great western contemporary Louis XIV, whom he resembled in many ways (except in his puritanism—' One must work hard to reign, and it is ingratitude and presumption towards God, injustice and tyranny towards man, to wish to reign without hard work." Aurangzeb himself wrote, 'So long as a single breath of this mortal life remains, there is no release from labour and work.'[4] Here is his daily routine as given by Prof. Sarkar :

A.M.

5 ... Wakes—Morning Prayer—Devotional reading.

7-30 ... Justice in Private Chamber.

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 158.
2 Lane-Poole, *op. cit*, p. 198.
3 Sarkar, *Anecdotes*, p. 59.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

8-30 ... *Darsan*—Review—Elephant fights.
9-15 ... Public Darbar.
11 ... Private Audience.
11-50 ... Harem—Siesta.

P.M.

2 ... *Zuhar* Prayer.
2-30 ... Private Chamber—Study—Business—*Asar* Prayer—State affairs.
5-30 ... Evening salute in the Private Audience Hall—Sunset Prayer.
6-40 ... *Soiree* in the *Diwan-i Khas*.
7-30 ... Court dismissed—*Isha* Prayer.
8 ... In the Harem—Religious meditation—Sleep.

"This routine was varied on three days of the week. On Friday, the Islamic Sabbath, no Court was held. Wednesday was sacred to justice, and no public *darbar* was then held, but the Emperor went straight from the *darsan* to the Private Audience Hall, thronged with the Law Officers, *qazis*, *muftis*, scholars, theologians (*ulema*), Judges, and the Prefect of Police for the City. None else was admitted unless his presence was needed. The Emperor went on personally judging cases till noon

"On Thursday he gave his Court a half-holiday, as we get on Saturday in British India. The usual routine was followed up to noon ; but there was no afternoon Court, nor any assembly in the *Diwan-i Khas* at night. The whole evening was spent in prayer and sacred reading, and the world and its distractions were kept out.

"If we may believe the Court historian (*Alamgir-nama*), Aurangzib slept only three hours out of twenty-four."[1]

Through half-a-century of Imperial rule, through war and peace, through sickness and health, through sunshine and rain, Aurangzeb strictly adhered to his sense of duty and passion for work. Bernier records a wonderful illustration :

> "Aureng-zebe, *notwithstanding his serious indisposition, continued to occupy his mind with the affairs of Government*, and the safe custody of his father. He earnestly advised Sultan Muzum, *in the event of his death, to release the King from confinement* ; but *he was constantly dictating letters* to Etbar-kan, urging him to be faithful and rigid in the discarge of his duty ; and *on the fifth day of his illness, during the crisis of the disorder, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the Omrahs*, for the purpose of undeceiving those who might believe he was dead, and of preventing a public tumult, or any accident by which *Shah Jehan* might effect his escape. The same reasons induced him to visit that assembly on the 7th, 9th and 10th days ; and, *what appears almost incredible, on the 13th day, when scarcely recovered from a swoon so deep and long that his death was generally reported*, he sent for the *Raja* Jesseingue, and two or three of the principal *Omrahs*, for the purpose of verifying his existence. *He then desired the attendants to raise him in the bed ; called for paper and ink that he might write to Etbar-kan, and dispatched a messenger for the Great-Seal*, which was placed under Rauchenara-Begam's care enclosed in a small bag, which was impressed with a signet which he always kept fastened to his arm ; *wishing to satisfy himself that the*

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 177-84.

it was a weakness common to his tribe—men of power and over-mastering ambition. There was undeniably a certain lack in his character—"a certain smallness of mind," indeed—the generosity and openness of mind common to all his predecessors. It was on account of this that "all his self-restraint, his sense of duty, his equity, and laborious care of his people, counted for nothing in their hearts *against his cold reserve and distrust.*" "His very asceticism and economy and simplicity of life were repugnant to a nation accustomed to the splendour of Shah Jahan's magnificent court. The mass of his subjects felt that if they must have an alien in race and religion for their king, at least let him show himself a king right royally, and shed his sovereign radiance on his subjects, even while he emptied their purses upon his stately pleasures. *This was just what Aurangzib could not do. The very loftiness of his nature kept his people at a distance, while his inflexible uprightness and frigid virtue chilled their hearts.*"[1]

Aurangzeb's Puritanism

In the ultimate analysis, it is possible to attribute all Aurangzeb's failures and defects to his religious character. "His character," says Lane-Poole, "is that of the Puritan, with all its fiery zeal, its ascetic restraint, its self-denial, its uncompromising tenacity of righteous purpose, its high ideals of conduct and duty ; and also with its cold severity, its curbed impulses, its fanaticism, its morbid distrust of 'poor human nature', its essential unlovableness. Aurangzib possessed many great qualities, he practised all the virtues ; *but he was lacking in the one thing needful in a leader of men ; he could not win love. Such a one may administer an empire, but he cannot rule the hearts of men.*"

Ideal Muslim Monarch

The reader will be amply rewarded for his patience to go through the following description of the Emperor, dwelling on the arch-trait of his character :

> 'Be it known to the readers of this work,' writes Baktawar Khan, author of the *Mirat-i-Alam*, 'that this humble slave of the Almighty is going to describe in a correct manner the excellent character, the worthy habits and the refined morals of this most virtuous monarch, Abul Muzaffar Muhi-ud-din Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Alamgir,' according as he has witnessed them with his own eyes. This Emperor, a great worshipper of God by natural propensity, is remarkable for his rigid attachment to religion. He is a follower of the doctrines of Imam Abu Hanifa (may God be pleased with him !), and establishes the five fundamental doctrines of the *Kanz*. Having made his ablutions, he always occupies a great part of his time in adoration of the Deity, and says the usual prayers, first in the *masjid* and then at home, both in congregation and in private, with the most heartfelt devotion. He keeps the appointed fasts on Fridays and other sacred days, and he reads the Friday prayers in the *Jami Masjid* with the common people of the Muhammadan faith. He keeps vigils during the whole of the sacred nights, and with the light of the favour of God illumines the lamps of religion and prosperity. . . .
>
> 'In privacy he never sits on the throne. He gave away in alms before his accession a portion of his allowance of lawful food and clothing, and now devotes to the same purpose the income of a few

1 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

villages in the district of Delhi, and the proceeds of two or three salt-producing tracts, which are appropriated to his privy purse. . . . and although, on account of several obstacles, he is unable to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, yet the care which he takes to promote facilities for pilgrims to that holy place may be considered equivalent to the pilgrimage.

'From the dawn of his understanding he has always refrained from prohibited meats and practices, and from his great holiness has adopted nothing but that which is pure and lawful. Though he has collected at the foot of his throne those who inspire ravishment in joyous assemblies of pleasure, in the shape of singers who possess lovely voices and clever instrumental performers, and in the commencement of his reign sometimes used to hear them sing and play, and though he himself understands music well, yet now for several years past, on account of his great restraint and self-denial, and observance of the tenets of the great Imam (Shafi'i), (may God's mercy be on him !), he entirely abstains from this amusement. If any of the singers and musicians becomes ashamed of his calling, he makes an allowance for him or grants him land for his maintenance.

'He never puts on the clothes prohibited by religion, nor does he even use vessels of silver or gold. . . .In consideration of their rank and merit he shows much honour and respect to the Saiyids, saints and learned men, and through his cordial and liberal exertions, the sublime doctrines of Hanifa and of our pure religion have obtained such prevalence throughout the wide territories of Hindustan as they never had in the reign of any former king.

'Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty personally teaches the sacred *kalima* to many infidels with success, and invests them with the *khilats* and other favours. Alms and donations are given by this foundation of generosity in such abundance, that the emperors of past ages did not give even a hundredth part of the amount. In the sacred month of *Ramzan* sixty thousand rupees, and in other months less than that amount, are distributed among the poor. Several eating-houses have been established in the capital and other cities at which food is served out to the helpless and poor, and in places where there were no caravanserais for the lodging of the travellers, they have been built by the Emperor. All the mosques in the empire are repaired at public expense. Imams, criers to the daily prayers, and readers of the *khutba*, have been appointed to each of them, so that a large sum of money has been and is still laid out in these disbursements. In all the cities and towns of this extensive country pensions and allowances and lands have been given to learned men and professors, and stipends have been fixed for scholars according to their abilities and qualifications.

'As it is a great object with this Emperor that all Muhammadans should follow the principles of the religion as expounded by the most competent law officers and the followers of the Hanifi persuasion, and as these principles, in consequence of the different opinions of the *kazis* and *muftis* which have been delivered without any authority, could not be distinctly and clearly learnt, and as there was no book

which embodied them all, and as until many books had been collected and a man had obtained sufficient leisure, means and knowledge of theological subjects, he could not satisfy his enquiries on any disputed point, therefore, His Majesty, the protector of the faith, determined that a body of eminently learned and able men of Hindustan should take up the voluminous and most trustworthy works which were collected in the royal library, and having made a digest of them, compose a book which might form a standard canon of the law, and afford to all an easy and available means of ascertaining the proper and authoritative interpretation. The chief conductor of this difficult undertaking was the most learned man of the time, Shaikh Nizam, and all the members of the society were very handsomely and liberally paid, so that up to the present time a sum of 200,000 rupees has been expended in this valuable compilation, which contains more than 100,000 lines. When the work (*Fatwa-i-Alamgiri*) with God's pleasure, is completed, it will be for all the world the standard exposition of the law, and render every one independent of Muhammadan doctors. Another excellence attending this design is, that, with a view to afford facility to all, the possessor of perfections, Chulpi Abdullah, son of the great and the most celebrated Maulana Abdul Hakim of Sialkot, and his several pupils have been ordered to translate the work into Persian. . . .

The Emperor is perfectly acquainted with the commentaries, traditions and law. He always studies the compilations of the great Imam Muhammad Ghizali (may God's mercy be on him !), the extracts from the writings of Shaikh Sharaf Yahya Muniri (may his tomb be sanctified !), and the works of Muhi Shirazi, and other similar books. One of the greatest excellences of this virtuous monarch is, that he has learnt the *Quran* by heart. Though in his early youth, he had committed to memory some chapters of that sacred book, yet he learnt the whole by heart after ascending the throne. He took great pains and showed much perseverance in impressing it upon his mind. He writes a very good *Naskh* hand, and has acquired perfection in this art. He has written two copies of the holy book with his own hand, and having finished and adorned them with ornaments and marginal lines, at the expense of Rs. 7,000 he sent them to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. He also wrote an excellent *Nastalik* and *Shikastah* hand. He is a very elegant writer in prose, and has acquired proficiency in versification, but agreeably to the words of God—"Poets deal in falsehoods"—he abstains from practising it. He does not like to hear verses except those which contain a moral. "To please Almighty God he never turned his eye towards a flatterer, nor gave his ear to a poet."

'The Emperor has given a very liberal education to his fortunate and noble children, who, by virtue of his attention and care, have reached to the summit of perfection, and made great advances in rectitude, devotion, and piety, and in learning the manners and customs of princes and great men. Through his instructions they have learnt the book of God by heart, obtained proficiency in the sciences and polite literature, writing the various hands, and in learning the Turki and the Persian languages.

'In like manner, the ladies of the household also, according to his orders, have learnt the fundamental and necessary tenets of religion, and all devote their time to the adoration and worship of

the Deity, to reading the sacred *Quran*, and performing virtuous and pious acts. *The excellence of character and the purity of morals of this holy monarch are beyond all expression.* As long as nature nourishes the tree of existence, and keeps the garden of the world fresh, may the plant of the prosperity of this preserver of the garden of dignity and honour continue fruitful !"[1]

This eulogium, fulsome as it may appear, from a strictly Muslim viewpoint, was not altogether undeserved by Aurangzeb. "It is not," as Lane-Poole properly observes, "more adulatory than Bernier's letter to Colbert of the same period. . . .There is nothing in the portrait which is inconsistent with the whole tenor of Aurangzib's career or with the testimony of European eye-witnesses. Exaggerated as it must seem to a western reader, the Indian historian's picture of this revered Emperor does not present a single touch which cannot be traced in the writings of contemporary French and English travellers, and in the statements of other native chroniclers who were less under the influence of the sitter for the portrait. Dr. Careri draws a precisely similar picture of the Emperor as he was in his old age in 1695."[2]

If Aurangzeb had shared the electicism or liberal outlook of his forefathers, he would have strengthened instead of undermining the foundations of the Empire. He was more Hindu in blood than any of them had been ; but his Islamic conscience rebelled against all the traditions created by them in India. "For the first time in their history the Mughals beheld a rigid Muslim in their Emperor—a Muslim as sternly repressive of himself as of his people around him, *a king who was prepared to stake his throne for the sake of the faith.* . . .He was no youthful enthusiast when he ascended the throne of Delhi, but a ripe man of forty, deeply experienced in the policies and prejudices of the various sections of his subjects. He must have been fully conscious of the dangerous path he was pursuing, and well aware that to run a-tilt against every Hindu sentiment, to alienate his Persian adherents, the flower of his general staff, by deliberate opposition to their cherished ideas, and to disgust his nobles by suppressing the luxury of a jovial court, was to invite revolution. Yet he chose this course, and adhered to this with unbending resolve through close on fifty years of unchallenged sovereignty. The flame of religious zeal blazed as hotly in his soul when he lay dying among the ruins of his Grand Army of the Deccan, an old man on the verge of ninety, as when, in the same fatal province, but then a youth in the springtime of life, he had thrown off the purple of viceregal state and adopted the mean garb of a mendicant fakir."[3]

The Ruin of Aurangzeb

A sense of failure, defeat, and despair came over Aurangzeb in his closing years. His pathetic letters to his sons, cited already, breathe regret and disappointment : there is also in them a note of uncertainty and disillusionment. But in his lifetime he had no misgivings as to his goal ; he had pursued what he considered to be his God appointed task relentlessly and with great zest. He sought to convert *Dar-ul-Harb* (land of infidelity) into *Dar-ul-Islam* (land of the true faith). It was ostensibly for this that he dethroned his father, murdered his brothers, exiled his son Akbar, antagonized the Rajputs, Jats, Sikhs, Marathas, suppressed the two Shia kingdoms of Bijapur and Gol-

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 156-62.
2 Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-69. See "Ideals of Mughal Sovereigns" by Banarsi Prasad Saxena in *J.U P.H S.*, XIV, pt. 1, July, 1941.
3 Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.*, p 70.

konda, levied the *jiziya*, forbade the writing of court-chronicles, banished music, changed the calendar to the orthodox lunar system (in place of the solar innovations), discontinued the *Nauroz* celebrations and anniversary weighings of the Emperor against gold, silver, etc., and substituted true Hanifi Muslims in place of Hindus, Shias, and other infidels and heretics in his service wherever he could. Some of his measures were really good, such as the condemnation of *bhang*, prohibition of liquor and gambling, forbidding of *sati*, banning of obscenities in the celebration of *Holi*, and the compulsion of public women to choose between marriage and exile, etc. But what enraged large masses of his subjects was the wholesale destruction of places of worship, exaction of invidious taxes like the *jiziya* and extra-customs duties from Hindus, and their humiliation, not merely by prohibition against riding on good horses, wearing of good dresses, etc. These were not the acts of a righteous ruler or a constructive statesman, but the outbursts of blind fanaticism, unworthy of the great genius that Aurangzeb undoubtedly possessed in all other respects. Nor does any religion demand from its most devoted votaries the savage treatment that Aurangzeb needlessly meted out to his father and brothers. The fact is that apart from his natural propensity and zeal for religion (Islam ?), Aurangzeb —or better Alamgir, the "world-grasper", also possessed a certain strong machiavellian trait in his character which made him believe :

'How vain is virtue, which directs our ways
Through certain danger to uncertain praise !
Barren, and airy name ! the fortune flies,
With thy lean train, the pious and the wise. . . .
The world is made for the bold impious man,
Who stops at nothing, seizes all he can.
Justice to merit does weak aid afford ;
She trusts her balance, and neglects her sword.
Virtue is nice to take what's not her own ;
And while she long consults, the prize is gone ![1]

This is the key to his puzzling character which led his European contemporaries to suspect him a dissembling consummate villain. Bernier, as we have already pointed out, speaks of him as "reserved, subtle, and a complete master of the art of dissimulation." He further amplifies, "When at his father's Court, he feigned a devotion which he never felt, and affected contempt for worldly grandeur while clandestinely endeavouring to pave the way to future elevation. Even when nominated Viceroy of the Deccan, he caused it to be believed that his feelings would be better gratified if permitted to turn *fakir*, that is to say, a beggar, a Darwish, or one who had renounced the world ; that the wish nearest his heart was to pass the rest of his days in prayer or in offices of piety, and that he shrank from the cares and responsibility of government. Still his life has been one of undeviating intrigue and contrivance ; conducted, however, with such admirable skill, that every person in the Court, excepting only his brother Dara, seemed to form an erroneous estimate of his character."[2] Tavernier, likewise, wrote, "Aurangzib especially shows great zeal for the Sunni sect, of which he is a faithful follower that he surpasses all his predecessors in *external observation of the law, which has been the veil by means of which he has concealed his usurpation of the kingdom. . . .*To show himself still more zealous for the law he became a *Dervish* or *Fakir*,

1 Dryden, *Aurang-Zeb*.
2 Bernier, *Travels*, p. 10.

. . . .and *under this false mantle of piety made his way cleverly to the Empire.*"[2]

At least two of his contemporaries warned Aurangzeb of the consequences of his purblind policy—their motives we need not discuss here ; but, in the nature of things, they could expect no response. His rebellious son Akbar wrote the strongest indictment of Aurangzeb's rule ever penned by a critic :

"Verily, the guide and teacher of this path [of rebellion against a reigning father] is Your Majesty ; others are merely following your footsteps. How can the path which Your Majesty himself chose to follow be called 'the path of ill-luck' ?

My father bartered away the garden of Eden
for two grains of wheat ;
I shall be an unworthy son if I do not sell it
for a grain of barley !
Hail, centre of the worlds, spiritual and temporal !
Men draw hardship and labour of themselves. . . .
[Then follows a vindication of the Rajputs.]

"Former emperors like Akbar had contracted alliance and kinship with this race and conquered the realm of Hindustan with *their* help. . . .This is the race who, when Your Majesty was adorning the throne at Delhi, and the Rajputs [there] did not number more than three hundred men, performed heroic deeds, whose narrative is manifest to the age ; such heroism and victory [were theirs] as the commanders of the age have not heard of. . . .Blessings be on this race's fidelity to salt, who, without hesitation in giving up their lives for their master's sons, have done such deeds of heroism that for three years the Emperor of India, his mighty sons, famous ministers and high grandees have been moving in distraction [against them], *though this is only the beginning of the contests.*

"And why should it not be so, seeing that in Your Majesty's reign the ministers have no power, the nobles enjoy no trust, the soldiers are wretchedly poor, the writers are without employment, the traders are without means, and the peasantry are down-trodden ? So too, the kingdom of the Deccan which is a spacious country and a paradise on earth, has become desolate and ruined like a hill or desert ; and the city of Burhanpur,—a mole of beauty on the cheek on earth,—has become ruined and plundered ; the city of Aurangabad, glorified by connection with Your Majesty's name, is perturbed like quicksilver at the shock and injury given by the enemy's armies.

"*On the Hindu tribes two calamities have descended*, (first) the exaction of the *jiziya* in the town, and (second) the oppression of the enemy in the country. When such sufferings have come down upon the heads of the people from all sides, why should they not fail to pray for or thank their ruler ? Men of high extraction and pure breed belonging to ancient families, have disappeared and the offices and departments of Your Majesty's government and the function of Your counselling on the affairs of the State, are in the hands of mechanics, low people and rascals,—like weavers, soap-vendors and tailors. These men, carrying the broad cloaks of fraud under their arms, and the snare of fraud and trickery, (*to wit the rosary*) in their hands, *roll on their tongues certain tradition and reli-*

1 Tavernier, *Travels*, I, p. 177.

gious maxims. Your Mejesty trusts these confidants, consellors and companions as if they were Gabriel and Michael, and places yourself helplessly under their control. And these men, showing wheat (as samples) but selling barley, by such pretexts make grass appear as a hill and a hill as grass [to you].

In the reign of King Alamgir, the Holy Warrior,
Soap-vendors have become Sadar and Qazi ! . . . .
Low people have gained so much power
That cultured persons have to seek shelter at their doors !. . . .
God protect us from this calamitous age,
In which the ass kicks at the Arab steed !
The supreme magistrate is [vainly] treading on the wind,
While justice has become [as rare] as the phoenix itself !

"The clerks and officers of State have taken to the practice of traders, and are buying posts with gold and selling them for shameful considerations. Every one who eats salt destroys the salt-cellar. *The day seems near when the palace of the State would be cracked.*

"When I beheld this to be the state of affairs [in the realm] and saw no possibility of Your Majesty's character being reformed, kingly spirits urged me to cleanse the realm of Hindustan of the brambles and weeds (viz., oppressors and lawless men), to promote men of learning and culture, and to destroy the foundations of tyranny and meanness. . . .

"Hitherto Your Majesty has spent all Your life in the quest of things of this world—which are even more false than dreams, and even less constant than shadows. Now is the proper time for You to lay in provisions for the next life, in order to atone for Your former deeds, done out of greed for this transitory world against Your august father and noble brothers in the days of Your youth.

O ! thou art past eighty years and art still asleep !
Thou wilt not get more than these few days."[1]

The whole letter sounds insolent and, doubtless, is guilty of exaggerations, but in its main charge quite true and wonderfully prophetic. Similar in import and appeal, but certainly more dignified in its tone and sincere in its fervour, is Shivaji's letter to Aurangzeb, addressed to him after the Agra adventure.

"To the Emperor Alamgir—

"This firm and constant well-wisher Shivaji, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favours of the Emperor which are clearer than the Sun, begs to inform Your Majesty that—. . . .

"It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the wnr with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied your treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *jiziya* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please Your Majesty ! That architect of the fabric of empire [Jalaluddin] Akbar Padishah, reigned with full power for 52 [lunar] years. He adopted the admirable policy of universal harmony (*sulh-i-kul*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dadu's followers, sky-worshippers (*falakia*), *malakia*, materialists (*ansaria*), atheists (*daharia*), Brahmans and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all

1 Sarkar, *Studies in Mughal India*, pp. 100-105.

the people. So, he became famous under the title of *Jagat-Guru*, 'the World's Spiritual Guide'.

'Next, the Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir for 22 years spread his gracious shade on the head of the world and its dwellers, gave his heart to his friends and hand to his work, and gained his desires. The Emperor Shah Jahan for 32 years cast his blessed shade on the head of the world and gathered the fruit of eternal life, which is only a synonym for goodness and fair fame, as the result of his happy time on earth.

He who lives with a good name gains everlasting wealth,
Because after his death, the recital of his good deeds
keeps his name alive.

"Through the auspicious effect of this sublime disposition, wherever he [Akbar] bent the glance of his august wish, Victory and Success advanced to welcome him on the way. In his reign many kingdoms and forts were conquered [by him]. The state and power of these Emperors can be easily understood from the fact *Alamgir Padishah has failed and become distracted in the attempt to merely follow their political system.* They, too, had the power of levying the *jiziya*; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God to be [living] examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of time as their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these [three] pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intentions. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety [under the rule], and their undertakings succeeded.

"*But in Your Majesty's reign*, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are down-trodden; the yield of every village has declined, in the place of one *lakh* [of Rupees] only one thousand, in the place of a thousand only ten are collected, and that too with difficulty. When poverty and beggary have made their homes in the palaces of the Emperor and the Princes, the condition of the Grandees and officers can be easily imagined. It is a reign in which the army is in a ferment, the merchants complain, the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled, most men lack bread at night and in the day inflame their own cheeks by slapping them [in anguish]. How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *jiziya* to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that the Emperor of Hindustan, coveting the beggars' bowls, takes *jiziya* from Brahmans and Jain monks, *yogis*, *sannyasis*, *bairagis*, paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine-stricken—that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars, that he dashes down to the ground the name and honour of the Timurids!

"May it please Your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God (i.e., the *Quran*), you will find there [that God is styled] *Rabbi-ul-alamin*, the Lord of all men, and not *Rubbi-ul-Musalmin*, the Lord of the Muhammadans only. Verily,

Islam and Hinduism are terms of contrast. They are [diverse pigments] used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling in the outlines [of His picture of the entire human species]. If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is equivalent to altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw new lines on a picture is equivalent to finding fault with the painter. . . .

"In strict justice the *jiziya* is not at all lawful. From the political point of view it will be allowable only if a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one province to another without fear of molestation. [But] in these days even the cities are being plundered, what shall I say of the open country ? Apart from its injustice, this imposition of the *jiziya* is an innovation in India and inexpedient.

"If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorizing the Hindus, you ought first to levy the *jiziya* from Rana Raj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit. I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw ! May the sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness."[1]

Alamgir *the world grasper's* reply to all the claims of reason and statesmanship was as blind and blunt as that of *Dhritarashtra's* unrelenting sons. He was learned, too, and could quote Sa'di, emphatically exclaiming,—

"Cease to be kings ! Oh, cease to be Kings !

Or determine that your dominions shall be governed only by yourselves."

Aurangzeb was thereby showing the dragon's teeth : but he never thought of the future. With Louis XV he only exclaimed : "After me the deluge"—*"Azma-ast hamah fasad baqi !"*

Mr. Pringle Kennedy wisely observes, "What Akbar had gained, what Jahangir and Shah Jahan with all their vices had retained, he (Aurangzeb) lost, viz., the affection of his Hindu subjects. That this can be acquired for a Muhammadan ruler without doing injustice to his co-religionists has been shown over and over again in Indian History. And no power that has not acquired the confidence of the Hindu community can be expected to last in India. Intolerance in Aurangzeb's time meant intolerance in religious matters, but intolerance can, and at the present day often does, extend to matters not religious. Impatience at opposition, a belief that no one can be right save oneself, a feeling of contempt for all that does not tally with one's own ideas, all these are a form of intolerance and one that at times can be seen in the statesmen of the present days. But the warning of history stands ever there, so that he who runs may read : *The English won India by pursuing the methods of Akbar, let them not lose it by imitating those of Aurangzeb."*[2]

1 Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 325-29.
2 Kennedy, *The History of the Great Moghuls*, II, pp. 155-56.

Wasted Opportunity

It is vain to speculate what might have been if Aurangzeb had not been a fanatical *Namazi* (as his latitudinarian brother Dara called him), if he had befriended the Rajputs instead of alienating them, if he had not antagonized the Sikhs, Satnamis, Jats, and other sections of his non-Muslim subjects, and above all, if he had not roused the Marathas to deadly combat, and had won the sympathy and support of the Shia kingdoms of Golkonda and Bijapur, etc., etc. But when we remember Aurangzeb's unquestionable merits, his administrative abilities, his benevolent intentions regarding the welfare of the peasants and Muslim subjects, his tireless energy, and his sense of the responsibilities of a monarch, we cannot help sighing with the repentant Emperor crying from his death-bed : "*I have not at all done any (true) government of the realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. . . . and of the future there is no hope.*"[1]

Our regret is rendered all the more acute when we turn our eyes to the successful administration of parts of his vast dominion, like Bengal under Shayista Khan and Konkan under Matabar Khan. The latter was a *Navayat Sayyid* of Kalyan, first employed as a *thanadar* in the Nasik District. He first distinguished himself in 1688. "by his enterprising spirit and far-sightedness." He enlisted a strong infantry force of local hillmen to fight the Marathas. After the fall of Sambhaji, it was on account of him that all North Konkan from Surat to Bombay passed into Mughal hands. "Most parts of the district had been ruined by twenty years of Maratha predominance and frequent warfare. He established Mughal rule over them, restored order, and planted colonies of peasants so as to revive their cultivation and prosperity . . . . The news-letters of Aurangzib's Court contain many examples of Matabar's vigilant care for his charge, his strict maintenance of efficiency in the administration, and his assistance to the Siddi chief of Janjira, in the military operations for upholding the imperial power. Death overtook this able and faithful servant at the end of February, 1704."[2]

Shayista Khan's administration of Bengal was equally successful and prosperous. His first viceroyalty of Bengal extended over 14 years (1664-1677). "During this unusually long period of office in our province, he first ensured the safety of the Bengal rivers and sea-board by destroying the pirates' nest at Chatgaon, won over the Feringi pirates and settled them near Dacca. His internal administration was equally mild and beneficent. He immediately stopped the resumption by the State of the old rent-free lands which the local officers had begun during the interregnum following Mir Jumla's death. Everyday he held open Court for administration of justice and redressed wrongs very promptly. This he regarded as his most important duty. Shayista Khan restored absolute freedom of buying and selling, and also abolished two illegal exactions of his predecessors, namely, a tax of one-fortieth (*zakat*) on the income of merchants and travellers, and an excise duty (*hasil*) from every class of artificers and tradesmen, the latter tax yielding 15 lakhs of rupees a year in his own jagirs alone. The long interval of peace secured by his arms to Bengal was employed by him in adorning his capital Dacca with many fine buildings and constructing *sarais* all over the country. On the whole, he was a generous nobleman of the grand old style. . . . .His second term covered the nine years from

1 Letter to Azam, already cited.
2 Sarkar, *Short History of Aurangzib*, pp. 352-53.

1680 to 1688 ; the most noticeable event of this period was the war with the East India Co., already described. The popular tradition is that, during his governorship, rice sold in Bengal at the incredibly cheap rate of eight maunds to the Rupee."[1]

That the country possessed able rulers even among the enemies of the Mughal Empire is illustrated by the career of Bakht Buland, the rebel chief of Gondwana. "During Bakht Buland's reign, the rich lands of the south of Deogarh, between the Wainganga and Kanhan rivers, were steadily developed. Hindu and Muhammadan cultivators were encouraged to settle in them on equal terms with Gonds, until this region became most prosperous. Industrial settlers from all quarters were attracted to Gondwana, many towns and villages were founded, and agriculture, manufactures, and even commerce made considerable advances."[2] But the best illustration of administrative talent outside the Empire is that of Shivaji.

"It is commonly believed," writes Prof. S. N. Sen, "that this vast empire (whose foundations were laid by Shivaji) existed merely by plunder and robbery. An eminent English writer has described the Maratha generals as 'robbers, plunderers and scoundrels.' *But it is very difficult to understand how an empire could last for over a century and half by robbery and plunder alone, unless it had a surer and firmer basis of good government.*"[3] This is not the place to describe in details the splendid government set up by Shivaji. We must content ourselves here with reminding the reader of the tribute paid to him by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the historian of Aurangzeb's reign—'The imperishable achievement of his life was the welding of scattered Marathas into a nation, and his most precious legacy was the spirit that he breathed into his people. . . . .No other Hindu has shown such constructive genius in modern times. . . . .He taught the modern Hindus to rise to the full stature of their growth."[4]

Aurangzeb could easily have become an *'Ornament to the throne'* (as indeed his name signified), had he not spent his dynamic energy and genius in channels destructive to both himself and the Empire that was his glorious heritage. Instead, he set himself the vain task of becoming *Alamgir* or *"world-grasper'* and was content to be *Zinda Pir* or *'living saint'* to his orthodox Muslim contemporaries. He also set to posterity a purplexing puzzle in the strange compound of his character : "Aurangzib's life had been a vast failure, indeed," as Lane-Poole observes, "but he had failed grandly . . . . His glory is for himself alone . . . . To his great empire his devoted zeal was an unmitigated curse."[5]

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 420-21.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 432-33.
3 Sen, *Administrative System of the Marathas*, Preface to the 1st ed., p. 8.
4 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
5 Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, pp. 204-05. The same writer has also observed, "Aurangzib has experienced the fate of his great contemporary, Cromwell, whom he resembled in many features of the soul. He has had his Ludlow among his biographers, and his Baxter, with their theories of selfish ambition and virtue vitiated by success ; he has also been slavered with the panegyrics of Muhammadan Flecknoes and Dawbeneys. These opposite views, however, are less contradictory than might be supposed. They merely represent the difference between Christian bigotry and Muhammadan bigotry. .They did not understand the nature of the religion which could be honestly professed by such a man as Aurangzib, any more than the royalists of the Restoration could discover in the ambitious regicide the sincere Christian that Cromwell really was. . . . Like Cromwell, he (Aurangzib) may not have been 'a man scrupulous about words, or names, or such things, but he undoubtedly put himself forth for the cause of God, like the great Protector, a mean instrument to do God's people some good, and God service.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 60-61, 64.

GENEALOGY OF THE LATER MUGHALS

ALAMGIR

M. Sultan (executed, 1676)

Muazzam *Bahadur Shah* I (1) or *Shah Alam* I (acc. 1707 ; d. 1712)

M. Azam (d. at Jajau, 1707)
|
Bedar Bakht (d. at Jajau, 1707)

M. Akbar (d. in Persia, 1704)
|
(5) *Neku-siyar* (acc. & d. 1719)

M. Khan Bakhsh (d. at Hyderabad, 1709)

(2) *Jahandar Shah* (acc. 1712 ; murdered, 1713)
|
(10) *Alamgir* II (acc. 1754 ; murdered, 1759)
|
(11) *Shah Alam* II (acc. 1759 ; d. 1806)
|
(12) *Akbar* II (acc. 1806 ; d. 1837)
|
(13) *Bahadur Shah* II (acc. 1837 ; deposed 1857)

Azim-ush-Shan (d. in battle)
|
(3) *Farukh-siyar* (acc. 1713 ; murdered 1719)

(6) *Rafi-ud-Darjat* (acc. & d. 1719)

Rafi-ush-Shan (d. in battle)

(4) *Rafi-ud-Darjat* (acc. & d. 1719)

Jahan Shah (d. in battle)
|
(7) *Muhammad Shah* (acc. 1719 ; d. 1748)

(9) *Ahmad Shah* (acc. 1748 ; deposed

(8) M. *Ibrahim* [illegible] (d. 1760)

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CHAPTER 10

Sunset of the Empire

'For generosity, munificence, boundless good nature, extenuation of faults, and forgiveness of offences, very few monarchs have been found equal to Bahadur Shah in the histories of past times, and especially in the race of Timur. But though he had no vice in his character, such complacency and such negligence were exhibited in the protection of the State and in the government and management of the country, that witty sarcastic people found the date of his accession in the words, *Shah-i-be-khabr*, *"Heedless King".'*

—KHAFI KHAN

THE afternoon blaze of Aurangzeb's power had mellowed into a softer glow in the declining years of the aged Emperor. The tedious war in the Deccan had "exhausted his armies and destroyed his prestige, and no sooner was the dominating mind stilled in death than all the forces that he had sternly controlled, all the warring elements that struggled for emancipation from the grinding yoke, broke out in irrepressible tumult. Even before the end of his reign Hindustan was in confusion, and the signs of coming dissolution had appeared. As some imperial corpse, preserved for ages in its dread seclusion, crowned and armed and still majestic, yet falls into dust at the mere breath of heaven, so fell the empire of the Moghul when the great name that guarded it was no more. It was as though some splendid palace, reared with infinite skill with all the costliest stones and precious metals of the earth, had attained its perfect beauty only to collapse in undistinguishable ruin when the insidious roots of the creeper sapped the foundations." So writes Lane-Poole. He further adds, "Even had Aurangzib left a successor of his own mental and moral stature, it may be doubted whether the process of disintegration could have been stayed. *The disease was too far advanced for even the heroic surgery.*"[1]

Things were not so hopeless at least during the five years of Bahadur Shah's rule (1707-1712). We might agree with Keene who states, "As there was a period of consolidation between the first adventure (of Babur) and the mature glory (of Shah Jahan), so there was a period of weakness and a lapse between the glory and the fall. . . .Naturally, the steps from one period to another were not sharply defined to the bystanders, and even now, in looking back upon them, one observes gradations like those by which one colour passes into the next upon a rainbow. The reign of

1 *Mediaeval India*, pp. 410-11.

Aurangzeb might appear to have been a time of recovery if it had not been a time of falling ; and the accounts of his death that have been preserved do not show any feelings of despondency as to the *future of his empire* in the mind of the dying despot. *Nor was the character of the position of his successor by any means such as to give rise to any immediate alarm among those well-wishers of the State who survived their sovereign.* The Emperor still gave audience, and redressed grievances, seated on the peacock throne; and the rulers of all provinces of the peninsula were still either his vassals or his officials."[1]

"But," as the same writer well observes, "the air was full of change."[2] It would not, therefore, be improper to call this reign *the Sunset of the Empire* : the sun of Imperial glory was still to sink below the horizon ; if the rays of its power were not piercing and sharp as in the days of Aurangzeb, they had a peculiar charm of their own. Though this moment of passing grandeur was short like a real sunset, few that enjoyed its soothing light thought of the darkness that was to follow.

"The new Emperor, in spite of his advancing years," says Keene, "displayed a sumptuousness which caused his court to rival the memory of Shahjahan."[3] In the words of Iradat Khan :

> 'Time received a new lustre from his accession, and all ranks of people obtained favours equal to, if not above, their merits ; so that the public forgot the excellences and great qualities of Aurangzeb, which became absorbed in the bounties of his successor . . . . His court was magnificent to a degree beyond that of Shah Jahan. Seventeen Princes, his sons, grandsons and nephews, sat generally round his throne . . . . Behind the royal Princes, on the right, stood the sons of conquered sovereigns, as of Sikandar Ali Shah of Bijapur, and Kutb Shah, King of Golkonda ; also a vast crowd of the nobility, from the rank of seven to three thousand, such as were allowed to be on the platform between the silver rails. . . . .On the *Ids* and other festivals, His Majesty, with his own hands, gave the *betel* and perfumes to all in his presence, according to their ranks. His gifts of jewels, dresses, and other favours were truly royal. . . . .In the early part of the evening he had generally an assembly of the religious or learned men. . . . .He had explored the different opinions of all sects, read the works of all free thinkers, and was well acquainted with the hypotheses of each. On this account some overstrict devotees accused him of heterodoxy in his religious opinions, through mere envy of his superior abilities. I heard most of his tenets, and lamented the ignorance of his vain critics ; for it was as clear as the sun how just and orthodox he was in his opinions on religious points.' The writer concludes : 'But how can I enumerate all his perfections. It would fill volumes to recite but a small part, therefore I will desist.'[4]

Tod, the historian of Rajasthan, is equally economiastic, saying that the Emperor Bahadur Shah had many qualities that endeared him to the Rajputs. He was also of opinion that "had he immediately succeeded the beneficent Shahjahan, the House of Taimur, in all human probability, would have been still enthroned at Delhi." The bigotry of Aurangzeb spoilt the opportunities of this Emperor, who like Shah Jahan was

1 Keene, *The Turks in India*, pp. 170-71.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*, p. 178.
4 *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 551-52.

"almost a pure Hindu." Keene adds, "Had Aurangzeb succeeded Akbar he would have done less mischief ; had Bahadur Shah succeeded Shah Jahan he would have postponed the catastrophe. As things happened (however) the carefulness of the one was as fatal as the levity of the other ; and *the qualities of each combined in unhappy co-operation, like two compounds whose chemical union makes a deadly poison.*"[1]

We might divide the present chapter under the following heads : I. Personal History of Bahadur Shah ; II. Relations with the Rajputs ; III. Relations with the Marathas ; IV. Relations with the Sikhs ; and V. Conclusion.

I. Personal History

Antecedents

Muhammad Muazzam, the second son of Aurangzeb, was styled *Shah Alam* in his father's lifetime. He was born at Burhanpur on 30th *Rajab*, 1053 A.H. (14th Oct., 1643). His mother was Nawab Bai, daughter of Rajah Raju of Rahauri in Kashmir. His eldest brother, by the same mother, Prince Mohammad Sultan, having died (14th Dec., 1676) at the age of thirty-nine, Prince Muazzam (Shah Alam) was recognized heir-apparent. For twelve years from 1667 A.D., *Shah Alam was Subadar of the Deccan.* About the end of 1677, he was sent to Rajputana, against his rebellious brother Akbar (4th son of Aurangzeb by his principal wife Dilras Banu Begam, born at Aurangabad—11th Sept., 1657). In 1683-84 he led his Konkan expedition, with doubtful results, and was thence directed against first Bijapur and then Golkonda. On 4th Marth, 1687, he was arrested with all his family for suspected contumacy with Abul Hasan, ruler of Golkonda, and kept in close confinement for seven years. He has released on 24th May, 1695, and sent as Governor to Akbarabad. Thence he was transferred to Kabul which he reached on 4th June, 1699. "For eight years the hot season was spent in Kabul and the cold weather at Jalalabad or Peshawar or in marches through the country." He got the news of Aurangzeb's death, in his camp at Jamrud, on 22nd March, 1707, only 20 days after the event.[2]

War of Succession (1707)

Then followed the race for the throne ; M. Azam, the third son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu, daughter of Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi—born 9th July, 1653) and Shah Alam being nearly equidistant from Agra. The former was at Ahmednagar (700 miles from Agra), and the latter at Jamrud (715 miles from Agra).[3] The contest is well depicted in the pages of

1 Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-79 and 167.

2 "An instance of the speed with which intelligence could be carried, the distance from Ahmednagar to Jamrud being about 1,400 miles, and the average distance travelled by the messengers being thus 70 miles a day."—Irvine, *The Later Mughals*, I, p. 18.

3 Aurangzeb, on his death-bed, had foreseen the impending struggle and tried in vain to avert it : (1) by his last will and testament, aleeady cited, inculcating a definite division of the Empire between his three surviving sons ; and (2) by trying to keep his three sons at a safe distance, both from himself and from one another, at the time of his death. Muazzam the eldest was in distant Kabul. The other two, Kam Bakhsh and Azam, both being near him, he had ordered to go to Bijapur and Malwa respectively, with strict and specific instructions as to the time and route to be followed by each. The *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* observes : 'The object of such precise instructions was to place the young (Kam Bakhsh) out of the power of his elder brother M. Azam. Seven days after having taken that precaution, he ordered his second son to proceed to his government of Malwa four hours after sunrise, with injunction to make short stages of about 5 *kos* daily, and to halt two days at each stage, so as to march only every third day. In giving such orders, the Emperor told

contemporary chroniclers. According to Khafi Khan, who was then *faujdar* of the sarkar of Thanesar and Khudra, 'On the 10th *Zil-hijja* (14th March, 1707) Azam Shah, having ascended the throne, made his accession public in the Dakhin by coins struck in the name of Azam Shah (the title he assumed was *Abul-fayez Qutb-ud-din Muhammad Azam Shah, Ghazi*).[1] Having gratified the old nobles of the State with robes and jewels, augmentations of *mansabs* and promises, he set off, about the middle of *Zil-hijja,* to encounter Shah Alam accompanied by *Jamdat-ul-Mulk Amir-ul-umara* Asad Khan (his son) Zul fikar Khan Bahadur *Nusrat Jang* and [many other Persian nobles]. He marched to *Khujista-bunyad* (Aurangabad), ...and thence arrived at Burhanpur. After leaving that place, he was abandoned by Muhammad Amin Khan, and Chin Kalich Khan (leader of the Turani party), who had received the title of *Khan dauran.* They were offended by the treatment they received from Azam Shah, and went off to Aurangabad, where they took possession of several districts.'[2] Azam had also ordered his son Bedar Bakht from Ahmedabad to join him. The latter on hearing of the death of his grandfather is reported to have exclaimed : "You know full well that *the realm of Hindustan will now fall into anarchy.* People do not know the value of the Emperor. I only hope that Heaven will direct matters as I wish, and that the Empire will be given to my father.[3]

In the meanwhile, 'On the 7th *Zil-hijja* the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Peshawar, and the Prince (Shah Alam) immediately prepared to set out. Next day a letter came from Munim Khan, offering congratulations upon the Prince's accession to royalty (presumed), and urging him to come quickly. Orders were given for the march, and next day the Prince started, making no delay, accompanied by his nobles, except Fathullah Khan, a man of great bravery lately appointed to Kabul, who declined to accompany him. Orders were given that Jannisar Khan, who was only second in courage to Fathullah Khan, should go with 5,000 or 6,000 horse to the neighbourhood to Agra to join Prince Azimus-shan (Shah Alam's son, who had come from Bihar to support his father). Orders also were sent calling Prince Muiz-ud-din from Thatta, and Aazz-ud-din from Multan, where he was acting as the deputy of his father. Other presumed adherents were also sent for.

'Shah Alam proceeded by regular marches to Lahore. Munim Khan came forth to meet him, paid his homage, offered 40 *lacs* of rupees, and presented the soldiers, artillery and equipments that he had busied himself in collecting directly he had heard of the death of Aurangzeb.[4]

him that it was to put it in his power to prevent the disorders that might happen in that country in case of a vacancy of the throne, and moreover that he might be at hand to avail himself of his father's demise, and take possession of his inheritance. *But the Emperor's real object was to keep so enterprising a prince at a distance from him at that time, and to prevent his availing himself of his feeble state of body to seize and confine him, in the same way as Aurangzib had confined his own father Shahjehan.*'—*Siyar-ul-Mutakherin,* pp. 1-2 (Briggs).

1 The coin struck by him bore the inscription—

Sikkah-zad dar jahan ba daulat a jah,
Padshah-i-imamalik Azam Shah.

'Coin was struck in the world with fortune and dignity by the Emperor of the kingdoms, Azam Shah.'—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 391.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 388-89.

4 Both Khafi Khan and Iradat Khan speak highly of Munim Khan's loyalty and ability. 'The late Emperor,' says the former, 'had appointed Munim Khan, a very able man of business, to the management of Kabul. He had shown great devotion and fidelity to Shah Alam, so that the Prince placed in his hands the management of his

Shah Alam appointed him *wazir*. At the end of *Muharram*, 1119 (April, 1707)[1] the Prince encamped at Lahore. There he remained over the new moon of *Safar*, and gave orders for the coining of money[2] and reading the *khutba* in his name. The nobles in his retinue presented their offerings and paid their homage. . . .

'On Shah Alam arriving at Delhi, ...the commandant sent the keys of the fortress with his offering, and many others made their allegiance. At the beginning of *Rabi-ul-awwal* (5th May, 1707) he left for Agra, and reached the environs of that city about the middle of the month (12th June, 1707), where he was met by his son M. Azim, and by M. Karim, the son of Prince Azim. Baki Khan gave up the keys of the fortress, with treasure, for which he received great favour and rewards.[3]

'According to one account there were nine *krores* of rupees, in rupees and *asharfis*, besides vessels of gold and silver, which was what was left remaining of the 24 *krores* of rupees amassed by Shah Jahan after what had been expended by Aurangzeb during his reign, principally in his wars in the Dakhin. According to another account, including the presentation money, which consisted of *asharfis* and rupees of 100 to 300 tolas' weight, especially coined for presents,[4] and the *asharfis* of 12 *mashas* and 13 *mashas* of the reign of Akbar,

jagirs in the province of Lahore, and had recommended him for the *dewani* of the province to the Emperor, who appointed him to that office. When Munim Khan received intelligence of the continued illness of the Emperor, in his faithfulness to Shah Alam, he busied himself in making preparations in the countries lying between Lahore and Peshawar, finding means of transport, collecting camels and bullocks, and providing things necessary for carrying on a campaign, so as to be ready at the time of need.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 391-92. Iradat Khan, likewise, speaks of Munim's 'great abilities, active in the cabinet, resolute in execution and unbending of integrity of mind. . . .when he heard of Aurangzeb's illness, in order to prevent plots in favour of Azam Shah, he circulated a report that Shah Alam would not contend for empire, but seek protection from his brother by flight to Persia. This step appears to have been suggested to him by Shah Alam himself: "*In this rumour,*" Shah Alam is alleged to have told him, "*lies concealed a great design, to forward which I have spread it abroad and taken pains to make it believed. First*, because my father, on a mere suspicion of disloyalty, kept me nine years in close confinement ; and should he even now think that I cherished the smallest ambition, he would immediately strive to accomplish my ruin. *Secondly*, my brother and M. Azam Shah, who is my powerful enemy and valiant even to the point of rashness, would exert all his force against me. *From this report my father is easy, and my brother lulled into self-security ; but by the Almighty God who gave me life* (laying his hand on the *Quran*), *and on this holy book I swear, though not one friend should join me, I will meet Azam Shah in single combat, wherever he may be.* This secret, which I have so long maintained, and even kept from my own children, is now entrusted to your care. Be cautious that no instance of your conduct may betray it !" 'When the news of Aurangzeb's death reached Munim Khan at Lahore he wrote immediately by express to Shah Alam conjuring him to march with the utmost expedition towards the capital, without anxiety or preparation, and he should find artillery and all supplies ready at Lahore. This wise minister then prepared bridges over the various rivers, so that not a day's delay was occasioned in crossing to the Prince's army, which at Lahore was joined by a powerful train of artillery with sufficient draft. He also paid up all the troops, and advanced large sums to new levies.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 547-49.

1 Irvine gives the date as 1st *Safar* (3rd May, 1707). Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

2 Directions were given that the new rupee should be increased half a *masha* in weight, and *lacs* were accordingly coined of that weight ; but as in the payment of *tankhwah*, and in command of commercial transactions, it was received at only the old rate, the new law was discontinued. E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 393.

3 At first Baki Khan who was the commandant of the fort of Agra, had refused to surrender his charge, pleading that 'although the fort and the treasures belonged to both the heirs to the crown, he would surrender them to whichever arrived first.' *Ibid.*, see also *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 5. (Briggs).

4 See Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 423.

the whole amounted to 13 *krores*. An order was given for immediately bringing out 4 *krores* of rupees. Three *lacs* were to be given to each of the royal Princes, altogether 9 *lacs* ; 3 *lacs* to Khan Zaman and his sons ; one *lac* to the Saiyids of Barha ; one *lac* to Aghar Khan and his Mughals. In the same way the officers in his retinue, and the old servants, soldiers (and others, received gratuitous additions of pay and donations). Altogether two *krores* were distributed. . . .

Azam Shah (by this time had) passed the Nerbadda, and arrived at Gwalior. . . .Shah Alam....wrote him a letter of expostulation, rehearsing the particulars of the will written by their father with his own hand respecting the division of the kingdom and said, "Of all the six *subas* of the Dakhin, I will surrender to you four *subas*, as well as the *suba* of Ahmedabad, and besides these I will present you with one or two other *subas*, for *I do not wish that the blood of Musalmans should be shed*. . . . . You ought therefore to be content with the will of our father, accept what is offered, and endeavour to prevent strife." It is also said that he sent a message to the following effect : "If you will not desist from unjustly making a greater demand, and will not abide by the will of our father, but desire that the sword should be drawn, and that the matter should be submitted to the arbitrament of courage and valour, *what is the necessity that we should doom a multitude to the edge of the sword in our quarrel ?* It is better that you and I should stake our individual lives and contend with each other on the field of combat." . . . .When this letter and message of the elder brother reached the younger, the latter said, "I suppose the stupid fellow has never read the lines of Sa'di, which say that "Two kings cannot be contained in one country, though ten darweshes can sleep under one blanket."[1]

'Empire having been decreed to Shah Alam,' writes Iradat Khan, 'from the agency of destiny, such vanity took possession of the mind of Azam Shah, that he was convinced by his brother, though supported by the myriads of Tur and Sallam, durst not meet him in the field. Hence those who brought intelligence of his approach he would abuse as fools and cowards, so that no one cared to speak the truth ; *as was formerly the case with the Emperor Humayun during the rebellion of the Afghan Sher Shah.* Even his chief officers feared to disclose intelligence ; so that he was ignorant of the successful progress of his rival.'[2]

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 396-97. A slightly different version is given by Iradat Khan : 'At length Shah Alam, having reached Mattra, sent by a celebrated *darwesh* the following message to Azam Shah : "By the divine auspices we inherit from our ancestors an extensive empire, comprehending many kingdoms. It will be just and glorious not to draw the sword against each other, nor consent to shed blood of the faithful. Let us equally divide the empire between us. Though I am the elder son, I will leave the choice in your favour." Azam Shah, vainglorious and haughty, replied that he would answer his brother on the morrow in the field, and upon this the messenger departed.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 542.

How could two swords be kept in one scabbard ?
Az farsh-i-Khanata balab-ı bam azan-i-man,
Az ban-i-Khana to ba sariya az an-i-tu.
"My share is from floor to the roof of the house, yours from the roof up to the firmament !"—See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Cf. Duryodhana's reply in the *Mahabharata* :
"Take my message to my kinsmen, for Duryodhana's words are plain.
Portion of the Kuru empire sons of Pandu seek in vain,
Town nor village, mart nor hamlet, help us righteous gods in heaven.
Spot that needle's point can cover shall not unto them be given."

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 541-42.

'The spies of Shah Alam Bahadur Shah,' writes Khafi Khan, 'brought intelligence that the advanced guard of Azam Shah had marched with the intention of taking possession of the river Chambal, which is eighteen *kos* from Agra. So he gave directions that Khanazad Khan, Saf-shikan Khan the commander of the artillery, with an advance guard, should go and take possession of the passage, and not allow the enemy to cross. It was next reported to be Azam Shah's intention to cross the river at Samergarh, and leaving Agra in his rear, to turn and give battle. Orders were then given for moving Shah Alam's tents to *Jaju Sarai*. . . .Azam Shah also prepared for battle, without heeding the superior force of his brother, or setting any plan of action, went boldly forward like a fierce lion dashes upon a flock of sheep. . . .

'On the 18th *Rabi-ul-awwal*, 1119 A.H. (10th June, 1707 A.D.),[1] the two armies joined battle at Jaju (Jajau) seven or eight *kos* from Agra. . . . Matters now looked ill in every way for Azam Shah. . . .and a great number on the side of Azam Shah were slain. Zul fikar Khan received a slight wound upon the lip. When he saw that the day was lost, that many of his valiant companions in arms were slain, and that Azam Shah's army was pressed so hard that there was no hope of deliverance, he went to the Prince and said, "Your ancestors have had to endure the same kind of reverse, and have been deprived of their armies ; but they did not refuse to do what the necessities of the case required. The best course for you now is to leave the field of battle, and to remove to a distance, when fortune may perhaps assist you, and you may retrieve your reverse." Azam Shah flew into a rage, and said, "Go with your bravery, and save your life wherever you can ; it is impossible for me to leave this field : for princes there is (only the choice of) a throne or a bier (*takht ya takhta*)." Zul fikar Khan, accompained by Hamid-ud-din Khan, then went off to Gwalior. The ill-fated Prince now found himself left with only two or three hundred horsemen among thousands of his enemies, and amid a rain of arrows and balls. In this extremity he exclaimed, "*It is not Shah Alam who fights against me ; God has abandoned me, and fortune has turned against me.*"[2]

From this we might hurry on to the close of the battle as described by Iradat Khan who was present on the scene :

> '*His* (Zul fikar Khan's) *fight determined the rout of our army.* The principal followers and personal attendants of Azam Shah now dismounted, and laying their quivers on the ground, sat down to await the charge of the enemy, and sell their lives in defence of their patron. *Saiyid Abdullah and his brother, Husain Ali Khan, of the illustrious house of Barha, ever celebrated for valour, whose ancestors had in every reign performed most gallant action, if possible superior to their sires, descended from their elephants, and prepared to engage on foot.* The battle now raged hand to hand with sabres, and there was great slaughter on both sides. Husain Ali Khan received several wounds and fell down faint with the loss of blood. . . At last a musket-ball and several arrows struck the Prince Bedar Bakht, and he sank down dead on the elephant.
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> 'Azam Shah, though much wounded, was still alive, when a whirl of dust winded towards him from the army of Shah Alam. From this now issued with a select band the Princes Azim-ush Shan,

1 18th June, 1707.—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 398-99.

Muizzuddin Jahandar Shah, and Jahan Shah. Azam Shah soon received a mortal wound from a musket-ball, and resigned his soul to the Creator of life. The Prince Walajah (Azam's second son) also sank down in the sleep of death. I (Iradat Khan) now made my escape to Agra, not chosing to go to the enemy's camp, where I had many friends who would have given me protection.

'Rustam-dil Khan, who commanded the escort of Shah Alam's advanced tents, when attacked in the morning by our troops, . . . cutting off the head of the corpse (of Azam Shah). . . .hastened to the camp of Shah Alam. With exulting hopes of great reward, he laid his prize at the Prince's feet ; *but the compassionate Shah Alam, seeing the head of his slaughtered brother in such disgrace, shed tears of affection, and gave Rustam-dil Khan nothing but reproaches.* He ordered the head to be buried with proper respect, and forbade the march of victory to be beaten. Munim Khan took charge of the bodies of the unfortunate Princes, and treated the ladies of their *harems* with the utmost respect and tenderness. Though he had received a dangerous wound, and suffered extreme pain, he concealed his situation, and continued on the field till late at night, to restore order and prevent plunder. . . .Without doubt Shah Alam's successes and his attainment of the empire, were owing to the conduct and valour of this great minister."[1]

Gifts and Offices

'Next day Shah Alam went to visit Khan-Khanan (Munim Khan), and raised him to highest rank, with the title of *Khan-khanan Bahadur Zafar Jang* and *Yar-i-wafadar* (faithful friend). He presented him with a *krore* of rupees in cash and goods, a larger bounty than had ever been bestowed on any individual since the rise of the House of Timur. His *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse, five thousand being *do-aspah* and *sih-aspah*. He also received two *krores* of *dams* as *inam*, and he was confirmed in the office of *wazir*. Of the ten *lacs* of rupees which he offered as *peshkash*, one was accepted. . . .Each of the four royal Princes had his *mansab increased* to 30,000 and 20,000 horse'. . . .A gracious *farman*, summoning *Amir-ul-umara* Asad Kuan, Zul fikar Khan, Hamid-ud-din, who had repaired to Gwalior before the battle, was sent, promising them safety and favour and asking them to bring with them the ladies of the late Prince with their establishments. '*Amir-ul-umara* accompanied the retinue of Nawab Kudsiya Zeb-un-Nissa (sister of Azam Shah), who was clothed in mourning garments. When they arrived, the Begam did not go through the form of offering congratulations, in consequence of her being in mourning, and this vexed the King. *But he treated her with great kindness and indulgence, doubled her annual allowance, and gave her the title of Padshah Begam.* All the other ladies of Azam Shah were treated with great sympathy and liberality, and were ordered to accompany Padshah Begam to the capital.

Ibid., pp. 546-47, 549. "It may be fairly said, in summing up this part of our story," observes Irvine, "that Azam Shah brought on his own defeat by his overhaste and excessive rashness. Having failed to reach Agra in time to occupy that city before his rival, his chance of success was reduced enormously. He had little or no money, in comparison, at least with the large resource thrown open to Bahadur Shah ; he had left much of his equipage behind him in the Dakhin ; and his army was largely composed of fresh and untrained troops ; while many of his chief men, such as Zul fikar Khan and Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha seem to have been only half-hearted in their support of his cause."—Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

'To Asad Khan was given the title *Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf-ud-daula*. He was also made *Vakil-i-mutlak*, as the office was called in former reigns, and the appointment and removal of *wazirs* and other officials used to be in this grandee's hands. He was also presented with four stallions, five horses with accoutrements, etc., etc., *and was allowed the privilege of having his drums beaten in the royal presence*[1]. . . .Zul fikar Khan's *mansab* was increased to 7000 and 7000 horse. He received the title of *Samsam-ud-daula Amir-ul-Bahadur Nusrat Jang*, and was reinstated in his office of *Mir-bakhshi*. . . .In short, all the adherents, great and small, of the King and Princes, received *lacs* of rupees in *inam*, four-fold and six-fold augmentations of their *mansabs* and presents of jewels and elephants.

'Although the office of *wazir* had been given to Khan-khanan (Munim Khan), *it was deemed expedient*, in order to conceal Asad Khan *Amir-ul-umara* and Zul fikar Khan, to elevate Asad Khan to the position of *wazir*. To outward appearance he was raised to this dignity ; but whenever any ministerial business of importance arose, Khan-khanan did not communicate it to Asaf-ud-daula[2]. . . .With the exception that the seal of Asaf-ud-daula was placed upon revenue and civil *parwanas* and *sanads*, he had no part in the administration of government. . . .Khan-khanan discharged his duties as *wazir* with repute, integrity and impartiality and he exerted himself so earnestly in the performance of his work, that when he took his seat, he appointed officers to see that no petitions or letters of the day before remained unnoticed. One of the most acceptable and beneficial of the measures of Khan-khanan was the relief he afforded in that oppressive grievance, the feed of the cattle of the *mansabdars*.[3]

An Innovation

'Orders were given that in the coinage of rupees and *asharfis* no verse should be used, but that the name, "Shah Alam Bahadur Shah" and the name of (mint) city should be impressed in prose. It was also ordered that in the *khutba*, the name "Shah Alam" should be embellished by the title "Saiyid". It appears from history that from the rise of the House of Timur—nay, even from the foundation of the Ghori dynasty—no one of the monarchs had even used the title of Saiyid in the *khutba*, or in his pedigree, with the exception of Khizr Khan.'[4]

1 'Some envious spirits privately observed that the *Amir-ul-umara* had been the close friend and trusted adviser of Azam Shah ; but the Emperor answered that if his own sons had been in the Dakhin, the exigencies of the position would have compelled them to join their uncle.'—*Ibid.*, p. 402.

2 'On the day that Asaf-ud-daula acted as *diwan*, it became incumbent upon Khan-khanan to wait upon him as other ministers did, and to obtain his signature to documents ; but this was disagreeable to him.'—*Ibid.*

3 To explain this matter briefly, it may be said that in the late reign the *akhta begis* and other rapacious officials had so contrived that the responsibility of providing food for the cattle had been fixed on the *mansabdars*. . . .Although a *jagir* might be lying waste, and its total income would not suffice for a half or a third of the expense of the animals, and leave a little to supply the necessaries of life to the holder's wife and family, the officers imprisoned his *vakils*, and with violence and insult demanded contributions for the food of the cattle.'—*Ibid.*, p. 403.

4 According to Keene, Bahadur Shah assumed this title in right of his mother Nawab Bai. "This lady was the descendant of a hermit named Saiyid Mir Shah, who disappeared after marrying a daughter of the Raja of Cashmere. This Raja adopted the children and brought them up as Hindus. Hence the lady who, by a singular accident, became the wife of Aurangzeb in his youth, was in one respect of Saiyid origin, though in another she might be looked upon as Hindu. Her title, after her marriage was, Nawab Bai, a mark, perhaps, of her double nationality."—Keene, *The Turks in India*, p. 199 n.

Prince Kam Bakhsh, the youngest and favourite son of Aurangzeb (by Dilras Banu Begam)—born at Delhi, 24th February, 1667—also followed in the footsteps of his elder brother Muhammad Azam, and got himself crowned in the wake of his father's death. According to Iradat Khan, 'Kam Bakhsh was a prince of an excellent memory, was learned and a pleasing writer, possessed of all outward accomplishments in a high degree; *but there was in his mind a flightiness that approached to insanity*. He seldom remained a month in his father's presence, but for some misbehaviour he was reproved, degraded or confined; some acts were done by him, to mention which would be unworthy of me. What follies was he not guilty of, from the madness of his mind and the confidence he put in lying visionaries !. . . .His flatterers having told him that his eldest son would also at some time become Emperor, he became jealous of the innocent child, and frequently meditated putting him to death, but was withheld from that crime by the dread he had of Aurangzeb; however, he kept him constantly in confinement, miserably clothed, and worse fed than the son of a wretched beggar, which was worse than death. From the same cause, on ill-placed suspicions, he inflicted tortures and uncommon punishments, on the ladies of his *harem*, putting many of them privately to death. To his servants, companions, and confidants, he often behaved with outrageous cruelty, doing such acts to them as before eye never saw nor ear heard. . . .'[1]

Rebellion of Kam Bakhsh

The story of his rebellion may be briefly told in the words of Khafi Khan :

> When the news of Aurangzeb's death reached him, Khan Bakhsh was engaged in the capture of Bijapur from its commandant Niyaz Khan. 'Negotiations were opened, and through the exertions and skilful management of Ashan Khan, the keys of the fortress were given up by Saiyid Niyaz Khan, who waited on the Prince and made submission. At the end of two months the city and environs were brought into a state of order. Ashan Khan was made *bakhshi*, and the portfolio of *wazir* was given to Hakim Mushin, with the title of Takarab Khan. . .Other adherents were rewarded with jewels and titles. The Prince then assumed the throne. He was mentioned in the *khutba* under the title of *Din-panah* (Asylum of Faith), and coins also were issued with this title. . . .[2]
>
> 'A kind and admonitory letter was addressed by the Emperor (Shah Alam) to his brother Muhammad Kam Bakhsh to the following effect : "Our father entrusted you with the government of the *suba* of Bijapur ; we now relinquish to you the government of the two *subas* of Bijapur and Haidarabad, and all their subjects and belongings, upon the condition, according to the old rule of the Dakhin, that the coins shall be struck and the *khutba* read in our name. The tribute which has been hitherto paid by the governors of the two provinces we remit.". . . .(To this kind letter, the insolent prince wrote a provoking reply, and persisted in the course of his rebellion. So the issue had once more to be decided by the arbitrament of the sword). Kam Bakhsh advanced until he was only two or three *kos* from Haidarabad. His small force now consisted only of. . . . a few bold companions (his whole army having 'dwindled away through

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 553.

2 *'Dar Dak in Zadsikhah bar Khurshid O Mah : Padshah Kam Bakhsh-i-Dinpanah.'* "In the South struck coin on sun (=gold) and moon (=silver) the Emperor Kam Bakhsh, Protector of the Faith."—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 51 ; see *ibid.*, f. n.

his violent bloodthirsty madness') who would not leave him, and three or four hundred horse. . . .The orders given to Bahadur Shah's commanders were that *they were not to bring on a fight, but to surround Kam Bakhsh so that he should not be killed, and the blood of Musulmans should not be spilt.* . . .(but) Zul fikar Khan had an old-standing aversion of Kam Bakhsh, and repeatedly urged Khan-khanan to attack. Kam Bakhsh, with a heart full of fear and hope, stood firm, expecting the onslaught. . . .The drivers and others on his elephant fell wounded one after the other. He then drove the animal himself, but fell in the *howda* wounded with balls and arrows . . . .The elephant ran off into the country, but was caught by a party of Mahrattas, and the Prince became a prisoner. . . .All the men of Kam Bakhsh who fought near his elephant were killed. . . .Kam Bakhsh and his two sons, all desperately wounded, were taken to *Khulymanzil*, and placed near the royal tent. *European and Greek surgeons were appointed to attend them.* Kam Bakhsh rejected all treatment, and refused to take the broth prepared for his food.'

Shah Alam's kindness

In the evening the King went to see his brother. *He sat down by his side, and took the cloak from his own back, and covered him who lay dejected and despairing, fallen from throne and fortune. He showed him the greatest kindness, asked him about his state, and said, "I never wished to see you in this condition." Kam Bakhsh replied "Neither did I wish that one of the race of Timur should be made prisoner with the imputation of cowardice and want of spirit." The King gave him two or three spoonfuls of broth with his own hands, and then departed with his eyes full of tears.* Three or four watches afterwards, Kam Bakhsh and one of his sons named Firozmand died. Both corpses were sent to Delhi, to be interred near the tomb of Humayun.[1]

Danishmand Khan, who like Khafi Khan was present in the camp, has the following chronogram on the date of Kam Bakhsh's death :

Khushta shud an Zalim, o tarikh shud "Kam hama bud ajal Kam Bakhsh" ; *Murd, o ba in taur mibakhshid Kam, Rast bar amad sakhun-i-nam-bakhsh.*

"That tyrant was slain, and the date was 'Kam Bakhsh's only pursuit (*ka*) was death'. He died, and in that way fulfilled desire (*kam*). Thus, was the name-giving word verified."[2] The death of Kam Bakhsh occurred in January, 1709 A.D. Irvine mentions on the authority of the *Ibrat-nama* that his grandson, through his second son, was raised to the throne later as *Shah Jahan II* (20 Rabi II, 1173 A.H.).[3] But later on (I, p. 146) he gives the same title to Sultan M. Ibrahim, son of Rafi-ush Shah, son of Bahadur Shah. Strangely enough, another writer has conferred this title on Rafi-ud Daula, while a third assigns it to Rafi-ud Darajat.[4]

II. Relations with the Rajputs

When Aurangzeb hastened to the south in pursuit of his rebellious son Akbar, he had secured no permanent peace, as we have seen, in Rajputana. The Mughals could never thoroughly suppress the incursions and forays of the Rathors while Aurangzeb was preoccupied with his

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 405-08. For variants in details, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
2 "The play upon *Kam Bakhsh* (fulfiller of desire) is almost untranslatable." *Ibid.*, p. 65.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 66 ; also Keene, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, p. 40.
4 See Kamdar and Shah, *A History of the Mogul Rule in India*, pp. 202, 245 ; Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 467.

Deccan wars. "From the time of Jaswant Singh's death," writes Irvine, "and Alamgir's treacherous attempt to seize his son (Ajit Singh), dates the alienation of the Rajput clans, whose loyalty had been so wisely and prudently fostered for many years by the tolerant measures of Akbar and his two successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan. As soon as Alamgir, their oppressor, had expired, Ajit Singh collected his men, issued from his retreat and ejected the Muhammadans from Jodhpur and neglected to send an embassy to the new sovereign. *It was with this state of things that Bahadur Shah had now to deal.*"[1]

The Rajputs were determined 'to face fearful odds, for the ashes of their fathers and the temples of their gods.' In other words, they fought for (1) the abolition of *jiziya*, (2) the freedom of worship, and (3) the independence of Rajputs. Khafi Khan records the Imperial view of the situation thus :

'Towards the end of the year 1119, the Emperor marched from Agra, with the intention of chastising the Rajputs in the vicinity of Udaipur and Jodhpur. From the reports of the newswriters of the province of Ajmir, and the *parganas* around Jodhpur, the following matters became known to His Majesty. . . .Raja Ajit Singh. . . .had cast off his allegiance to the late Emperor, and done many improper things. After the death of Aurangzeb he again showed his disobedience and rebellion by oppressing Musulmans, forbidding the killing of cows, preventing the summons to prayer, razing the mosques which had been built after the destruction of the idol-temples in the late reign, and repairing and building anew idol-temples. He warmly supported and assisted the army of the Rana of Udaipur, and was closely allied with Raja Jai Singh, whose son-in-law he was. He had carried his disaffection so far that he had not attended at Court since the accession. On the 8th *Sha'ban* (Nov. 1707), the Emperor marched to punish this rebel and his tribe by way of Amber, the native land of Jai Singh, between Ajmir and Chitor.'[2]

Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur averted the threatened blow by sending his brother, Bakht Singh, to Agra with a letter of congratulation, 100 gold coins, 1000 rupees, two horses with gold mounted trappings, an elephant, nine swords, and other productions of his country. Jodhpur, the storm centre of the trouble, was ordered to be besieged ; and Amber, the capital of the Kachhwahas, was annexed (January, 1708) though later (April, 1708) it was made over to Bijai Singh, the younger brother of Jai Singh (the erstwhile ruler).[3] The title of *Mirza Raja* was conferred upon the new prince. The march towards Jodhpur in the meanwhile continued. Soon after news arrived of (1) the flight of Rana Amar Singh of Udaipur, and (2) of the rebellion of Prince Kam Bakhsh. The latter event has already been dealt with above. After the fall of Mairtha Ajit Singh capitulated. Between 10th March and 23rd April, 1708, the title of *Maharaj* and the rank of 3500 *zat* and 3000 horse, a standard, and kettledrums, were conferred upon him, with other honours for his four sons. "The difficulty with Jodhpur being thus, to all appearance, satisfactorily disposed of, the Emperor retraced his steps from Mairtha and returned to Ajmir." Suitable gifts were sent to Rana Amar Singh (who had fled) through his brother

1 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 404-05.
3 In the battle of Jajau, Bijai Singh had fought on the side of Bahadur Shah, and, Jai Singh for Azam. The latter, however, had deserted Azam Shah before the close of the battle.

Bakht Singh with a reassuring letter bidding him not to be frightened but remain in peace in his own abode.

On 30th April, when the Emperor was marching south against Kam Bakhsh, it was again reported that Maharaja Ajit Singh, Raja Jai Singh Kachhwaha, and Durgadas Rathor—who had been obliged to follow the camp—had fled. But the exigencies of the situation compelled Bahadur Shah to concentrate on the greater challenge from the south. All efforts made by the Imperial officers in the north having proved ineffective against the combination of the Rajput princes, conciliatory measures were for the time being adopted by Bahadur Shah. "On the 6th Oct., 1708, on the intercession of prince Azim-ush-shan, Jai Singh and Ajit Singh were restored to their rank in the Mughal service." When the Emperor returned north, after the defeat of Kam Bakash, on 21st June, 1710, the two Rajas were brought to him by Mahabat Khan, son of the *wazir* Munim Khan. "To show how little the Rajputs trusted the solemn promises made to them that they would be treated well," writes William Irvine (from whom the above account has been abstracted), "I may quote the fact mentioned by Kamwar Khan, the historian, who was present in the retinue of Prince Rafi-ush-shan. Beyond the four Princes (sons of Bahadur Shah) and the great nobles there was no one else with the Emperor at the time. Kamkar Khan, while the interview was proceeding, saw that all the hills and plains round them were full of Rajputs. There were several thousand men on camels hidden in the hills. On each camel rode two or even three men, fully armed with matchlock or bows and arrows. Evidently they were prepared to sell their lives dearly in defence of their chieftains, if there was any attempt at treachery."[1]

III. Relations with the Marathas

The importance of the Mughal-Maratha relations in the reign of Bahadur Shah consists primarily in two happenings : (1) the release of Shahu[2] from Mughal custody ; and (2) the Imperial recognition of the

1 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 73. The Report of Khafi Khan on the nature of the Rajput submission is *prima facie* exaggerated ; 'Ajit Singh and his allied Rajas,' according to him, 'knew that submission and obedience alone could save them and their families and property : so he addressed himself to Khan-khanan and his son Khan-zaman, expressing his sorrow, humility, and obedience ; and he sent a message humbly asking that Khan-zaman and the *Kaziul Kuzat* might come into Jodhpur, to rebuild the mosques, *destroy the idol-temples*, enforce the provisions of the law about the summons to prayer *and the killing of cows, to appoint magistrates and to commission officers to collect jiziya.* His submission was graciously accepted, and his requests granted. Officers of justice, *kazis*, *muftis*, *imams*, and *muazzins* (criers to prayer) were appointed in Jodhpur and other towns in the country. Ajit Singh and Jai Singh, with the concurrence of *Durgadas*, who was the very soul of the opposition, came to Court in hope of receiving pardon for their offences, and each was honoured with the gift of a robe, elephant, etc.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 405.

That the peace was not so humiliating to the Rajputs is indicated by the following account given by Elphinstone : "While he was on his march against Cambakhsh, he had endeavoured to make a settlement of his disputes with the Rajputs : He had entered into a treaty with the Rana of Oudipur, *restoring all conquests, re-establishing religious affairs on the footing on which they stood in Akbar's time, releasing the Rana from the obligation to furnish a contingent in the Deckan*, and, in fact, 'acknowledging his entire independence in everything but the name'. (Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 395)." When Bahadur Shah returned north, after the defeat of Kam Bakhsh, he was faced with a new peril, viz., the Sikh rising ; and hence, according to Elphinstone, "All their (Rajput's) demands were agreed to, and they were probably left on the same footing as the Rana of Oudipur."—*History of India*, pp. 677-78.

2 "Next to the great founder Shivaji, Shahu has played the most important part in the development of the Maratha State."—Sardesai, *The Main Currents of Maratha History*, p. 97.

Maratha claims to *Chauth* and *Sardeshmukhi* in the Deccan. Regarding the former it is necessary to correct the mistake committed by V. A. Smith in the following statement : "*Bahadur Shah,*" he writes "*acting on the astute advice of Zulfikar Khan, released Shahu* (Sivaji II), the great Sivaji's grandson, who had been educated at Court, and sent him back to his own country, then under the government of Tara Bai, the widow of the young prince's uncle, Raja Ram. The expected civil war among the Marathas which ensued prevented them from troubling the imperial Government, thus justifying Zul fikar Khan's counsel."[1]

Shahu was not in Bahadur Shah's custody, but in Aurangzeb's camp at the time of the latter's death. Azam Shah took Shahu with him when he marched north towards the capital. He was released by Azam, no doubt as suggested by Zul fikar Khan, in May, 1707, at Doraha (near Nemawar, north of the Narmada), before the battle of Jajau. Khafi Khan makes mention of this in the following terms : "Zul fikar Khan *Nursat Jang* was very intimate with Sahu, grandson of Sivaji and had long been interested in his affairs. He now persuaded *Azam Shah* to set this Sahu at liberty, along with several persons who were his friends and companions . . . . Many Mahratta *sardars*, who through necessity had deceitfully joined themselves to the part of Rani Tara Bai, widow of Raja Ram, now came and joined Raja Sahu."[2]

Raja Ram had demanded from Aurangzeb the release of Shahu as a condition of peace, but Aurangzeb had refused to set him at liberty.[3] Now the exigencies of the situation made such an act politic and expedient. Tara Bai, who was the soul of the Maratha resistance, had been fighting after all for the ascendancy of her own son. The release of Shahu was therefore calculated to involve Maharashtra in a civil war. This was extremely desirable, inasmuch as the Mughal Princes and the Imperial armies were engaged in the fight for the throne. "Thus, Shahu released," argued Zul fikar Khan, "would be a more potent weapon against the Marathas than Shahu in captivity."[4] As a condition of his release, however, Shahu had agreed to rule as a feudatory of Azam Shah and to leave behind him as hostages his mother Yesubai, his wife, his mistress (Virubai) and his illegitimate half-brother Madansing. "On the other hand Azam Shah had granted Shahu the *Sardeshmukhi* and the *Chauth* over the six Deccan *Subahs* (Khandesh, Berar, Aurangabad, Bedar, Haidarabad of Golkonda, and Bijapur). Shahu was also appointed governor of Gondwana, Guzerat and Tanjore during good behaviour."[5] When Bahadur Shah ascended the throne, Shahu sent his *vakil*, Raybhanji Bhonsla, to the Imperial Court to pay his homage ;[6] and the new Emperor confined him in his possessions and created him *mansabdar* of ten thousand horse.[7] Tara Bai disputed the legitimacy and claims of Shahu before the Imperial Court, through Munim Khan, and 'asked for a *farman* in the name of her son, granting the nine rupees (per cent) of the *sardeshmukhi*, without any

1 Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 453.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 395.
3 Kincaid and Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, II, p. 92.
4 Sinha, *The Rise of the Peshwas*, pp. XII-XIII.
5 Kincaid & Parasnis, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 122-23.
6 Shahu, being brought up in the Mughal camp, departed from the relentless attitude of his father and grandfather (See Sardesai, *op. cit.*, p. 99) and to prove his loyalty to the Emperor, sent a Maratha contingent, under Nemaji Scindhia, to aid Bahadur Shah in his fight against Kam Bakhsh. (Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. XXVI.)
7 Rajwade, VIII, Documents 55-57. Sahu's *vakil* had asked for a *farman* conferring on him the *sardeshmukhi* and *chauth* of the six *subas* of the Deccan 'on condition of restoring prosperity to the ruined land.'—Khafi Khan, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 408.

reference to the *chauth*, for which he would suppress other insurgents and restore order in the country. Samsam-ud-daula Zul fikar Khan took the side of Raja Sahu, and a great contention upon the matter arose between the two ministers. The King, in his extreme good nature, had resolved in his heart that he would not reject the petition of any one, whether of low or high degree. The complainants and defendants made their statements to his Majesty, *and although they differed as much as morning and evening, each was accepted*, and an order of consent was given. So in this matter of the *sardeshmukhi, farmans* were directed to be given in compliance with the requests both of Munim Khan and Zul fikar Khan ; but in consequence of the quarrel between these two nobles, the orders about the *sardeshmukhi* remained inoperative.'[1]

IV. Relations with the Sikhs

In the last chapter we brought the history of the Sikhs down to the death of Guru Govind, the tenth and last *Guru*, who had for some strategic or other reasons submitted to Bahadur Shah in the latter's struggle against his recalcitrant brothers.[2] Whatever the circumstances attending the murder of Guru Govind,[3] it is certain that he had eminently succeeded in 'teaching the sparrow to strike the eagle' ; he had effectually roused the dormant energies of a vanquished people and filled them with a lofty although fitful longing for social freedom and national ascendancy, the

1 *Ibid.*, p. 409. In this connection it is interesting to note the following observations in the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*, though the reader must be warned against accepting anything contrary to the above account : 'Towards the close of his Majesty's (Aurangzeb's) lifetime, a truce was concluded, with the Marathas, on these terms, viz., that 3 per cent out of the revenues drawn from the Imperial dominions in the Dakhin should be allotted to them by way of *sardeshmukhi* and accordingly Ashan Khan commonly called Mir Malik, set out from the threshhold of royalty with the documents confirming this grant to the Marathas, in order that after the treaty had been duly ratified, he might bring the chiefs of that tribe to the court of the monarch of the world. However, before he had had time to deliver these documents into their custody, a royal mandate was issued, directing him to return and bring back the papers in question with him. About this time, His Majesty Aurangzeb 'Alamgir' hastened to the eternal gardens of paradise, at which period his successor Shah Alam (Bahadur Shah) was gracing the Dakhin with his presence. The latter settled 10 per cent out of the produce belonging to the peasantry as *sardeshmukhi* on the Marathas, and furnished them with the necessary documents confirming the grant.

'When Shah Alam returned from the Dakhin to the metropolis, Daud Khan remained behind to officiate for *Amir-ul-umara* Zul fikar Khan in the government of the provinces. He cultivated a good understanding with Marathas, and concluded an amicable treaty on the following footing, viz., that in addition to the above mentioned grant of *tithe* as *sardeshmukhi*, a fourth of whatever amount was collected in the country should be their property, while the other three-fourth should be paid to the royal exchequer. *'This system of division was accordingly put in practice ; but no regular deed granting the fourth share, which in the dialect of the Dakhin is called chauth, was delivered to the Marathas.'*—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 259-60. Elphinstone observes, "Zulfikar, who was now in great favour, was anxious that peace should be concluded with him (Shahu), *at the price of the concessions formerly offered by Aurangzeb.*" When Zulfikar left for the Court, putting Daud Khan in charge of the Deccan, the latter "followed up the views of his principal, and concluded a personal agreement with Sahu, consenting that the *chauth* (or fourth) should be paid while he remained in office, but stipulating that it should be collected by agents of his own, without the interference of the Marathas."—Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 676-77.

2 Irvine states that Guru Govind joined Bahadur Shah when he was marching "down country from Lahore to Agra, to contest the throne with his brother *Azam Shah.*"—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 89. According to other accounts, the Guru accompanied Bahadur Shah while he was marching south against his youngest brother *Kam Bakhsh.*—Cunningham, *A History of the Sikhs*, p. 118.

3 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 91. See "Last Days of Guru Govind" by Ganda Singh in *J.I.H.*, XX, pt. I (April, 1941).

proper adjuncts of that purity of worship which had been preached by Nanak. He had lost all his children in the struggle and at the time of his death (1708) entrusted the khalsa to God, the never-dying. He inculcated on his following—"*He who wishes to behold the Guru, let him search the Granth of Nanak. The Guru will dwell with the Khalsa ; be firm and be faithful : wherever five Sikhs are gathered together there will I also be present.*"[1]

The leadership of the Sikhs after this was assumed by an adventurer whose origin and personality are the subject of controversy. "On the death of Govind," says Irvine, "his family and followers brought forward a man, who exactly resembled the deceased. It is not very clear who this man was ; he is generally spoken as *Banda* (the slave), or as the *False Guru*. . . . Some say he was a Bairagi faqir . . . . who for many years had been the intimate friend of Guru Govind." Whatever may be the truth as to his origin and antecedents, concludes Irvine, "this man was now sent off secretly from the Dakhin to Hindustan. At the same time letters were written to the Punjab, informing the disciples, that their Guru had been slain in the Emperor's camp by the dagger of an Afghan. But just before his death, their leader had announced that in a short time, through the power of transmigration, he would appear again clothed with sovereignty, and whenever he should raise the standard of independence, they would by joining him secure prosperity in this world and salvation in the next."[2]

Banda, taking advantage of the distracted state of the Empire, soon became a terror to the Musalmans in the Punjab, especially in Sirhind. It was to crush this danger that threatened the very heart of the Empire, that Bahadur Shah felt compelled to conclude his hostilities with the Rajputs, and hasten further north. As Ghulam Husain puts it, "This barbarian, whom nature had formed for a butcher, trusting to the numbers and repeated successes of those other butchers he commanded, had inflicted upon God's creatures cruelties exceeding all belief, and had laid waste the whole province of Lahore. Flushed with these victories, he even aspired to a crown."[3] "At Lohgarh, Banda tried to assume something of regal state. He was *the Sacha Padshah*, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all *Singhs*, or lions. A new form of greeting, *Fath daras* (May you behold victory !), was invented and Muhammadans were slightingly called *Maslas*. Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the lines :

Sikkah zad dar har do alam tegh-i Nanak Wahid ast,
Fath Govind Shah-i-shaham fazl-l Sacha Sahib ast . . . .

The lines, an obvious imitation of the inscriptions on the Mughal coins, seem to mean 'Fath Govind, King of kings, struck coin in the two worlds ; the sword of Nanak is the granter of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord !"[4]

Various attempts made by Imperial officers to capture this Robin-hood ended in failure. One such action under the command of no less a person than the *Khan-khanan*, Munim Khan, is worthy of notice. Khafi Khan writes :

1 See Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, pp. 102-13 and 121.
2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
3 *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, p. 72.
4 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 110. "Not content with supremacy in the state, he also claimed, as other sovereigns have done, to be above grammar. By his order all nouns in Hindi and Persian having *feminine* terminations were changed into the *masculine* form ! For instance, *sawari* (*a retinue*) and *Kacheri* (Court-house or office) were pronounced by him and his Sikhs, *sawara* and *Kachera* !"—*Ibid.*, p. 111.

'After repeated battles, in which many men were killed on both sides, the infidels were defeated, and retreated to a fastness in the hills called Lohgarh, which is near the hills belonging to the Barfi Raja (Icy King), and fortified themselves. The *Guru* of the sect incited and encouraged his followers to action by assuring them that those who should fall fighting bravely on the field of battle would rise in a state of youth to an everlasting existence in a more exalted position .... Continual fighting went on, and numbers fell. ... The provisions in their fortress now failed, and the infidels bought what they could from the grain-dealers with the royal army, and pulled it up with ropes .... The infidels were in extremity, when one of them, a man of the *Khatri* tribe, and a tobaccoseller by trade, resolved to sacrifice his life for the good of his religion. He dressed in the fine garments of the *Guru* and went and seated himself in the *Guru's house*. Then the *Guru* went forth with his forces, broke through the royal lines, and made off to the mountains of the Barfi Raja.

'The royal troops entered the fort, and, finding the false *Guru* sitting in state, they made him prisoner, and carried him to Khan-khanan. Great was the rejoicing that followed ; the men who took the news to the Emperor received presents, and great commendation was bestowed on Khan-khanan.[1] The prisoner was taken before Khan-khanan, and the truth was then discovered—*the hawk had flown and an owl had been caught !* (1710).

'Khan-khanan was greatly vexed. He severely reprimanded his officers, and ordered them all to dismount and march on foot into the hills of the Barfi Raja. If they caught the *Guru*, they were to take him prisoner alive ; if they could not, they were to take the Barfi Raja and bring him to the presence. So the Raja was made prisoner and brought to the royal camp, instead of the *Guru*. Clever smiths were then ordered to make an iron cage. This cage became the lot of the Barfi Raja and of that Sikh who so devotedly sacrificed himself for his *Guru*; for they were placed in it, and were sent to the fort of Delhi.'[2]

Sikhs unsubdued

Banda could not be captured during the lifetime of Bahadur Shah. The Emperor's impotent rage was visited upon Khan-khanan, who died shortly after the disgrace that attended this discomfiture. Bahadur Shah, in his mad search after the Sikh Leader, ordered that all Khatris and Jats in his army, at the Court, and in public offices, should shave off their beards ! 'A great many of them thus had to submit to what they considered the disgrace of being shaved, and for a few days the barbers were busy. Some men of name and position committed suicide to save the honour of their beards !'[3]

The Sikhs continued to grow strong during the period of confusion that surrounded the death of Bahadur Shah (1712) and later. Banda was not captured until after the accession of the Emperor Farrukh-siyar (1716) ; but we might carry on the story of the Sikh rebellion to its tragic close, viz., the execution of Banda and his immediate followers. The *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* gives the following account of this :

'On the accession of Ferokh-siar, Islam Khan (Vicerory of Lahore) received orders to destroy those freebooters ; but he was

1 Readers will recall the circumstances attending the flight of Shivaji from Agra.
2 E. & D., *op. cit*, VII, pp. 424-25.
3 To the Sikhs the shaving of hair from any part of their body is religiously forbidden. —*Ibid.*, p.425.

totally defeated in a pitched battle, and after losing the greatest part of his men, he retired to Lahore covered with disgrace. Banda elated by so unexpected a success, recommenced his atrocities with additional fury . . . . This intelligence having reached the capital, the Emperor commanded Abdulsamed Khan, a Turani chief, the vicerory of Cashmere, to march against the Sikhs, and at the same time conferred the Government of Lahore on his son Zachariah Khan. This general, who afterwards became so famous, and with him . . . . several commanders of high distinction. . . . with these . . . . Abdulsamed Khan who waited only for a train of artillery, proceeded to Lahore . . . . On coming up with the enemy, the troops fell with such fury upon those barbarians that they completely crushed them ; nor did the imperialists give over the pursuit until they had entirely pursued the enemy. Banda stood his ground at first, and fought desperately ; for although beaten and vigorously pursued, he retired from post to post, like a savage of the wilderness, and while losing his own men, he occasioned heavy loss to his pursuers. At last, worn out by incessant flight, he retired to Goordaspoor . . . . The imperial general laid siege to this place ; nor with it furnished with provision, though the multitudes that had successively retired thither were so considerable. The besiegers, however, were so vigilant that not a blade of grass nor a grain of corn could find its way into the fort ; so that at last, the magazines within being exhausted, a famine commenced its ravage among the besieged, who (contrary to the prejudices of their religion) ate asses, horses and even oxen ; and such was the desperate resolution of the garrison, that no one talked of submission, till having consumed all that could be converted into food and having suffered from a bloody flux that broke out among them, the survivors asked for quarter, and offered to open their gates. The imperial general required them to repair to an eminence where they were called on to deposit their arms. The famished wretches, reduced to comply with these conditions, conformed to it, when, having been bound hand and foot, they were made over to the troops, who had orders to carry them close to a river that ran under the walls, and therein to throw the bodies, after having beheaded the prisoners. The officers being put in irons, were mounted upon lame, worn-down, mangy asses and camels, with each of them a paper cap upon his head, and with such a retinue the general entered the city of Lahore in triumph . . . . Amongst the prisoners was Banda, with his face smeared with black, and a woollen cap placed on his head. The wretch having been brought before the Emperor, was ordered to the castle, where he was shut up with his son, and two or three of his chief commanders. The others were carried (a hundred every day) to the town-hall, where they were beheaded until the whole number of them was completed. *What is singular, these people not only behaved patiently during the execution, but they contended for the honour of being first executed.*

Banda's Execution

'At length Banda himself was produced, and his son being placed on his lap, the father was ordered to cut his throat, *which he did without uttering one word.* His flesh was then ordered to be torn off with red-hot princers, and it was in those torments that he expired, expiating by his death, *in some measure,* the enormities he had himself committed on the people of God.

'Mahommed Amin Khan, struck with the appearance of Banda,

could not help addressing him : "It is surprising that one who shows so much acuteness in his countenance, and has displayed so much ability in his conduct, should have been guilty of such horrid crimes, that must infallibly ruin him in this world as well as in the next." *With the greatest composure he replied,* "I will tell you what, my lord, *whenever men become so corrupt and wicked, as to relinquish the path of equity, and to abandon themselves to all kinds of excesses, then Providence never fails to raise up a scourge like me, to chastise a race become so depraved* ; but when the measure of punishment has been filled, then he raises such a man as you, to bring him to punishment."[1]

V. Conclusion

Bahadur Shah's was the last reign that is reminiscent of the glories of the great Mughals ; after him came the Nightfall of the Empire and the rule of 'her sister chaos'. The reign was short, lasting only about five years (4 years and 2 months, according to Khafi Khan),[2] but in foreign relations it was marked by a statesmanship greater than his father's. His treatment of the Rajputs and the Marathas was certainly wiser than that of Aurangzeb. He had won over Guru Govind, as Aurangzeb might have Shivaji, if he had been wiser. It is vain to speculate how he would have treated Banda if he had been really captured. But then the effects of growing senility were already visible.[3] Otherwise Shah Alam's rule was marked by a sanity and liberalism not unworthy of a descendant of the great Akbar. But these traits, unfortunately, were leaning, on the side of weakness with the increasing weight of years, until "about the 20th *Muharram*, 1123 H. (Feb. 18, 1711 A.D.)[4] when the Emperor had passed his 70th lunar year, there was a great change perceptible in him, and in 24 hours it was evident that he was marked for death. . . .On the night of the 8th of the month (?) the Emperor died,[5] and was buried near the tomb of Kutb-ud-din, four or five *kos* from Delhi. He had reigned four years and two months. At the end of the four years the treasure of thirteen *lacs* of rupees, to which he succeeded, had all been given away. The income of the Empire during his reign was insufficient to meet the expenses, and consequently there was great parsimony shown in the Government establishments, but especially in the royal household, so much so that money was received every day from the treasure of Prince Azim-ush Shan to keep things going."[6]

Able Officers

Bahadur Shah had under him some able officers who would have made a mark in any age. Foremost among these was the prime-minister Munim Khan, whose services in the war of succession have already been recounted. Khafi Khan says, 'He was a man inclined to Sufism, and was a friend to the poor. During all the time of his power he gave to no one.'[7] He died in the same year as

1 *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, pp. 76-80.
2 Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 428. See n 7 bslow.
3 His alleged orders to kill all the dogs in his camp, to shave all the Hindus, and cage the impostor Banda and the Barfi Raja, are all indications of this.
4 See E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 428 n. The *Tarikh-i-Chaghatai* and *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* make it 1124 H., giving Bahadur Shah a lease of one more year. Irvine prefers the latter date.—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
5 Iradat Khan gives the date of the Emperor's death as 21st Muharram (1124 H.—18th Feb., 1712 A.D.)—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 556.
6 Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-29.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 425. 'But,' as the same chronicler observes, 'the best intentions are perverted into wrong deeds. Munim Khan was ambitious to build *sarais* and mosques in every city. The execution of this scheme involved forcible acquisition of private

Bahadur Shah, in consequence of the treatment he received for his failure to capture Banda. Iradat Khan records, 'He lost all satisfaction in worldly enjoyments, the emptiness of which he now so fully experienced, and from the day of his disgrace declined in health, so that not long after he was reduced to keep his bed, where he lingered a few days, and then resigned his soul to the angel of death (1124 A.H. 1712 A.D.), who never in the uncounted ages of his office seized on *a soul more pure and less defiled with the frailties of human nature.*'[1]

Of like reputation and standing was Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firoz Jang, who had acquired a most powerful influence in the Dakhin, and was chief of the Turani Mughals. . . .He was an able statesman of long experience, who, though blind of sight, could clearly perceive the mind of man.'[2] Khafi Khan also speaks in equal praise of him : 'Gazi-ud-din Khan,' he says, 'was a man born to victory, and a disciplinarian who always prevailed over his enemy. A nobleman of such rank and power, and yet so gentle and pleasant spoken, has rarely been seen or heard of among the men of Turan.[3] From the Deccan, when Zulfikar Khan took charge of that province, Ghazi-ud-din was transferred to Ahmedabad, where his death occurred. He is to be remembered especially as the father of his more famous son, Chinkillich Khan, the future Nizam-ul-Mulk and founder of the present Haidarabad State.

The *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin* gives a good account of the other important nobles, and also of how the Emperor's good nature was carried to the length of absurdity. 'Zulfikar Khan, the generalissimo', was honoured with the title and office of Amir-ul-omrah, and appointed viceroy of the Deckan, comprehending all the provinces already conquered or to be conquered hereafter. This was a charge of vast importance, for which he was eminently qualified, for no other man at that time would have been able to rule countries so newly conquered and so refractory. The new viceroy, after having settled in his mind the military and financial affairs of his Government, returned to court ; having left at his lieutenant an Afghan nobleman, called Daud-Khan Peni, a man famed in those countries for his riches, his bodily strength, and his personal prowess ; and who had rendered himself of so much importance, that there were no noblemen in (the Deckan) who could be compared with him. He was made the director of all political affairs, as also of the finance department with full liberty to undertake any military expedition which he should deem advisable. Zulfikar Khan, after having eased his mind of so great a burthen, went to Court, where he applied himself sedulously in aiding to introduce order through every part of the empire.

'The provinces of Bengal, Orissa, Azimabad (Patna) and Ilahabad, had hitherto been governed by Azim-ush-Shan, the Emperor's second son, and it was thought politic to continue those countries under the same administration ; an arrangement which put it in that prince's power to reward two illustrious nobles who had rendered him many important services, and had distinguished

property. 'Numbers of Musalmans, *Saiyids* and Hindus were thus driven, sighing and cursing, out of their old homes, as it happened at Burhanpur and at Surat.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 425-26.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 556.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 533.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 427.

themselves in the great battle of Acberabad (Jajau). These were Seid Abdul-Khan and Seid Hussein Ali-Khan,[1] sons of the famous Seid Abdullah-Khan, so much revered at Ajmer under the name of Mia-Khan. On the elder, Abdul-Khan, he conferred the Government of Ilahabad ; and he gave that of Azimabad (Patna) to the younger, Hussein-Ali-Khan. At the same time Jafer-Khan was entrusted with the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, in which he had hitherto acted as minister of finance. After these arrangements, the prince took up his residence at his father's court where he exercised great influence.'[2]

Bahadur Shah's Weakness

The services of these able men were unfortunately neutralized by Bahadur Shah's very good nature. 'The Emperor, who was exceedingly good-natured,' continues the same writer, and mild even to a fault, having remembered a vow which he had once made to the Creator of all things, that if ever he should ascend the throne he would never deny any man's request, now wanted to act up to the letter of this vow : accordingly, dignities, titles, and employments were lavished so indiscriminately, that they lost much of their value, and ceased to be deemed marks of honour or distinction.'[3]

The Khutba Riot

Bahadur Shah, like his prime-minister Munim Khan, had strong Shia inclinations. The effect of these on the vast masses of the Sunni populace are indicated by an incident thus described by Khafi Khan :

'The insertion of the word *wasi* in the *khutba* had given great offence to the religious leaders of Lahore, and the order for it (issued by Bahadur Shah) had remained a dead letter. An order was now given that these religious men should be brought into the royal presence. Haji Yar Muhammad. . . .and three or four other learned men of repute, waited upon His Majesty in the oratory. They were told to be seated. . . .After much disputation Haji Yar Muhammad grew warm in replying to the Emperor, and spoke in a presumptuous, unseemly manner. The Emperor got angry, and asked him if he was not afraid to speak in this bold and unmannerly way in the audience of a King. The Haji replied, "I hope for four things from my bounteous Creator—1. Acquisition of knowledge, 2. Preservation of the Word of God, 3. The Pilgrimage, 4. Martyrdom. Thanks be to God that of His bounty I enjoy the first three. Martyrdom remains, and I am hopeful thus by the kindness of the just King I may obtain that." The disputation went on for several days. A great many of the inhabitants of the city, in agreement with a party of Afghans, formed a league of more than hundred thousand persons, who secretly supported Haji Yar Muhammad. Prince Azim-ush Shan also secretly gave his countenance to this party. At the end of *Shawwal*, the *Sadar* presented a petition on the subject of the *khutba*, and on this His Majesty wrote with his own hand that the *khutba* should be read in the form used during the reign of Aurangzeb

1 These were the famous *Saiyad Brothers* who were soon to play the role of king-makers.
2 *Siyar-ul-Mutakherin*, pp. 14-15. (Briggs).
3 'For example,' says Ghulam Husain, one of the dog-keepers, who applied for a title, was honoured with that distinction by the King's own private order....and he accordingly became known hereafter by the title of Lord Dog-keeper to the great astonishment of the world, and was pointed at as he passed through the streets, people saying to each other, "There goes my Lord Dog-keeper," till at length he was induced to give money to people to refrain from molesting him on the highway but it had little effect.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

. . . .After this the agitation ceased, but I have heard that Haji Yar Muhammad and two other learned men, whom the Emperor was angry with, were sent to one of the fortresses.'[1] Riots had been caused at Ahmedabad and elsewhere by the attempt to recite the new form of prayer.[2]

The Christians

Bahadur Shah's attitude towards the Christians and Europeans was in keeping with his liberal outlook in all other matters. Even under Aurangzeb, despite his fanaticism, the Europeans had not suffered *per se* on account of their religion. "As the enemy of Dara and as a Muslim of the Muslims," observes Maclagan, 'it was unlikely that Aurangzeb would display any personal interest in Christianity. *Apart from this, the change of sovereign entailed no immediate change in the position which the Jesuits occupied at Court.*'[1] Besides, several of the great nobles maintained friendly relations with the Jesuits. For example, when an unfair decree was given depriving the Jesuits of the estate of a deceased Father, they were enabled by Ja'far Khan's help to obtain a reversal of the order from the King.[4] But, after the death of Father Busi (1667), owing to the increasing rigour of Aurangzeb's religious policy in general, there was a nearly complete cessation of the proselytizing activities of the Fathers.

When the *jiziya* was imposed upon all non-Muslims, in 1679, a representation was made by the Fathers. "Interviews were sought with influential men in the city, and the Jesuits supported their requests with presents of curiosities from Europe. Their efforts were so far successful that the tax at Agra, including arrears, was remitted by the local authorities, but in order to get the concession on a proper footing the Viceroy at Goa was urged to represent the matter to Aurangzeb himself." Father Magalhaens was deputed for the purpose, in 1686, and "the King acceded to his request that all Christians in the Empire should be exempted from the *jiziya*. Though this order was whittled down in practice by unsympathetic officers, the exemptions specified in particular cases were continued by Bahadur Shah on his accession in 1707. "Similar exemption was again granted by Farrukh-siyar in 1718 and by Muhammad Shah in 1726 on the same ground, namely that the fathers were Christian ascetics (*fuqral quam Isai*). We have no record, however, of any confirmation of the general exemption of the Christian community."[5]

The Dutch Embassy 1711-12

Here we might also allude, though briefly, to the embassy that was sent to the Court of Bahadur Shah, in 1711, by the Dutch East India Company at Surat. Though this mission in the end proved futile owing to the shifting of political quicksands, a reference to it is necessary for the very interesting part played under the later Mughals by the Christian lady Donna Juliana Dias Da Costa. The embassy was held by John Jasua Ketelaar. Its grand reception must in part be attributed to the good offices of the lady referred to. She was the daughter of a Portuguese doctor in the service of Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah. After the death of her father, and her husband (who also seems to have held a similar office) Juliana

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 427-28.
2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
3 "When Aurangzeb, for instance, went to Kashmir, soon after his accession, he desired that Father Busi should accompany him."—Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghuls*, p 121.
4 *Ibid.*, also for other examples.
5 Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Moghuls*, pp. 123-24.

continued to play an important role at the Mughal Court. She had served Bahadur Shah well even as a Prince, especially during the period of his captivity. Now she was appointed governess of the *harem* and commanded influence both over the Emperor and his Court. "She was given the 'rank of 4000' : she obtained 1000 rupees per month and was able to bestow a lakh of rupees on the Jesuit Mission at Delhi. She was given the house of Dara Shikoh in that city, and the revenue of four villages in the neighbourhood. She had a following of five to six thousand people and two elephants carrying two standards with white crosses on a red ground. She was also given special titles which are variously recorded as 'Khanum', 'Bibi', and 'Fidwi Du'ago Juliana'."[1] The exemption from taxes above referred to, granted to Christians, were obtained 'by her powerful mediation.' She also gave strong support to the Portuguese interests during the period of her ascendancy, "especially to the Portuguese Embassy which was sent to the Mogul Court under Father Jose da Silva."

When the Dutch Embassy came "Donna Juliana sent word that the Emperor would admit the envoy and all the Europeans to audience as soon as he pleased. . . .On the 20th December, 1711, Donna Juliana with some ladies of the Court visited them and inspected the presents. She had been preceded by a dinner of fifty dishes from the Emperor's table and after dinner she scented them with essence of roses and other rich perfumeries and presented betel covered with gold and silver leaf. On the 21st a dinner was sent on a small but massive golden table, having in the centre a large vessel for vegetables, and all round it holes containing small dishes filled with delicate food, such as were prepared for the Emperor himself."[2] Not until the 27th February, 1712, however, was anything achieved in the nature of real business and the envoy was getting anxious "to leave that unhealthy climate" and return to Surat. But unfortunately, that very night the Emperor Bahadur Shah fell ill and died the next day (28th February, 1712). The rest of the story may be very briefly told : Donna Juliana wisely advised the embassy to take precautions for their safety, although most of their requests had been granted by the dying Emperor. "The Princes set their troops in motion and the roads to Lahore were rendered impassable by crowds of fugitives and their baggage." The next ruler, Jahandar Shah, no doubt, confirmed the grant of his father and wrote out a *farman* addressed to Abraham van Riebeck, Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies : but before the close of 1712 he was defeated and killed by Farrukh-siyar and the dead bodies of the late Emperor and his Prime Minister were paraded through the streets of Delhi. "After that revolution Jahandar Shah's *farmans* were so much waste paper, and his reign was blotted out from the records of the Empire."[3]

1 *Ibid.*, p. 183.
2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 156-57. For the rest of the story of Donna Juliana, up to her death in 1734, see Heras, "*Donna Juliana Dias Da Costa : Her influence in Later Mughal History*," in *The Bandra Review*, 1929, pp. 7-17.

CHAPTER 11

Nightfall of the Empire

"When great leaves fall, then winter is at hand ;
When the sun sets, who doth not look for night ?"

—SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III.*

"Luxurious Kings are to their people lost :
They live like drones, upon the public cost."

—DRYDEN, *Aurang-Zebe.*

"Till sable night, mother of dread and fear,
Upon the world dim darkness doth display,
And in her vaulted prison shows the day."

—SHAKESPEARE, *The Rape of Lucrece.*

THE history of the Empire which we have so far traced has had a unity of its own, despite the apparent variety in the personal character of the Emperors themselves. Not to speak of Babur and Humayun, whose work might be regarded as that of pioneers, "Akbar, the real founder of the Empire," as Smith says, "was a man truly great, notwithstanding his frailties, and during his long personal reign of forty-five years (1560-1605) was able to build up an organization strong enough to survive twenty-two years of Jahangir's feebler rule. Shah Jahan, a stern, ruthless man, kept a firm hand on the reins for thirty years, and was followed by Aurangzeb, who maintained the system more or less in working order for almost fifty years longer. Thus, for a century and a half, from 1560-1707, the Empire was preserved by a succession of four sovereigns, the length of whose reigns averaged thirty-four (thirty-seven ?) years, a very unusual combination. Even Jahangir, the weakest of the four, was no fool. The three others were men of unusual ability."[1] Bahadur Shah, as we have noticed, does not consort ill with his predecessors, except in the very short duration of his reign. But this could not have been otherwise in the nature of things. His successors were definitely cast in an inferior mould, and were undoubtedly of poorer clay. No wonder, therefore, that "when the breath left his body," no member of the house of Timur remained in India "who was fit to take the helm of the ship of state, which soon drifted on the rocks." The degraded wretches that "polluted the throne of Akbar" deserve only a passing notice ; the rest of our history is filled with the tragedy of the disruption of the splendid fabric reared and fostered by the Great Mughals.

1 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

The faineant Emperors appear only like ghouls in the thickening gloom of the night. The real makers of the history of the future, except in a negative sense, are no longer the descendants of Babur, but their rivals and enemies. We might trace the following outlines of the fallen angels in the 'darkness (still) visible' :

I. The Faineant Emperors ; II. The Brothers King-Makers ; III. Nizam-ul-Mulk ; IV. Disintegration of the Empire ; V. Two Fateful Invaders ; and VI. Panipat and after.

I. The Faineant Emperors

(1) Jahandar Shah (1712-13) ;
(2) Farrukh-siyar (1713-19) ;
(3) Rafi-ud Darajat, Niku-siyar, and Rafi-ud Daula (1719) ;
(4) Muhammad Shah [and Sultan Ibrahim—Shah Jahan Sani (II) —1720] (1719-48) ;
(5) Ahmad Shah (1748-54) ;
(6) Alamgir II (1754-59) ;
(7) Shah Alam II (1759-1805) ;
(8) Akbar II (1806-37) ;
(9) Bahadur Shah II (1837-57).

'As the splendour and delight of the garden of this world and the verdure and fruitfulness of the fields of this earth, depend upon the flow of the stream of the equity and justice of Kings, *so the withering of the trees of this world is caused by the hot winds of the negligence and carelessness of rulers and dissensions among well-disposed nobles*', writes Rustam Ali, author of the *Tarikh-i Hindi*. As a result of this, he continues, 'in a short time, many of the officers of this kindgom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign and many of the infidels, rebels, tryants and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor subjects. Great disorders arose in the country.'[1]

But before we turn to examine the nature of these disorders it is necessary to review the characters and conduct of the Emperors themselves, Although wars of succession were a feature common to both the periods, what is more striking is the contrast between the *Greater* and the *Later* Mughals in the number and duration of the sovereigns, before and after the death of Aurangzeb : from 1526-1707, a period of very near *two centuries*, there were only *six* rulers of the house of Timur. From the death of Aurangzeb to the third battle of Panipat (1707-61), only a little over *half a century*, no less than *ten* members of that family wore the crown. This was not merely accidental. Jahandar and Farrukh-siyar were strangled to death ; Rafi-ud Darajat and Niku-siyar died in imprisonment, virtual or real, after a few weeks' "rule" ; Raft-ud Daula died of mental and physical maladies within three months of his coronation. Muhammad Shah, though he ruled longer and died a 'natural' death, his system had been shattered by excessive opium-eating and self-indulgence. Sultan Ibrahim (Shah Jahan II) was proclaimed Emperor only for a few days. Ahmad Shah was deposed, imprisoned and blinded. Alamgir II was murdered, and Shah Alam II (who outlives our period) was disgraced and driven from his ancestral capital.

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 43.

1. JAHANDAR SHAH

Fight for the Crown

The key to these catastrophes must be found in the characters of these 'sovereigns'. Bahadur Shah left behind him four sons[1] to contend for his throne. Iradat Khan gives the followlng account of them :

(1) 'Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah, the eldest, was *a weak man, devoted to pleasure, who gave himself no trouble about State affairs, or to gain the attachment of any of the nobility* . . . .(2) Azim-ush Shan, the second son, was a statesman of winning manners. . . .(He was governor of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa) ; and though in the late battle (of Jajau) he had performed great service, yet he was suspected by his father and dreaded as a rival : but to relate the causes would be useless prolixity. (3) Rafi-ush Shah, the private companion and favourite of his father, was a prince of quick parts, a great proficient in religious learning, a fine writer, with much knowledge in the law, but at the same time addicted to pleasure particularly fond of music, and the pomp of courtly show.[2] He paid no attention to public affairs or even those of his own household. (4) Khujista-akhtar Jahan Shah had the greatest share of all the princes in the management of affairs, before his father's accession to the throne, and afterwards the whole administration of the Empire was influenced by him. He had the closest friendship and connexion with Munim Khan, who, by his interest was appointed *wazir*.[3]

> The account of the struggle for the throne, given by Khafi Khan, is too interesting to be omitted. One week after the death of Bahadur Shah,' he says, 'was passed in amicable communications and correspondence between the four brothers about the division of the kingdom and property[4]. . . .It was settled that the Dakhin should fall to Jahan Shah ; Multan, Thatta, and Kashmir, to Rafi-ush Shan ; and that Azim-ush Shah and Jahandar Shah should divide the remaining *subas* of Hindustan between them. But the agreement about the division of the kingdom and treasure all turned into discord, and the partition of the realm was never effected[5]. . . .The three brothers agreed together in opposition to Azim-ush Shan. All three, in accord with each other, mounted their horses, and for four or five days selected positions from which to fire guns and rockets upon the army of Azim-ush Shan. The artillery of Azim-ush Shan replied to that of the three brothers, and many horses and men were killed.[6] About

1 For a fuller account of Bahadur Shah's family, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-47.

2 One account says that he had 'the heart of a courtesan, devoting all his energy to the adornment of his person and the purchase of clothes and high priced jewels, a man to whom the verse applied :

Aina o shana girifta ba dast,
Chum Zan-i-rana, shuda gesu-parast.'

(Holding mirror and comb in hand, like a pretty woman, he adores his own curls.)—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 550.

4 The body of Bahadur Shah all this time was lying in state for the victorious candidate to bury ! He had died at the end of February, 1712 ; the body was sent to Delhi, on the 11th April, and actually buried on the 15th May.—See Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 135.

5 For details of the agreement and comments thereon, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-61.

6 One of the notable persons who died of the wounds received in this battle was Shah Nawaz Khan Safawi. He was in the sixth generation from Shah Ismail Safawi, King of Persia, (1500-24), and the last of that race who distinguished himself in India. Seven ladies of this family were married to princes of the Mughal Imperial house.—See *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 173 n.

The defeat of Azim-ush Shan was due to his over confidence and greedy nature.

the 20th of *safar,* the sound of battle rose high on every side, and the fight was begun. . . .Azim-ush Shan, who was mounted on an elephant, disappeared. . . .The ruffians of the neighbourhood and the soldiers of all the four princes fell upon Prince Azim's treasure, and the vast sums which he had extorted by tyranny and violence in and about the *suba* of Bengal were plundered in the twinkling of an eye, and dispersed into many hands. The three princes caused the drums of victory to be beaten, and then retired to their own dwellings.[1]

'Next day many messages passed between Jahandar Shah and Jahan Shah respecting an arrangement, but without result and the course of affairs tended to the shedding of each other's blood. A battle followed between the armies of the two brothers, and raged from the beginning of the day to the third watch. Farkhanda Akhtar son of Jahan Shah, and several *amirs* of reputation were killed. On the side of Jahandar Shah, also, some *amirs* and many men were killed. At length Jahan Shah, mounted on an elephant, made an impetuous charge upon the army of Jahandar, and bore all before him, and matters went so ill with Jahandar that he was parted from *Lal Kunwar,* his favourite charmer,[2] and had to seek refuge among some stacks of bricks. Jahan Shah beat the drums of victory. The letters of the Rajput *sarafs* carried the news of the victory to many parts, and the *khutba* was read with his name in several places. After the victory had been proclaimed, and the soldiers were dispersed in all directions hunting for Jahan Shah, a cannon-ball directed by fate killed him, and his army fled.[3] Zulfiqar Khan's men hearing of this, attacked the elephant of Jahan Shah, and brought it with his corpse, and the corpse of his son Farkhanda, to Jahandar Shah. Khujista Akhtar, another son of Jahan Shah, with a younger brother, were brought prisoners to Jahandar Shah, who then proclaimed his victory.'

There remained Prince Rafi-ush Shah, with whom also Jahandar proposed friendly negotiations about the division of the Kingdom.[4] Having put the Prince off his guard, Jahandar sent a detachment of horse against him by night. Rafiu-sh Shan fought desperately. He and his two sons threw themselves from their elephant, and fought bravely on foot; but he and several of his companions were killed. Three of his sons remained alive, but were wounded—Muhammad Ibrahim, Rafi-ud Daula, and Rafl-ud Darajat (all three destined to wear the fatal crown).

Jahandar as Emperor, 1712-13

'Jahandar, being thus freed from his three brothers, became the monarch of Hindustan.[5] He sent M. Karim and Prince Humayun Bakht. who were only nine or ten years old, the two sons of Jahan Shah, and the sons

For everything he could say *andak bashid,* 'Wait a little longer'; owing to his miserliness in paying his soldiers it became a saying among them that the coldest place on earth was Azim-ush Shan's kitchen.

1 The casualties are not known. The strength of the belligerents was as follows : 30,000 horse and 30,000 foot on the side of Azim-ush Shan ; 53,000 horse and 68,000 foot opposed to him.'—*Ibid.,* p. 161 n.

2 Also called *Lal Kunwar,* and said to be descended from *Tan Sen,* Akbar's celebrated musician. "There is a long poetical description of her charms in the fragmentary History, B.M. Or. 3610, fol. 18b, which ends thus : *Bakhubi Lal Kunwar nam-i-ubud, Shakkar-guftar, sim-andam-i-ubud.*—See Irvine, *op. cit.,* p. 180 n.

3 'A man wept all night at the bedside of a sick friend ; when morning came, *he* was dead, and the *friend* was alive.'—Sh. Sadi.

4 The soul of these spurious negotiations for a peaceful partition of the Empire was Zulfiqar Khan. For his role in this fratricidal struggle, see Irvine, *op. cit.,* pp. 160-97.

5 He was 52 lunar years of age. His titles were Abul fath Muhammad Muizz-ud-din Jahandar Shah.

of Rafi-ush Shan, to the fort of Delhi. . . .Mahabat Khan and. . . .other *amirs*, more than twenty in number, were ordered to be confined in chains, and some were put to the rack and other tortures. Their houses also were seized. (Prince M. Karim, having attempted escape, was put to death).

'In the brief reign of Jahandar, violence and debauchery had full sway. It was a fine time for minstrels and singers and all the tribes of dancers and actors. There seemed to be a likelihood that *kazis* would turn toss-pots, and *muftis* become tipplers. All the brothers and relatives, close and distant, of *Lal Kunwar*, received *mansabs* of four or five thousand, present of elephants, drums and jewels, and were raised to dignity in their tribe. Worthy, talented and learned men were driven away, and bold, impudent wits and tellers of facetious anecdotes gathered round. Among the stories told is the following :

'The brother of *Lal Kunwar*, Khushal Khan, who had received a *mansab* of 5,000 and 3,000 horse, was named *subadar* of Agra. Zulfiqar *Bakhshi-ul Mulk* purposely made a delay of several days in the preparation of the *farman* and the other deeds. *Lal Kunwar* complained of this to Jahandar, and he asked Zulfikar Khan what was the cause of the delay in the drawing out of the documents. Zulfikar Khan was very free-spoken to Jahandar, and he replied, "We courtiers have got into the bad hapit of taking bribes, and we cannot do any business unless we get a bribe." Jahandar Shah smiled, and asked what bribe he wanted from *Lal Kunwar* ; and he said, "A thousand guitar-players and drawingmasters (*ustad-nakkashi*)." When the Emperor asked what he could want with them, he replied, "You give all the places and offices of us courtiers to these men, and so it has become necessary for us to learn their trade." Jahandar smiled, and the matter dropped. As Kamwar Khan put it, *'The owl dwelt in the eagle's nest, and the crow took the place of the nightingale.'*[1]

The frivolities of the Court soon became notorious, and all respect for and fear of the sovereign ceased. While the central government at Delhi was in this state of disorganization and disorder, a claimant to the throne arose in the person of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar, the second (but eldest surviving) son of the late Azim-ush Shan.

2. FARRUKH-SIYAR (1712-19)

When Azim-ush Shan was called to support the claims of his father, Bahadur Shah, he had left Bengal in the charge of Farrukh-siyar (1707). When Bahadur Shah died, Farrukh immediately proclaimed his father Azim Emperor (March 1712). But when he heard of his father's death in April 1712, he was so dejected that he even contemplated suicide. However, his mother intervened saying, 'If he launched his boat on stormy waters, it would, if God were gracious, reach the bank in safety. After all, what was life but a matter of a few days ? Why not run the risk ?"[2] Thereupon Farrukh-siyar took heart and proclaimed himself Emperor, going through the usual ceremonies, causing the *khutba* to be read and coins struck in his own name. But, as Irvine says, "No rasher enterprise was ever entered upon. Farrukh-siyar had been no favourite with his

1 For the vices and follies of Jahandar Shah and his mistress, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-97.

2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 199 n.

father or grandfather and had been without authority or wealth during their lifetime."[1] When he arrived at Patna he had no more than a meagre following of three or four hundred men. None of the nobles whom his father had favoured would stir themselves on his behalf. But once again his mother came to his rescue. She won over, by methods peculiar to her sex, the powerful Saiyid brothers, Hasan Ali (later known as Abdullah) Khan and Husain Ali Khan of Barha,[2] who were respectively in charge of the governments of Allahabad and Bihar. They were the sons of Saiyid Abdullah Khan Miyan, who was successively *subahdar* of Bijapur and Ajmer in the reign of Aurangzeb. Hasan and Husain, at this time, were men of ripe experience[3] and noted for being 'brave, proud, and lavish'. They had played a prominent part in the battle of Jajau, and had been rewarded with the rank of 4000 ; Hasan, the elder, had also been given the title of his father, *Abdullah Khan.*

Farrukh-siyar's mother now visited the old mother of the Saiyid brothers, represented how her sons owed their elevation to Azim-ush Shan, and claimed their support for her own son. "Let Husain Ali Khan then choose his own course," she said, "either let him aid Farrukh-siyar to recover his rights or else let him place the Prince in chains and send him a prisoner to Jahandar Shah." The Prince's mother and daughter then bared their heads and wept aloud. These tears melted the hearts of the Saiyids and they pledged their support. This was a turning point in the careers of both Farrukh-siyar and the Saiyid brothers. They were further joined by Sidisht Narayan, an adventurous zamindar of the Ujainiya clan who brought with him 10,000 horse and 30,000 matchlockmen, Saf Shikan Khan, deputy-governor of Orissa, and several others, each bringing his own reinforcements. But *money* was the great need in Farrukh-siyar's camp.

> "Partial relief was afforded by the seizure *en route* of a convoy of 25 or 30 *lakhs* of Rupees, which had reached Patna on its way from Bengal to Delhi. Requisitions in kind were also imposed on the traders in the city. The amount realized was two or three *lakhs* of Rupees. Some money estimated at from half a *lakhs* to five *lakhs* of Rupees, was obtained by the seizure of the Dutch Company's goods, their factory at Patna, Jacob van Hoorn, having died there in July 1712. Even stronger measures were resorted to. There was one Surat Singh Khatri, the chief official of Nasir Khan, deputy-governor of Kabul, who had accumulated great wealth. At this time having determined on sending his treasures from Delhi, he had hired fifty or sixty bullock-carriages and loaded them with all his property, giving out that the carts were occupied by a party of his women and children with their female servants. They were guarded by a hired force of five hundred matchlockmen, and were halting for the night in a certain mansion. During the night the guard was absent. The house was attacked, the goods were plundered, and distributed among Farrukh-siyar's soldiers."[4]

At Kora they were met by Mahta Chabela Ram, *faujdar* of Karra Manikpur, 'a protege of Farrukh-siyar's house.' His arrival was most opportune for the money in his possession ; he now advanced Rs. 1,500 a day.[5]

1 *Ibid.*
2 See *ibid.*, p. 202, for the significance of this term.
3 They were respectively 46 and 44 years of age ; Farrukh-siyar was 31 (lunar) years.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 212.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 215.

Jahandar Shah, on his part, had got news of these movements and despatched an army in advance under his son A'azzuddin and Khwaja Hasan (*Khan Dauran*). 'Zul fiqar Khan was aware of the limited capacity, want of experience, imbecility and frivolity of the Prince,' writes Khafi Khan. 'He was also aware of the extraction, character, and evil disposition of Khwaja Hasan Khan, who was one of the lowest men of his time. . . . (But) the Emperor trusted Kokaltash Khan Koka and *Lal Kunwar* more than any one else at his Court, and so he shut his eyes to what was passing[1]. . . .

'No sooner had Prince A'azzuddin passed the Jumna than great disorder arose in his army in consequence of jealousy and want of co-operation among the *sardars*, and the irresolution of the Prince.'[2] On 28th November, 1712, Khan Dauran recommended flight. But finding that his advice was not taken, he prepared forged letters in the name of *Lal Kunwar* to the effect that the Emperor (Jahandar) was dead, and that if the Prince returned quickly, he could secure the throne. This had the desired effect. A'azzuddin hastened back to Agra, leaving his camp and equipage to be plundered by the enemy.

Hearing of this, Jahandar Shah decided to march from the capital personally to meet the danger. 'But during the preceding eleven months everything had been allowed to fall into confusion, and during the whole of this time the troops had not seen the sight of a coin. An attempt was now made to pay them, and to provide the necessary *material* and equipage for a campaign. Most of the treasure, amassed in previous reigns stored within the fort of Delhi, had been expended in frivolous festivities. As one writer complains, the money had been spent in lamps and oil for a weekly illumination of the fort and river banks. Meanwhile, the *zamindars*, taking advantage of the disputed succession, had evaded the payment of revenue, and the officials uncertain of their future position, neglected to coerce them and made many excuses. Such small amount of money as there was in the treasury was soon spent. Gold vessels collected in the palace from the time of Akbar were next broken up and used, and such fragments of gold and silver as could be found in any of the imperial workshops were appropriated. Warid, the historian, saw the process with his own eyes. All jewelled articles were next taken, and then the jewels themselves ; after this, the clothes, carpets, and hangings were removed. As there was still a deficiency, the ceilings of the palace rooms which were plated with gold, were broken up and distributed to the men. Nothing else now remaining, the store-houses were thrown open and the goods distributed in place of cash.[3] A crowd assembled and no order was maintained. The soldiers took what they liked and paid no heed to the clerks. In a moment, store-houses full of goods, which had been preserved from the time of the Emperor Babur, were emptied. Nothing was left. Still, in spite of all these efforts, the claims of many of the men were unsatisfied, and they were told to wait until Agra was reached, when they would be paid from the treasure-house at that place.'[4]

1 Chin Kilich Khan (future Nizam-ul Mulk) was also directed to join the Prince, but either chose to temporise or 'was unable to do so for want of the means of transport.'
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 434-35.
3 According to a contemporary eye-witness, 'In one week, jewels worth 3 *krores* and 50 *lakhs* of Rupees were distributed among them.'—Khushhal Chand, cited by Irvine, *op. cit*, p. 220 n.
4 Ijad, Warid and Khushhal Chand, cited *ibid.*, pp. 220-21.

Under such auspices nothing but disaster could be expected. And disaster confronted Jahandar Shah at the battle of Agra (13th *Zilhijja*, 1124 H.—10th January, 1713). In spite of Zulfiqar Khan's desperate attempts to retrieve the situation, the Imperial troops fled, and Jahandar Shah himself ran off to Delhi. There he sought refuge in the house of Asad Khan, father of Zulfiqar. This was his ruin. That nobleman thought it expedient to inveigle the helpless Emperor into prison and surrendered him to his enemies. Feelings of gratitude and loyalty at first struggled for mastery in the breast of Zulfiqar Khan; but they soon subsided before the urgency of the situation. Jahandar was now in a death-trap. Yet was he happy to find his charmer, *Lal Kunwar*, still with him. On seeing her, he is reported to have exclaimed with joy : "Let the past be forgotten, and in all things let us praise the Lord !"

On 16th *Muharram*, 1125 H. (11th February, 1713), by Farrukh-siyar's order, written with his own hand, a group of ruffians entered the prison-room. "*Lal Kunwar* shrieked, clasped her lover round the neck, and refused to let go. Violently forcing them apart, the men dragged her down the stairs. Then laying hands on Jahandar Shah they tried to strangle him. As he did not die at once, a Mughal, with his heavy-heeled shoes, kicked him several times in a vulnerable place and finished him off . . . .The body was then thrown into an open litter (*miyana*) and the head placed on a tray (*khwan*). Half an hour after nightfall, they reached the camp with the lifeless head and trunk and laid them at the entrance to the Emperor's (Farrukh-siyar's) tents, alongside the body of Zulfiqar Khan"[1] (who was also executed at the same time).

Such was the fate of 'Jahandar Shah, Emperor of the World, Lord of the Conjunctions,' as his coins name him :

Zad sikka bar jar chun mihr sahib-i-qiran ;
Jahandar Shah, padash-i-jahan.

He was 53 (lunar) years, 4 months, and 6 days old at his death, and had reigned ten months and twenty-five days. "*He was the first sovereign of the house of Taimur*," declares Irvine, "*who proved himself absolutely unfitted to rule.* The only good quality left to him, in popular estimation, was his liking for and liberality to religious mendicants. . . .The cause of his fall is likened by Warid truly enough to the case of the exiled monarch, who attributed his ruin to morning slumbering and midnight carousing."[2]

Farrukh-siyar's character

The events described above are in themselves a lurid commentary on the character of both the new sovereign and his rule. Khafi Khan adds : 'Farrukh-siyar had no will of his own. He was young,[3] inexperienced in business, and inattentive to business of State. He had grown up in Bengal, far away from his grandfather and father. *He was entirely dependent on the opinions of others, for he had no resolution or discretion.* By the help of fortune he had seized the crown. The timidity of his character contrasted with the vigour of the race of Timur, and *he was not cautious in listening to the*

1 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 254. The bodies of the unfortunate Emperor and his late *wazir* were thrown down on the sandy waste before the Delhi Gate of the palace. On the 14th February, 1713, Jahandar's body was buried in the vault of Humayun's tomb, the family mausoleum. For the treachery and insensate cruelty that attended the 'execution' of Zulfiqar Khan and attendant circumstances, see *ibid.*, pp. 248-58. See also Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 443-45.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 240-41.

3 He was about thirty-one at the time of his accession ; *ibid.*, p. 398.

words of artful men. From the beginning of his reign he himself brought his troubles on himself. One fault he committed at the outset of his reign, in appointing Saiyid Abdullah, a Saiyid of Barha, to the office of *wazir*, which is such a high and important trust that former kings always bestowed it upon wise, great and high-minded men, remarkable for patience, experience, clemency and affability, whose qualities had been tested by long experience.'[1]. . . .Mir Jumla had risen into the King's favour. He was a friendly, generous, and upright man, from whom many received kindness; but he was unwilling that the reins of the government of Hindustan should pass into the hands of the Barha Saiyids. When he saw that the sovereign power was entirely under the control of the two brothers, he could not suppress his envy and rivalry. By lauding the interest and sympathy shown to the Emperor by his new associates, he gained his point, and stirred up dissensions between him and the Barha Saiyids, according to common report, it was he who was the prime mover in recommending the destruction of the old hereditary nobles, and also of overthrowing the family of Asaf-ud-daula. The two brothers were not inclined to bear patiently Mir Jumla's invidious and provoking interference in their affairs, and everyday they overstepped the bounds of subordination and duty.'[2]

As the result of his own weakness and follies, which will be described in a subsequent section, Farrukh-siyar was deposed, imprisoned, blinded, and ultimately killed in a very ignominious manner. On the 28th February, 1719, the unfortunate Emperor was hiding in some corner or closet of his palace. The hostile nobles met and declared for his deposition on the ground that Farrukh-siyar had 'forfeited all right to the throne by his want of discretion and his promotion of low fellows.'[3] The lot for a successor fell on Prince Bidar Dil, son of Bidar Bakht, grandson of Aurangzeb, 'who was known as having the best understanding among all the Princes.' A riot had already broken out outside the palace. The nobles were in a desperate hurry. The women in the royal apartments, fearing the wholesale massacre of all the Princes, barred the doors and hid them. The entrance was forced and the nominated Prince was called for, but his mother wept and wailed. The blind search ended in catching hold of Rafi-ud Darajat, son of Rafi-ush Shan, son of Bahadur Shah. This youth was brought as he had been found, wearing his ordinary clothes. They put him on the gorgeous Peacock Throne, and went through the usual ceremonial.

Having accomplished this they next turned to Farrukh-siyar. The door of the small room in the ladies' apartments, where he was hiding, was broken open in the midst of feminine wails. "His mother, his wife, his daughter and other ladies grouped themselves around him and tried

1 "Farrukh-siyar would have committed no exceptional crime by dismissing, or even killing the Saiyids... he might have left his powerful ministers to pursue peacefully their own way, contending himself with the name, while they kept the reality of power. Instead of this he was for ever betting 'I dare not' wait upon 'I would'. For seven years the State was in a condition of unstable equilibrium, and it is not too much to say that Farrukh-siyar prepared for himself the fate which finally overtook him. Feeble, false, cowardly, contemptible, it is impossible either to admire or regret him."—*Ibid.*, p. 396.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 442-43.

3 "There is a local tradition among the Saiyids of Barha that some one proposed to set aside the imperial house altogether, the throne being transferred to one of the two brothers (Saiyid)....Probably the difficulty, an insurmountable one as it proved, was to decide which brother should reign, neither being ready to give way to the other."—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

to shelter him. The shrieking women were pushed on one side with scant ceremony. The men surrounded him and hemmed him in ; they then laid hold of him by the hand and neck, his turban fell off, and with every mark of indignity he was dragged and pushed from his retreat. . . .It was pitiful to see this strong man, perhaps the handsomest and most powerfully built of Babur's race that had ever occupied the throne, dragged bareheaded and barefooted, subjected at every moment to blows and the vilest abuse."[1] The end of this tragedy may be briefly told. It was not unlike Jahandar Shah's ; in some respects it was worse. He was blinded, and starved in prison. For four or five days he was even deprived of water for the most necessary purposes. Then finally, Hashim Ali Khan Dakhini whispered to Husain Ali Khan Barha : "I salute your lordship ! Disease is dealt with in one or two ways : you either bear it, or remove the afflicted part. But once you have resorted to treatment, there is no hope of recovery till the offending principle is expelled." The hint was accepted. Slow poison was at first administered to Farrukh-siyar, but it had little effect. The patience of the Saiyids being at an end, they sent executioners into the prison to strangle their victim. "In spite of violent resistance, these men effected their purpose, beating the ex-Emperor on the hands till he let go the strap that they had tied round his neck. To make sure, he was stabbed several times in the abdomen. This happened on the night between the 8th and 9th *Jamadi II*, 1131 H. (27th-28th April, 1719)."[2]

> 'The troublous reign of the late Farrukh-siyar the *Shahid* (martyr !)', records Khafi Khan, 'lasted for 6 years, and 4 months, without counting the 11 months of the reign of Jahandar, which were reckoned as part of his reign, and so entered in the royal records.'[3]

The *post mortem* sympathy of the crowd for this *Shahid* is inexplicable. "When the body was brought to the Akbarabadi mosque, it was received by 15,000 to 20,000 men from the camp and bazars. After recital of the prayers over the dead, Abdul-ghafur lifted the corpse and carried it out, to the accompaniment of weeping and wailing from the crowd. As the procession passed, lamentations arose from every roof and door. Men and women, old and young, rich and poor, shed tears for the departed Emperor and cursed his oppresors. The streets and lanes were rendered impassable by the crowds. The rabble and the mendicants, who had received alms from Farrukh-siyar, followed his bier, rending their garments and throwing ashes on their heads, and as it passed, the women on the roofs raised their cry of mourning, and flung stones and bricks upon the servants and officers of the Saiyids. The body was deposited in the crypt of Humayun's tomb. . . . . The bread and the copper coins, brought for distribution to the poor, were rejected by the crowd with scorn ; and on the third day, the rabble and professional beggars assembled on the platform where the body had been washed, and then cooked and distributed a large quantity of food, and until day dawned sang funeral laments." (Khafi Khan, 820 ; Kamwar Khan, 200 ; Qasim, 260).

Not content with this, "For many a day, no beggar deigned to appeal for charity to any passing noble who had been concerned in Farrukh-siyar's death. Zafar Khan's liberal gifts of bread and sweetmeats were far famed ; but these too, were refused. The beggars said that in their mouths was still the flavour of the kindness bestowed by the martyred Emperor, adding, 'May he be poisoned who takes a morsel bearing upon

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 389-90.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 392.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 478.

it the mark of those men.' They made collections from artisans and shop-keepers, and distributed alms of food every Thursday[1] at Humayun's tomb. If any great noble passed along the roads or through the bazars, they pursued him with shouts and harsh reproaches. Especially was this the case with Maharajah Ajit Singh[2] and his followers so that they were forced to reach *darbar* by the most out-of-the-way routes. The Rajputs raged inwardly, and fiercely laid hand on sword or dagger. But who can fight a whole people ? At length, several spoon-sellers and bazar touts having been killed by the Rathors, the habit of abusing them was abandoned." (Qasim, 262)[3]

3. THREE PUPPETS ON THE THRONE

From the deposition of Farrukh-siyar (28th February, 1719) to the accession of Muhammad Shah (26th September, 1719), three Princes were raised to the throne, like bubbles of water rising to the surface only to end their ephemeral existence in a very short time. Their meteoric 'reigns' may be very briefly noticed.

(i) *Rafi-ud Darajat.* 'After the poor injured Emperor had been set aside, the same confusion and trouble prevailed, both inside and outside the palace. On the 9th *Rabi-ul akhir*, 1131 A.H., (18th February, 1719) Shamsuddin Abul Barakat Rafi-ud Darajat, younger son of Rafi-ush Shan, and grandson of Bahadur Shah, the eldest (?) son of Aurangzeb, was made Emperor. He was twenty years of age when he was brought out of confinement, and the noise and confusion was so great and general, that there was not time even to send him to bath, or change his clothes. In the same garments he was wearing, with only a pearl necklace thrown upon his neck for ornament, he was placed upon the throne. His accession and general amnesty were proclaimed to stay the tumult. *Kutub-ul Mulk* Saiyid Abdullah, after offering his congratulations, placed his partisans and faithful servants inside the fortress. Over the doors of the public and private council chambers, and in every place, he stationed men of his own party. The eunuchs, the personal attendants, and all the servants of any importance, were men of his own.

'In the council of the first day, in accordance with the desire of Raja Ajit Singh, and of the bigoted Raja Ratan Chand, an order was passed for the abolition of the *jiziya* and assurances of security and protection were circulated all over the country. I'tikad Khan was sent to prison with every mark of ignominy ; his *jagir* was taken away, and his house was seized. Notwithstanding it had been disturbed, it was found to be full of jewels, cash, gold, objects of art, and vessels of silver ; and an investigation was ordered for the discovery and recovery of the jewels and pearls he had received as presents. . . .Itimad-ud-daula Amin Khan was confirmed as *Bakhshi*. The *subadari* of Patna was given to Nizam-ul Mulk Bahadur Fatha Jang . . . . Khafi Khan, from whom the above narrative is taken, also observes, 'The brotherly love which had existed between the two (Saiyid) brothers now turned to hatred and jealousy of each other's

1 Farrukh-siyar had changed the names of Wednesday and Thursday respectively to *Humayun Shamba* and *Mubarik Shamba*, meaning Auspicious Day and Fortunate Day.
2 Ajit Singh's daughter was married to Farrukh-siyar ; yet he connived at his deposition. This widowed daughter was recovered from the Imperial *harem* on 16th July, 1719. She had entered it on 27th September, 1715.
3 Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-94.

power . . . . (and) there were contentions between the brothers.' In the meanwhile, 'The Emperor Rafi-ud Darajat was suffering from consumption (*dikk*). The physicians, under the orders of the Saiyids, did all they could to cure him, but without success. *This monarch had not the slightest control in matters of government*[1] . . . . Sorrow increased his illness, and he became so helpless that the two brothers considered as to which of the imprisoned princes should be named successor. Rafi-ud Darajat said that if, in his lifetime, the *khutba* were read, and coins struck in the name of his elder brother, Rafi-ud Daula, it would be a great kindness, and very acceptable to him. The Saiyids consented. Three days after Rafi-ud Daula ascended the throne, Rafi-ud Darajat died. He had reigned *six months* and *ten days*.'[2]

(ii) *Niku-siyar.* Before proceeding to Rafi-ud Darajat's real successor, Rafi-ud Daula, we must deal with this second Prince who was simultaneously set up by the rebellious army at Agra, under the leadership of Mitr Sen, a Nagar Brahman, with the connivance of Raja Jai Singh (Sawai) of Amber. 'On the 9th *Jumad-al akhir*, 1131,' writes Khafi Khan, 'the soldiers at Agra brought out of confinement in the fort, and raised to the sovereignty, a person named Niku-siyar, a son of Prince Muhammad Akbar, and grandson of Aurangzeb. His accession was announced by peals of cannon, and coins of gold and silver were struck in the name.'[3]

The rebellious Prince—or rather rival Emperor—called upon the Saiyids to 'make due submission, wrapping the head of shame in the skirt of humbleness,' promising, 'no revenge will be taken, but all their ranks and dignities will be maintained as before.' But Husain Ali Khan proudly answered : 'If Agra were a fort of steel set in an encircling ocean, he would with one blow from his finger strike it down, so that beyond a little mud and dust, no sign of it should be left on earth.' Nevertheless, the suppression of Niku-siyar proved a more arduous task than was imagined. Shaista Khan, a maternal uncle of Farrukh-siyar, also raised the standard of revolt at Delhi. Finally, however, the rebels were starved

1 "Until this time, the Emperors, however much they might leave State affairs in the hands of a minister or favourite, retained complete control over their own palace and person, and no man could be prevented frem access to them. Ultimate power resided in their hands, and they could at any time transfer authority from one minister to another, in this reign all this was changed....even....the Emperor's meals were not served without the express order of his tutor, Himmat Khan, a Barha Saiyid. The young Emperor was allowed little liberty, and in his short reign he seldom left the palace."—Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 479-82. Rafi-ud Darajat was deposed and sent back to the *harem* on 4th June, 1719. Two days afterwards, on 6th June, his brother was seated on the throne. Darajat's death occurred on 11th June, 1719, (Warid, 159 a). —Irvine *op. cit* , p. 418. Two instances are quoted by Irvine to indicate how even this feeble Prince tried to assert his Imperial dignity. (1) Husain Ali once had the temerity to sit down before the Emperor, breaking a time-honoured etiquette. The Emperor stretching his feet towards Husain Ali Khan, at once asked him to pull off his socks. 'Although inwardly raging, H. A. Khan could do nothing else but comply.' (2) The *wazir* brought on successive days two warrants for the Emperor's signature, posting two different persons to an identical office in an identical village. The Emperor asked : "Is it the same village, or another with the same name ?" When he was told it was the same, he threw down the paper saying it was foolish to act like that.—*Ibid.*, p. 417.

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 482. Niku-siyar had been in prison 40 years since his confinement during his father's rebellion in Rajputana. Two of his sisters were married to two sons of Bahadur Shah. The proclamation of Niku-siyar, according to Irvine, was on 29th *Jumada* (18th May, 1719).—Irvine, *loc cit.*, pp. 411-12.

into submission at the end of a long siege (12th August, 1719). Niku-siyar had become so effeminate that, forgetful of all Imperial decorum, he began to beg and pray for his life 'in the dialect used by women.' He was sent to Salimgarh, together with other captive Princes ; and he died there on 11th March, 1723. Mitr Sen escaped vengeance by committing suicide before capture.

Vast treasures fell into the hands of the victors. "In one place thirty-five *lakhs* of *tanka* minted in the time of Sikandar Lodi (1488-1516) were recovered ; and in another seventy-eight *lakhs* of Shah Jahan's silver coinage, with ten thousand gold coins of Akbar's reign. The papers of account were also recovered. These showed that the money had been placed by Alamgir in the custody of Shaista Khan, Amir-ul-umara ; but upon that Emperor's death in the Dakhin, no further notice had been taken of these hoards. They were not discovered in Badadur Shah's or Jahandar Shah's time. In the wardrobe were a shawl studded with jewels which had belonged to Nur Jahan Begam, a sword used by the Emperor Jahangir, and the sheet sprinkled with pearls which Shah Jahan caused to be prepared for the tomb of Mumtaz Mahal. One valuator puts the property at 1,80,00,000 Rupees (£ 1,800,000), 1,40,00,000 Rupees in cash and the rest in goods. Khafi Khan puts it still higher, namely, at two to three *krores* of Rupees (£ 2,000,000 to £ 3,000,000)."[1]

(iii) *Rafi-ud Daula.*—'On the 20th *Rajab*, 1131 A.H. (May 27, 1719 A.D.), Rafi-ud Daula who was one year and a half older than his brother Rafi-ud Darajat, was raised to the throne with the title of *Shah Jahan the Second.* Matters went on just as before, for, excepting that the coins were struck and the *khutba* read in his name, he had no part in the government of the country. He was surrounded by creatures of Kutb-ul Mulk, and, as to going out or staying at home, holding a Court, or choosing his food or raiment, he was under the direction of Himmat Khan. He was not allowed to go to the mosque on Friday, or to go hunting, or to talk to any of the *amirs*, without the presence of one of the Saiyids or his guardian.' Perhaps the only outing that the Imperial captive had was in the march against Agra. Khafi Khan concludes, 'Shah Jahan the Second died of dysentery and mental disorder, after a reign of *three months* and *some days*' (17th or 18th September, 1719).[2]

One notable event that took place in this reign was the withdrawal of Ajit Singh's daughter (Farrukh-siyar's widow) from the Imperial seraglio and her reconversion to Hinduism. Khafi Khan alludes to this in the following terms :

> 'At this time Maharaja Ajit Singh took back the Maharani, his daughter, who had been married to Farrukh-siyar, with all her jewels and treasure and valuables, amounting to a *krore* of Rupees in value. According to report he made her throw off her Musulman dress, dismissed her Muhammadam attendants, and sent her to her native country (Jodhpur). . . .In the reign of no former Emperor had any Raja been so presumptuous as to take his daughter after she had been married to a king and admitted to the honour of Islam.[3]

1 Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-28.
2 Irvine does not accept the view that these Princes were got rid of by poison or any other means. According to him the Saiyid had nothing to gain by this. The Princes died of their own feeble health and excessive opium-eating.—See *Ibid.*, pp. 430-32.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 483.

4. MUHAMMAD SHAH (1719-24)

When Rafi-ud Daula's life was despaired of, Saiyid Abdullah sent for another Prince from Fatehpur. This was Prince Muhammad Roshan Akhtar, son of Jahandar Shah, and grandson of Aurangzeb. He was then only eighteen years of age. Since the death of Jahandar Shah, he had lived with his mother, who is described by Khafi Khan as a noble lady 'well-acquainted with State business,' and as 'a woman of much intelligence and the fort of Delhi. He was a good-looking young man, with many good tact,'—in qualities, and of excellent intelligence. Rafi-ud-daula had been dead nearly a week before the young Prince arrived ; but the fact was kept secret, and the defunct was buried soon after the arrival.[1]

> 'On the 11th *Zil ka'da*, 1131 A.H. (Sept., 1719 A.D.), he reached Fatehpur, and on the 15th of that month he ascended the throne.... Money was struck in the name of *Abul Muzaffar Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Shah Badshah-i-Ghazi*, and his name was read in the *khutba*, as Emperor of Hindustan, in the mosques. . . .It was settled that the beginning of his reign should date from the deposition of Farrukhsiyar, and should be so entered in the Government records. Fifteen thousand rupees a month were allotted to his mother. The *nazirs* and. . . .all the officers and servants around the Emperor were, as before, the servants of Saiyid Abdullah. When the young Emperor went out for a ride, he was surrounded, as with a halo, by numbers of the Saiyid's trusted adherents ; and when occasionally, in the course of two or three months, he went out hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him and brought him back.'[2]
>
> These impressions of Muhammad Shah are further amplified by other writers of the period. For instance, Rustam Ali, author of the *Tarikh-i Hindi*,[3] observes, 'This Prince was a lover of pleasure and indolence, negligent of political duties, and addicted to loose habits, but of somewhat a generous disposition. He was entirely careless regarding his subjects.' The writer, evidently a partisan of the Saiyid brothers, adds, 'As is, well-known, this Emperor, so long as *Amir-ul-umara* Husain Ali Khan lived, strictly observed, *by virtue of the efficient management of that great Saiyid*, all the ancient laws and established rules of his ancestors. The achievements of all undertakings, the arrangement of all political affairs, and the execution of all wars were carried on in an excellent manner by the wisdom of that high nobleman. The Emperor decided all disputes without partiality, according to the Muhammadan law ; but when some of the nobles, natives of this country and of Turan, overcome by their evil passions, and merely through envy and malice, put that well-wisher of the creatures of God to death, to the mortification of poor people and all good subjects, the Emperor became master of his own will, and, actuated by his youthful passions and folly and pride,

1 "During the few days which elapsed between the death of Rafi-ud-daula and the arrival of his successor, the *Wazir* and his brother made their usual daily visit to the Imperial quarters and returned with robes of honour, as if newly conferred on them, thus deceiving the common people into the belief that the Emperor was still alive." —Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 485-86.

3 This work was composed in the year 1154 A.H. (1741-42 A.D.). The author expressly states his object in writing to have been—'While it might prove a lesson to the wise, it would not fail to draw the attention of intelligent readers to the instability of all earthly pleasures, and the short duration of human life, and so induce them to withdraw their affections from this world.'—*Ibid.*, VII, pp. 40-43.

resigned himself to frivolous pursuits and the company of wicked and mean characters. This created a spirit of opposition and enmity towards him in those very nobles who, from their malicious disposition, had been the instruments of the death of Husain Ali Khan. The Emperor, on account of the rebellion of the nobles, the fear of his own life, and the temptations of his evil passions, shut up the gate of justice and gave no ear to complaints. . . .In a short time, many of the officers of this kingdom put out their feet from the path of obedience to the sovereign, and many of the infidels, rebels, tyrants and enemies stretched out the hands of rapacity and extortion upon the weaker tributaries and the poor subjects.'

The brighter side of the picture is drawn by Ghulam Husain, author of the *Siyar-ul-mutakherin* :

"The steps of that sublime place (the throne)', he says, 'were dignified by his accession, and silver and gold coin, distributed on the occasion (of his accession), acquired additional value from the honour of his name. He assumed the auspicious title of *Abul Fateh, Nasir-ud-din, Mahomed Shah* (the Lord or father of victory, the champion of the faith, the King Mahomed). From that moment provisions, which had risen to an immoderate price, became cheaper, and once more plenty showed her face in every market. . . .The three preceding reigns had been so short as to serve only to confound history ; it was commanded, therefore, that the seven or eight months which had elapsed under the short-lived reigns of those three princes should be omitted entirely, and that they should be comprehended within that of Mahomed-Shah's reign, which was thus made to commence immediately on Ferokh-siar's demise.' Speaking of the Saiyids, Ghulam Husain writes, 'All this was patiently submitted to by the young Emperor, who, *sensible of the delicacy of his situation, made no opposition to the vezir's pleasure, and had the good sense to show him every mark of deference and regard.*' Yet the writer does not fail to observe, '*This did not effect the least abatement of the jealousy with which he was watched* ; for whenever he went abroad, which happened once or twice a month, for the purpose of taking an airing, the king was encircled by a body of Seids, who did not lose sight of him a moment, nor ever carry him farther than the seats and gardens in the suburbs, which at most are one or two *coss* from the palace, and they always came back before the dusk of the evening.'[1]

According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, though Muhammad Shah was "a mere cypher in respect of his public duties, there were some redeeming traits in his private character. Naturally timid and wavering, he was also free from insolent pride, caprice and love of wanton cruelty. . . .'He never gave his consent to shedding blood or doing harm to God's creatures. In his reign the people passed their lives in ease, and the empire outwardly retained its dignity and prestige. The foundations of *the Delhi monarch were really rotten but Muhammad Shah by his cleverness kept them standing.*

1 *Siyar-ul-mutakherin*, pp. 130-32 (Briggs).
M. Muhsin Sadiki, in his *Jauhar-i Samsam*, writes : "The Emperor Muhammad Shah never came out of the citadel except to enjoy the pleasures of an excursion or to amuse himself in field sports. He paid no attention to the administration of the kingdom, which lacked all supreme authority, and through his indolence, unrelieved by any exertion, he fell and came to an end. For water even, notwithstanding its innate purity and excellence, if it remains stagnant anywhere, changes its colour and smell."—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 73.

He may be called the last of the rulers of Babur's line, as after him the kingship had nothing but the name left to it." (*Siyar*, iii, 25.)[1]

Muhammad Shah is certainly memorable as the last Mughal Emperor who sat on the *Peacock Throne* of Shah Jahan. "Students of history will note his reign," observes Keene, "as the period in which were founded all the modern powers of the Indian peninsula. It seemed as though the empire, like some of the lower animals, was about to reproduce its life by fissiparous generation." "Mohammad Shah was a typical Taimuride element—easy-going, personally brave, but morally irresolute. A Mughal friend said of him, that his soul was like the waters of a lake, easily agitated by a passing storm, but settling at once as soon as the disturbance was over. The curse of Reuben !"[2]

Nine years after Nadir Shah's invasion, as the result of the shock he received from the death of his *wazir*, Kamr-ud-din Khan, Muhammad Shah died on the 15th April, 1748.[3]

5. IBRAHIM SHAH (1720)

Before we proceed to Ahmad Shah, Muhammad's son and successor, we should briefly notice the attempt made by Saiyid Abdullah Khan Barha to set up another rival on the throne. This was Muhammad Ibrahim, third son of Bahadur Shah's eldest son, Rafi-ush Shan. He was about twenty-three years of age at the time he was sent for (1720) to contend for the crown against Muhammad Shah. Muhammad Shah had hardly been a year on the throne, when differences arose between him and the Saiyids. The details of these strained relations will be described in a later section. Suffice it here to note that Saiyid Husain Ali Khan Barha was murdered on 8th October, 1720, and the news of it reached his elder brother only eighteen hours later. Though Abdullah Khan moved cautiously in the matter, he made up his mind to replace Muhammad Shah, if possible, by another Prince.

A search was accordingly made in the royal apartments. But, as had happened on a previous occasion, 'the young men had the door shut against the envoys. . . . ; but after a good deal of pressing, they admitted them and asked the reason of their coming ; and when they were informed of it, they gave a sharp answer, flatly refusing. It is reported that after the envoys returned unsuccessful, they went to Niku-siyar, and received the same answer. Next they went to Sultan Ibrahim, son of Rafi-ush Shan, and urged him to accept the proposition, *saying that his acceptance would save the lives of the party of the Saiyids.* After some conversation he consented.

> 'On the 9th (?) *Zil hijja*, 1132 (15th Oct., 1720), Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim was raised to the throne with the title of Abul Fath Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Ibrahim.[4] Two days afterwards Saiyid Abdullah arrived and paid his homage. He received the title of *Ghazi-ud-Ghalid Jang*, the position of *Amir-ul-umara* with the duties of *Mir-bakshi*, and a *mansab* of 8000. . . .A number of courtiers of

1 Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, pp. 9-10.
2 Keene, *The Turks in India*, pp. 200, 200-201, 221.
3 For details see *Tarikh-i Ahmed Shah*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 111. This was the thirty-first year of his reign, and he was forty-nine years old.—*Ibid.*, p. 112 and n.
4 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 76. Ibrahim had been designated to succeed Rafi-ud Daula. But "Saiyid Khan Jahan, *subahdar* of Delhi, with whom the final choice rested, dreading Ibrahim's reputation for violent temper, had substituted Roshan Akhtar, now became Muhammad Shah."

the time of Rafi-ud-Darajat, who were in confinement. or had no *mansabs*, or despaired of promotion, were sent for and received *mansabs* and sums of money for their expenses. They were directed to enlist horsemen at the rate of eighty rupees per month for each man, and a sum of 30 or 40 thousand rupees was advanced for the purpose. . . .Itikad Khan and. . . .other nobles of Farrukh-siyar's days all received favours, and had expectations held out to them. . . On the 17th (?) *Zil hijja* Saiyid Abdullah came out of Delhi with Sultan Ibrahim and went to the *Id-gah*. Here he was joined by Ghulam Ali Khan from the royal army, by Tahawwur Khan from Agra, and by others. . . .

'Intelligence arrived that the Emperor Muhammad Shah, being freed from all trouble about Husain Ali Khan, was marching to the capital by the Rajput road. . . .A very extraordinary fact was that, notwithstanding the large outlay of money, the royal domestics and officials in the train of Sultan Ibrahim rode horses with no saddles. . . . .On the 10th *Muharram*, 1133 (lst Nov., 1720), as the author has ascertained from the *Bakhshi*, and as he heard from the mouth of Saiyid Abdullah Khan, more than 90,000 horsemen had been entered in the lists. Of these 14 or 15 thousand perhaps were recruits, who rode ponies (*yabu*) ; some of the old soldiers were dispersed about the vicinity, and the remainder were present. Afterwards there were the followers of the traitor Churaman, of Muhkam Singh, and sundry other of the adherents of Husain Ali Khan, and the *zamindars* of the neighbourhood. According to report, the number exceeded 100,000 horse. All around as far as the eye could reach the earth seemed covered with horsemen. (But the army was ill-paid.). . . .

'On the 19th *Muharram* the royal army encamped at Shahpur[1]. . . . The army was not half as numerous as that of the enemy (but better paid) . . . .On the 12th *Muharram* Abdullah Khan's forces encamped at Husainpur,[2] three *kos* from the Imperial army, and made arrangements for battle. But there were such contentions among the officers, who were unwilling to serve under the orders of each other, that a proper disposition with right and left wings could not be made. Each chief raised his standard where he chose, and would not consent to obey any other. . . .(Details of battle). . . .Saiyid Abdullah received a sword-cut on his hand and a flesh wound from an arrow in the forehead, when Haidar Kuli and his companions, sword in hand, charged upon him. Saiyid Abdullah, exclaiming that he was a *Saiyid* called for quarter, and Haider Kuli mercifully made him prisoner . . . .The shouts of victory rose high from the army of Muhammad Shah, and Haidar Kuli brought his prisoner on an elephant to the presence of Muhammad Shah, who showed the clemency of the race of Timur, spared his life, and placed him under the charge of Haidar Kuli Khan. . . .*The innocent Sultan Muhammad Ibrahim* had sought refuge in the jungle, but he was made prisoner, and brought before the Emperor ; but *as he had no choice in what he had done*, he received the royal pardon.[3]

"The night when he reached the presence, Muhammad Shah embraced him, asking : 'How have you come ?' The Prince answered : 'By the way you came'. His Majesty said : 'Who brought you ?'

1-2 Both places are on the right bank of the Jamuna, in *Pargana* Palwal. The battle was fought from 12th-14th November, 1720.—*Ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

3 Khafi Khan, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 509-15.

He replied : 'The person who brought you'[1]. . . .An allowance of forty rupees a day was fixed for Ibrahim's maintenance, and he was sent back to prison in the citadel of Shahjahanabad. There he died on the 8th *Muharram*, 1159 H. (January 30, 1746) at the estimated age of fifty years. As a quatrain quoted by Khushhal Chand says, his day of power had been short-lived, "*like a drop of dew upon a blade of grass.*"[2]

6. AHMAD SHAH (1748-54)

Ahmad Shah was the only son of his father Muhammad Shah. 'He gave himself up to useless pursuits, to pleasure and enjoyment,' says the *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 'and his reign was brought to an end (after 6 years, 2 months, and 9 days) by the enmity which he showed to Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah (Ghazi-ud-din Khan), at the instigation of his *wazir* the Khan-khanan and his mother Udham Bai.'[3] Greater details are afforded by the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* ; 'When the Prince succeeded his father on the throne of Delhi, he took the title of *Mujahid-ud-din Ahmad Shah Ghazi*, and in the prayers and on the coins these titles were adopted, and to his deceased parent he gave the title of *Hazrat Firdaus Aramgah.*

'Ahmad Shah was not a man of great intellect ; all the period of his youth till manhood had been spent in the *harem*, and he had absolutely no experience whatever of the affairs of a kingdom, or of the cares of government.[4] Besides this, he was surrounded by all kinds of youthful pleasures, which every person, seeing the turn of his mind, was anxious to display before him to entice his fancy. As a natural consequence, he gave himself up entirely to pastimes and sports, and bestowed no thought on the weighty affairs of the kingdom. *To manage a country and wield a sceptre is a matter full of difficulty, and until an Emperor understands thoroughly himself the good and bad tendency of every measure, he cannot be fit for a rule.* For this reason Ahmad Shah was unable to govern the empire entrusted to him.'

To make matters worse, 'Jawad Khan, the head eunuch, who in the time of Muhammad Shah had the entire management of the *harem*, and had the *entree* to the women's apartments, and although 50 years old, could neither read nor write, but being constantly in the presence of the Emperor, had represented himself as being well up to business and an intelligent man, prevailed on the simple-minded youth of an Emperor to appoint him *darogha* of the *Diwan-i khas*, with a *mansab* of 6,000, thus exalting him far above his equals. . . .The Emperor gave over the entire management of the country to him. The Nawab, who had in the days of the former sovereign carried on a secret intimacy with Ahmad Shah's mother, *who was originally a dancing-girl*,[5] now openly governed the realm in concert with her, and contrary to the custom of all *harems*, where no male domestics are allowed at night, he always remained in the women's apartments all night, and in

1 The allusion being that both of them had been set on the throne by Abdullah Khan.
2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 94.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 140.
4 The same writer has earlier stated that Muhammad Shah locked up his son, Ahmad Shah, in one part of the citadel, not wishing him to appear in public. He kept him in the greatest indigence, and would not allow him to indulge in the game of *chaugan*, hunting, shooting, or any royal sports, such as he practised himself.'—*Ibid.*, p. 105.
5 "A Hindu *danseuse*. . . .who is known in history as the Kudsiya Begam. The remains of her villa are to be seen in a garden still bearing her name, on the Jamuna side, a little beyond Kashmir Gate of New Delhi."—Keene, *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 28.

the day used to converse with low characters, such as *khansamas*, and did not ook on the nobles.'

> The Emperor's mother, Udham Bai, fully merited the aspersion.[1] She had fallen out of favour even during her husband's lifetime. But when her son ascended the throne, 'her star of prosperity daily increased till at last she surpassed all the Begams. She was at first called Bai Ji Sahiba, afterwards 'the Parent of the Pure, the Lady of the Age, Sahib Ji Sahiba, on whom be peace !' Then she was called Hazrat, afterwards Kibla-i' Alam, in addition to the former titles held in the deceased Emperor's time, and although she had already a *mansab* of 50,000, yet, owing to the intimacy she kept up with the Nawab, she managed to have the rule of the whole empire. Notwithstanding the lowness of her origin, and the very humble position which she had till lately held, the fruits of her generosity and magnanimity soon became known and lauded. . . .Having called together the families of her childern and grandchildren, she distributed to them large presents of money, and fixed monthly salaries for their maintenance. *In short, the Queen and the Nawab took the whole government into their own hands, and the Emperor had nothing left but the empty title.*[2]

'The Emperor considered it to be most suitable to him to spend his time in pleasure ; and he made the *zanana* extend a mile. For weeks together he would remain without seeing the face of a male creature. There was probably no sincere friend to raise a warning ; and the doom deepened and the hand wrote upon the wall unheeded[3]. . . .The cabinet of the Emperor was now. . . .in the position of a necromancer who has to furnish his familiars with employment on pain of their destroying him.'[4] The events of this reign will be narrated elsewhere. The end of it was a piece with the character of the Emperor here described. When Ghazi-ud-din set himself up as the *wazir* (5th June, 1754), he convened the Mughal Darbar, "from which, with his usual address, he contrived to obtain as a vote of the cabinet what was doubtless the suggestion of his own unprincipled ambition." "This Emperor," said the assembled nobles, "has shown his unfitness for rule. He is unable to cope with the Mahrattas : he is false and fickle towards his friends. Let him be deposed and a

1 Matters reached such a pass that the royal guards being exasperated by their salaries remaining unpaid for over a year, at last staged a scene. "They tied up a young ass and a bitch at the palace gate and when the nobles and other courtiers went to attend the *darbar*, they audaciously urged them, saying, 'First make your bow to these. This one (pointing to the ass) is the Nawab Bahadur, and that (the bitch) is Hazrat Qudsia, the Queen-mother."—Sarkar, *op. cit*, pp. 335-36.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 112-14 ; see Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-400.

3 'The administration had grown very weak and degraded ; the pillars of the State were daily shaken ; the Emperor never inquired about the realm, the soldiery, or the treasury,—the three foundations of an empire....He became so absorbed in pleasure that a whole kos (an area of four sq. miles) was turned into a women's preserve by excluding all males from it, and there the Emperor used to desport himself in female company for a week or a month in bower and park.' (*Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* and *Siyar*), Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-30.

The imbecile Emperor indulged in all kinds of peurile follies, e.g., he nominated children of three years and less as *subadars* of the Punjab and Kashmir, at a time when they were threatened with the invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He held mock courts for them with all the paraphernalia and ceremonial. During the last 2 or 3 years of his reign, he made up his mind to devote 6 hours everyday seriously to State business. But during the remaining 18 hours of the day he would be so absorbed in his pleasures that he would never distract himself for even the most urgent affairs of State.—See *Ibid.*, pp. 330-33.

4 Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

worthier son of Timur raised to the throne." This resolution was immediately acted upon ; the unfortunate monarch was blinded and consigned of the State prison of Salimgarh, adjoining the palace ; and a son of Jahandar Shah, the competitor of Farokhsiar, proclaimed Emperor under the sounding title of Alamgir II, July, 1754 A.D."[1]

7. ALAMGIR II (1754-59)

Muhammad Ali Khan relates how 'they waited upon the royal princes who were in confinement, to select one to ascend the throne.' But the princes were afraid, and no one consented. At length after much trouble, Aziz-ud-din, son of Jahandar Shah, son of Bahadur Shah, who during his seclusion had devoted himself to theological science, was prevailed upon to accept the crown, with the title of *Aziz-ud-din Muhammad Alamgir Sani* (II), on the 10th *Sha'ban*, 1167 A.H. Ghazi-ud-din Khan Imad-ul Mulk was made *wazir*.'[2]

> This Prince met his death sooner than his predecessors, under political circumstances that will be related hereafter. His chief adviser, Itizam-ud-daula Khan-khanan, was murdered 'in the very act of his prayers'. Alamgir II was something of a religious character. With this bait he was entitled to his doom. It was reported to him that 'a most saintly *derwesh* from Khandahar had arrived in the city, who was lodged in the *kotila* of Firoz Shah, and that he was well worth seeing. The Emperor, who was very fond of visiting *fakirs*, and particularly such a one as had come from the country of Ahmad Shah (Abdali) became extremely desirous of seeing him, and went to him almost unattended. When he reached the appointed place, he stopped at the door of the chamber where his assassins were concealed, and Mahdi Ali Khan relieved him of the sword which he had in his hand, and put it by. As he entered the house the curtains were down and fastened to the ground. Mirza Babar . . . .son-in-law of the Emperor, beginning to suspect foul play, drew his sword and wounded several of the conspirators. Upon this the myrmidons of Imad-ul Mulk surrounded him and took him prisoner ; and having taken the sword from him, placed him in a *palankin* and sent him back to the royal prison. Some evil-minded Mughals were effecting the Emperor in the chamber, and when they found him there unattended and alone, they jumped up, and inflicting on him repeated wounds with their daggers, brought him to the ground, and then threw his body out of the window, stripped off all the clothes and left the corpse stark naked. After lying on the ground for eighteen hours, his body was taken up by order of Mahdi Ali Khan, and buried in the sepulchre of the Emperor Humayun. This tragedy occurred on Thursday, the 20th of *Rabi-us-sani*, 1173 A.H. (30th November, 1759). On the same day a youth named Muhi-ul-Millat son of Muhi-us Sunnat, son of Kam Bakhsh, was raised to the throne with the title of Shah Jahan II[3]. . . .In the meantime, the report of Ahmad Shah Durrani's invasion spread among the people.'

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34 ; *Cf.* E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 140-41. Ahmad Shah died a natural death in the prison, in 1775, at the age of fifty. See also Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 541-44.
The *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, relates how both the ex-Emperor and his mother were blinded ten days after the accession of Alamgir II, and treated them with indignities 'which it is unfit to write.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 323-24.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 323.

3 *Cf.* p. 710. Alamgir II was 56 years of age at the time of his accession. He reigned 5 years, 7 months and 8 days, and had five sons, the eldest of whom was 28 years old.—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 142-43.

8. SHAH ALAM II (1759)

When the news of his father's death reached him, this Prince was at Patna. Hearing of the murder 'he was much afflicted in his mind ; but ascribing the event to the wise dispensations of Providence, he sat upon the throne of sovereignty on the 5th of *Jumada-l-awwal*. Nawab Shuja'-ud-daula, after a few days, came to the border of his territories, and having invited the Emperor from Azimabad (Patna), obtained the honour of an interview, and was exalted to the hereditary office of *Wazir*, and afterwards accompanied him to Allahabad. It is through the means of that great man that the name of Sahib Kiran Gurgan (Timur) still remains ; otherwise, the Abdali would not have allowed one of his descendants to survive', writes Muhammad Aslam, in the *Farthat-un-Nazirin*.[1]

The history of Shah Alam II and his successors down to the deposition of the 'last of the Mughal Emperors' need not be pursued here. From what has been written it must be plain to the reader that the *Mughal Empire* had by now ceased to exist. 'When twenty years had elapsed of the reign of Shah Alam,' writes Kudratullah in his *Jam-i Jahan-nama*, 'in every corner of the Kingdom people aspired to exercise independence. Allahabad, Oudh, Etawah, Shikohabad, and the whole country of the Afghans (Rohillas) are in the possession of the Nawab Wazir Asaf-ud-daula, and the whole country of Bengal has been subjected by the strong arm of the Firingis. The country of the Jats is under Najaf Khan, and the Dakhin is partly under Nizam Ali Khan, partly under the Mahrattas, and partly under Haidar Naik and Muhammad Ali Khan Siraj-ud-daula of Gopamau. The Sikhs hold the whole *suba* of the Punjab, and Lahore and Multan ; and Jainagar and other places are held by Zabita Khan. In this manner other *zamindars* have established themselves here and there. All the world is waiting in anxious expectation of the appearance of Imam Mahdi, who is to come in the latter days. Shah Alam sits in the palace of Delhi, and has no thought beyond the gratification of his own pleasure, while his people are deeply sorrowful and grievously oppressed even unto death.'[2]

II. The Brothers King-Makers

The Saiyids of Barha

The history of nearly ten years from the accession of Farrukh-siyar (1712) to the discomfiture of Prince Sultan Muhammad (1720) is very largely the biography of the *Saiyid Brothers*, as the 'King-makers' Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan Barha are familiarly known in history. They first acquired importance during Farrukh-siyar's contest for the throne. They claimed descent from Abul farah, a Saiyid adventurer from Wasit in Mesopotamia, who had settled near Patiala centuries earlier. "The etymology of the name *Barha*," says Irvine, "is disputed ; perhaps it is from the word *bara* (twelve), with some allusion to the number of their villages. (There seems to be no town or village in the village in the Saiyid's country, or connected with them, bearing the name of Barha)."[3] As already pointed out, the father of the Saiyid brothers was successively the *subahdar* of Bijapur and Ajmer. Saiyid Miyan (Abdullah Khan) as he was called "had risen in the service of Ruhullah Khan, Alamgir's *Mir Bakshi*, and finally, on receiving an imperial *mansab*, attached himself to the eldest Prince Muhammad Muazzam Shah Alam."

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 172-73.
2 *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 184-85.
3 Irvine, *op. cit.*, I, p. 202 and footnote.

Hasan Ali Khan (presently Abdullah Khan Kutb-ul-Mulk), the elder of the two brothers, was forty-six years, and Husain Ali Khan, the younger forty-four years of age at the time of their emergence from comparative obscurity. In 1697-98 Hasan Ali was *faujdar* in Khandesh and later at Aurangabad. Husain held a similar post in the *subahs* of Ajmer and Agra. During the battle of Jajau (18th June, 1707) they held the rank of 3,000 and 2,000, and fought in the vanguard of Shah Alam's army. As a reward for their services their status was raised to 4,000, and the title of Abdullah Khan was conferred on the elder Saiyid. But they were dissatisfied. When Prince Jahandar met them the morning after the battle of Jajau, Husain Ali Khan is reported to have said that what they had done was nothing, many had done as much, but that *'their valour would be known when their lord was deserted and alone, and the strength of their right arm had seated him on the throne.'* This proud prophecy was fulfilled in favour of Farrukh-siyar, five years later, and to the destruction of the Prince to whom it was expressed, viz., Jahandar Shah.

By the favour of Prince Azim-ush Shan, in 1711, Saiyid Abdullah Khan was made his deputy in the province of Allahabad. Three years earlier (1708), Husain Ali had been appointed to the government of Bihar by the same Prince. The claim of Farrukh-siyar (Azim-ush Shan's son) on the gratitude and support of the Saiyids was great ; and, as already noticed, they did not fail him in his contest for the throne (1712). In fact, Farrukh-siyar's success was almost entirely due to them. The result was fateful.

The King-Makers

Jahandar Shah was dethroned and ignominiously put to death, and Farrukh-siyar was installed in his place (1712), only to meet with the same fate seven years later (1719). This last was a terrible year for the faineant Emperors : Rafi-ud Darajat and Rafi-ud Daula were successively raised to the throne ; but the hand of death removed them from their captivity,—for the dominance of the Saiyid brothers meant for them nothing less. A third Prince, Muhammad Niku-siyar, made a bid for the throne under other auspices, but inevitably failed (1719) ; he was sent to Salimgarh (another "Tower of London") to die there in captivity in March, 1723.

Irvine strongly repudiates the charge levelled against the Saiyid brothers of having poisoned the Princes. Foremost among the accusers, he points out, is Kamwar Khan : "but this man's views on the subject can be readily accounted for. He had risen in the service of Rafi-ush-Shan, the father of this (Rafi-ud-Daulat) and the previous Emperor, and naturally he expected much personal benefit from their coming to the throne. In this he was entirely disappointed. From fear of the Saiyids, the two Princes had discouraged the applications of their own dependants, such as Kamwar Khan, and by reason of their short-lived tenure of the throne such hopes of preferment were dashed to the ground. Instigated by his sorrow for their early death and by regret at his vanished prospects, is it to be wondered at that he lost his judgment, and too readily believed that his young masters had been made away with ?. . . .he insists that the attack of diarrhoea from which the young Emperor suffered, was due to the Saiyids' 'cunning devices'. . . .These vague accusations cannot for a moment be entertained. To refute them it is enough to remember how much the Saiyids were interested in keeping the Prince alive, if they could. They could in no way benefit by such gratuitous iniquity as the poisoning of an inoffensive Prince, with whom they could anticipate no injury."[1]

1 Irvine, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 430-32.

We have already described how the Saiyid brothers again rose equal to the situation, and managed to secure yet another Prince for the throne. This was Muhammad Shah, a lad of eighteen summers, good-looking, 'with many good qualities and of excellent intelligence. His mother also was well-acquainted with State business, and was a woman of much intelligence and tact'. . . .Nevertheless 'the *Wazir* and. . . .all the officers and servants around the Emperor were as before, the servants of Saiyid Abdullah. When the young Emperor went out for a ride, he was surrounded with a halo, by numbers of the Saiyid's trusted adherents ; and when occasionally, in the course of two or three months he went out for hunting, or for an excursion into the country, they went with him and brought him back.' Their minion 'Ratan Chand' held a firm position. His authority extended over all civil, revenue and legal matters, even to the appointment of *Kazis* in the cities, and other judicial officers. All the other government officials were put in the background, and no one would undertake any business but under a document with his seal.[1]

But "laughter ends with weeping, and rejoicing with sorrow."[2] The Saiyid brothers were caught in the diplomatic tangle—a net, partly at least, of their own making,—whose texture was intrigue and culmination death. Husain Ali was murdered in 1720 at the instigation of the 'King's friends' ; Abdullah Khan sought to avenge his brother's death by raising yet another 'Emperor' to the throne. The story of this misadventure has already been told. "Prince Sultan Ibrahim's and Abdullah Khan's fate was settled on the battle-field of Hasanpur (or Husenpur), 13th-14th November, 1720, Abdullah Khan was captured, and Ibrahim, who had fled from the field, was brought back a prisoner."[3]

Saiyid Abdullah Khan Bahra remained a prisoner in the citadel of Delhi, under the charge of Haidar Kuli Khan, for another two years. He was "treated with respect, receiving delicate food to eat and fine clothes to wear. But so long as he survived the Mughals remained uneasy, not knowing what sudden change of fortune might happen. Thus, they never ceased their efforts to alarm Muhammad Shah. . . .Two years elapsed, but the Mughals never ceased in their plotting, until at length they obtained the Emperor's consent to the administration of poison. Saiyid Qutb-ul-mulk, Abdullah Khan, died of poison given in his food on the 1st *Muharram*, 1135 H. (October, 11, 1722), being then about fifty seven (lunar) years of age. He left no children. In accordance with his dying wishes he was buried at the side of his favourite mistress, a singing woman named Kesar Mahi, in a walled garden outside the Pumba gate of Old Delhi.[4]

The Saiyid Regime (1712-20)

It must be clear, from what has been stated above, that the Saiyids were in the forefront of the stage for nearly a decade, from the rise of Farrukh-siyar to the fall of Abdullah Khan. During this period the Emperors were mere puppets, their life being spent more inside the *zanana* than

1 Khafi Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 485-86.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 487.
3 Muhammad Shah's announcement of his victory to Nizam-ul Mulk (*Mayna-ul-insha*, 86, cited by Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 95.)
Ibid., p. 96. Khafi Khan observes : 'It is said that he (Abdullah Khan) was poisoned. If so, it is extraordinary that I should hav heard from the mouths of creditable men the statement that when Muhammad Sha started on his march against Sultan Ibrahim and Saiyid Abdullah Khan, he vowed to God, that in the event of his gaining the victory and securing his throne, he would not kill or crush the Saiyid, however great his crimes might be. . . .God forbid that his counsel should have been given for poison ! But (*al àlm ind Allah !*) God only knows !'—E & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 519.

outside of it. No wonder that, under such circumstances, 'the withering of the trees of this world was caused by the hot winds of the negligence and carelessness of rulers ; and dissension among well-disposed nobles' ; and 'great disorders arose in the country.[1]

In the first place, Farrukh-siyar, though weak and vascillating in character, having once attained the throne, tried to kick off the ladder with which he had climbed. But this attempt, as we shall presently see, proved him fatal. Secondly, the unprecedented ascendancy of the Saiyid brothers incited jealousy, opposition, and intrigue among fellow nobles, which proved equally fatal to the Saiyids and the Empire also.

At the accession of Farrukh-siyar, Saiyid Abdullah Khan had been created Chief Minister with the title, *Nawab Qutb-ul-mulk, Yamin-ul-daula, Saiyid Abdullah Khan Bahadur, Zafar Jang, Sipah-salar. Yar-i-wafadar.* The younger brother, Husain Ali Khan, was made First Bakshi, and entitled *Umdat-ul-mulk, Amir-ul-umara Bahadur, Firoz Jang Sipah sardar.* Among the personal favourites of the Emperor was Mir Jumla who was officially no more than head of the pages and messengers, but *against* whose opinion even the *Chief Minister himself found it difficult to act.*[2] Among the provincial *subahdars* the most powerful was Chin Kilich Khan son of the late Ghazi-ud-din Khan Firoz Jang now entitled *Nizam-ul-mulk, Bahadur, Fath Jang.* He was nominally given supreme control of the six *subahs* of the Deccan, being also empowered to select lands to be held in *jagir* for furnishing the pay of himself and his followers, etc. But Haidar Kuli Khan, a protege of Mir Jumla, was at the same time sent as *diwan* of the whole Dakhin, with authority over every department, except those of the *Nazim*, of the report-writers, and of the deciding of suits.[3] Daud Khan Panni, who had acquired fame as the deputy of Zul fiqar Khan in the Deccan, was transferred to Ahmedabad.

The tragedy of Farrukh-siyar's life was the fruit of his own conduct. As Khafi Khan puts it : 'From the beginning of his reign he himself brought his troubles on himself' ; he 'had no will of his own' ; he was 'inexperienced in business' ; he was 'entirely dependent on the opinion of others, for he had no resolution or discretion' ; he was 'not cautious in listening to the words of artful men.' In short, as Elphinstone has well said, Farrukh-siyar was 'incapable of comprehending a great design, and too irresolute to execute a small one without support."[4] But if he had been wise he would have leaned upon the Saiyid brothers for this support; then his reign might have been a success instead of the miserable failure it turned out to be. As it happened, he leaned on the wrong side. He drew his inspiration from poisonous quarters, and died of the venom he had chosen to inhale. Mir Jumla, Jai Singh, Itikad Khan, Muhammad Amin Khan, Khan Dauran, and all the brood of poltroons and sycophants Farrukh-siyar relied upon, brought about his ruination. Hasty writers have thrown the blame for this upon the Saiyid brothers. But whatever the personal shortcomings of both Saiyid Abdullah Khan and Saiyid Husain

1 *Tarikh-i Hindi, op. cit.*, p. 43.
2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 258-60. Mir Jumla was a native of Samarkand and had come to India in the reign of Aurangzeb. He was at first *Kazi* of Dacca, and then warmed himself into the favour of Prince Azim-ush Shan and Farrukh-siyar. He now rose to power and soon became *Mutamid-ul-mulk, Muazzam Khan, Khan-khanan, Bahadur, Muzaffar Jang, Mir Jumla, Tarkhani Sultani.*—*Ibid.*, pp. 297-98.
3 *Ibid*, pp. 262-63. Irvine points out that the Saiyid brothers did not, at any rate at the commencement, grasp at all power, as is usually supposed, but "the Emperor's friends and the Turani chiefs obtained a lion's share."—*Ibid.*, p. 263.
4 Elphinstone, *History of India*, p. 683.

Ali Khan and the character of their 'dictatorship' in the following reigns, it is certain that, so far as Farrukh-siyar was concerned, they have been more sinned against than sinning.

Farrukh-siyar owed his throne to the Saiyids, and, naturally, they expected (especially from their knowledge of their protege's dependent character) "to exercise all the real power of the state, leaving to the Emperor only the pageantry, and such a command of wealth and honours as might enable him to gratify his favourites." But, as an examination of the chief appointments under Farrukh-siyar will show, they received very little besides "the two offices which were the price of their services," "while the Emperor's friends and the Turani chief obtained the lion's share."[1] And, as Khafi Khan remarks, "The two brothers were not inclined to bear patiently Mir Jumla's invidious and provoking interference in their affairs."[2] The result was unremitting intrigue on the part of the Saiyid's enemies, with Farrukh-siyar at its heart and centre ineptly conniving, encouraging, and promoting to his own final unmaking and utter destruction. The Saiyids throughout acted with admirable restraint and tact. But human patience has its limits : and when the furies burst Nemesis proved relentless.

Plot against the Saiyids

A bare enumeration of the plots would suffice to reveal the situation : (1) Saiyid Husain Ali, being the more intractable of the brothers, was sent against the Rajputs, with secret despatches to Raja Ajit Singh, offering him tempting terms in the event of his getting rid of the Imperial general.[3] (2) Husain Ali Khan, on the failure of the first plot, was despatched to the South as *subahdar* of the Deccan, while at the same time Daud Khan Panni was secretly incited to confront him on the way and get rid of him, if possible, on promise of giving him the viceroyalty of the Deccan in place of the Saiyid. (3) A more direct attempt was made on the life of the elder Saiyid Abdullah Khan under the very nose of the Emperor : at the Nauroz ceremonies the *wazir* was to have been surrounded and assassinated or imprisoned. But unfortunately for Farrukh-siyar, this plot also miscarried like the rest ; the *wazir* caught scent of the trap and overawed the Imperial master on the occasion by a larger massing of troops in advance.

In the face of such persistent danger the Saiyid brothers should have been fools if they did not also make efforts to weaken, outwit, or overawe their enemies. Thus, when the Imperial officers were fighting against the rebellious Jats, their chieftain Churaman was given surreptitious support by Abdullah Khan ; Husain Ali Khan discovered the secret messages to Raja Ajit Singh, offered him suitable favours, and finally secured his alliance ; the attempt of Daud Khan resulted in Husain Ali's victory, the death of Daud, and the discovery of further incriminating *farmans* ; and

1 Irvine, *op. cit.*, I, p. 263.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, p. 443. Khafi Khan also adds, 'and everyday they overstepped the bounds of subordination and duty.' But this, as we shall presently see, is not just.

3 See Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 684. "On this occasion we hear for the first time of a plan which was adopted very frequently in this reign and afterwards. Official orders were given in one sense, and the opposing side received secret letters of a different purport, assuring them of future favour if they made a vigorous defence and defeated the Imperial general sent against them. Letters were despatched to Raja Ajit Singh urging him to make away with Husain Ali Khan in any way he could, whereupon the whole of the Bakhshi's property and treasure would become his ; and he would in addition receive other rewards."—Irvine, *op. cit.*, I, p. 286.

the plot to assassinate Abdullah Khan led to the *wazir's* S.O.S. to his brother in the South, who marched post-haste to the capital with all the forces he could rally[1] and brought about a revolution. The palace was surrounded by Saiyid troops, Farrukh-siyar was deposed, Rafi-ud-Darajat was raised to the throne, and finally the ex-Emperor was dragged out of the harem, insulted and brutally strangled. A few aspects of this revolution need retracing in greater detail.

(*i*) *The Fountainhead of Discord.* Irvine assigns three causes for the state of discord under Farrukh-siyar : (1) the nominations to office ; (2) the appropriation of the confiscated wealth of the Jahandar-Shahi nobles : and (3) Farrukh-siyar's superstitious fears.

Regarding the first we have the following testimony from Khafi Khan :

> 'Abdullah Khan and Husain Ali Khan desired that no *mansabs* or promotions or appointments to office should be made without consulting them. The Emperor had given Mir Jumla authority to sign his name, and repeatedly said, "The word of Mir Jumla and the signature of Mir Jumla are my word and my signature." *Kutb-ul-Mulk* Saiyid Abdullah had given to his *diwan*, a grain-dealer named Ratan Chand, the title of Rajah, and a *mansab* of 2000, and he had reposed in him authority in all government and ministerial matters. This man attended to nobody's business without some underhand arrangement for the benefit of Saiyid Abdullah Khan and himself. When an aspirant resorted to Mir Jumla for a *mansab*, or for promotion, or for an appointment to office, he, acting uprightly as the deputy of the Emperor, wrote his signature and satisfied the applicant. *This practice was contrary to all the rules of the wazir's office* ; it weakened the authority of the Saiyids, and was the cause of great annoyance to the two brothers.
>
> 'Mir Jumla also often exhibited his own devotion to the Emperor by complaining of and blaming the Saiyids, and he persuaded him by various proofs that such high offices and ministerial authority were above the ability of the Saiyids of Barha. By various unworthy artifices he brought forward evidence of their disloyalty, and by malicious statements made in private, he succeeded in turning the heart of Farrukh-siyar against the two brothers. He repeatedly urged the Emperor to make Husain Ali and Abdullah Khan prisoners. They went out on a hunting excursion to the garden of Muhsin

1 In his haste to rush to the north, Husain Ali Khan concluded a treaty with Raja Shahu, advantageous to the latter, which Farrukh-siyar refused to ratify. In the hope of its ratification, however, he got a force of 10,000 Marathas, and an assurance to keep the peace in the Deccan during his absence. The terms of the treaty, as agreed to by Husain Ali, were to acknowledge Shahu's claims to the whole of the territory formerly possessed by Shivaji, with the addition of later conquests ; to restore all the forts in the possession of the Mughals in that tract ; to allow the levy of *chauth* over the whole of the Deccan; and to make a further payment of one-tenth, as *sardeshmukhi*. In return Shahu was to pay a tribute of ten *lacs* of Rupees, to furnish 15,000 horse, to preserve the tranquillity of the country, and to be answerable for any loss occasioned by depredations from whatever quarter. 10,000 Marathas were also to accompany Husain Ali Khan to Delhi.—Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, p. 688.

"Although Farrukh-siyar refused to ratify this agreement," observes Irvine, "there can be little doubt that on the spot it was acted upon and in 1719, after the dethronement of Farrukh-siyar, the formal deeds were issued."—Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, 164 ; also *Ibid.*, I, p. 407. See detailed terms of the treaty, Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, pp. 33-34.

Khan, and by various representations, he tried to stir the Emperor up to take the bold step (of seizing them), but he did not succeed.'[1]

(*ii*) *Palliatives for the Discord.* Strong altercations arose and matters went so far that both brothers refrained from going to Court and waiting upon the Emperor ; they even meditated the levying of soldiers and throwing up lines of defence round their residence.[2] Reports of these dissensions and of the dearness of grain caused uneasiness and disturbances in the cities far and near.[3]

'The Emperor called together for private consultation his well-affected nobles, who had taken part in his councils with Mir Jumla, Khandauran and Muhammad Amin Khan, *and every day he brought forward a new proposition.* . . .After a great deal of correspondence, and the mediation of the mother of the Emperor, who went to see *Kutb-ul-Mulk* Saiyid Abdullah at his house, and satisfied him, it was agreed that the Saiyids should make their own arrangements (for their safety) in the fort, and that both brothers should then attend the *darbar.* Accordingly the men of Saiyid Abdullah and of Husain Ali were posted in various places under their direction ; the brothers then went to wait upon the Emperor, to ask pardon for their offences. They complained of the Emperor's change of feeling, and, *taking off their swords, they laid them before him,* and said, "If, through the words of detractors, suspicion of us has found its way into your gracious mind, order that we should be put to death upon the spot, or deprive us of our *mansabs* and send us to the holy temple. But to let the suggestions of calumniators and the words of mischief-making designing men operate to the insult and to the injury of the life and property of the faithful is far from being the practice of just-minded kings."

'*To put away strife, and lay the foundations of peace,* it was settled that Mir Jumla should depart to the *suba* of Azimabad (Patna)'. . . .(and Husain Ali should go to the Deccan). So with all despatch Mir Jumla was presented with his robe, and was sent off to Patna. But the disease was too deep-rooted for such palliatives to act. The irritation was suspended but never cured. Before Husain Ali Khan left, he had also told the Emperor. "*If in my absence you recall Mir Jumla to your presence, or if my brother, Kutb-ul-Mulk Saiyid Abdullah, again receives similar treatment, you may rely upon my being here from the Dakhin in the course of twenty days.*"[4]

(*iii*) *Gathering Clouds.* Husain Ali Khan's threat was literally carried out under circumstances too complicated to be adequately described within our limited compass. Yet the physiognomy of the situation might be indicated by a few snatches from Khati Khan :

(*a*) 'Mir Jumla found it impossible to remain at Patna, with honour, in consequence of the excessive demands which the army made upon him for pay. He had disbursed a large sum of Government treasure, but their demands and the loud cries raised by the peasantry against their violence made him resolve to go off with all speed to Delhi. . . .There was a general rumour that Mir Jumla had been recalled, and that Saiyid Abdullah Khan was to be made

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 447-48.
2 This was actually done on occasions.
3 This sentence follows the next in Khafi Khan's text.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 449-50.

prisoner. . . .(But) he was coldly received, and he was severely censured (by the Emperor) for the wretched state of the people of Patna, and for having come to Court without permission. . . .But intelligent men looked on all this as trick and artifice to secure the imprisonment of the *wazir*. About the same time, either by design or by accident,. . . .bodies of horsemen appeared in the streets and *bazars* armed and prepared for battle. On the other side the officers of Saiyid Abdullah, with suitable forces, ready accoutred and mounted on elephants and horses, held themselves ready for a conflict until nightfall. . . .At length it was deemed expedient, in order to quell the disturbance and pacify *Kutb-ul-Mulk*, that the Emperor should look with anger upon Mir Jumla, diminish his *mansab*, remove him from the *suba* of Azimabad (Patna), and appoint him to that of the Punjab. . . .For a long time it was the talk of strife-makers and restless men that the Emperor had sent Mir Jumla to Sirhind and the Punjab, as a matter of policy, and that he intended to recall him. Whenever the Emperor went out into the country round the capital to hunt, and remained out for three or four months, the rumour spread from house to house, and from tent to tent, that he had come out for the purpose of making Saiyid Abdullah prisoner. On the other side, the Saiyid was suspicious, and continued to enlist soldiers, but he engaged very few who were not Saiyids or inhabitants of Barha.'[1]

(*b*) 'In these evil days there was at Court a Kashmiri of low origin, named Muhammad Murad, an idle babbler of disreputable character, who was the common talk of everybody. In the reign of Bahadur Shah he had obtained, through the interest of Jahandar Shah, a *mansab* of 1,000 and the title of *Wakalat Khan*. . . .He was introduced to Farrukhsiyar, and, availing himself of the opportunity. . . .he obtained such an ascendancy over him that in a short time he received the title of *Rukn-ud daula Itiqad Khan Farrukh-Shahi*, and an increase of his *jagir* from 1,000 to 7,000 and 10,000 horse. *He became the Emperor's confidential adviser and joined in recommending the overthrow of the rule of the Saiyids of Barha.* Not a day passed without his receiving jewels of great value, ornamental weapons, dresses or some great gift.' The Emperor seriously contemplated making him *wazir* in place of Saiyid Abdullah. He openly expressed to Nizam-ul Mulk and Sarbuland Khan, men worthier to occupy the place, "I know of no person more fit for the post of *wazir* than Itiqad Khan." 'Every exalted noble of Iran and of Turan, when he heard that it was the Emperor's design to bestow the important office of *wazir*, with every sign of partiality, upon such a prating, base-born, infamous person, felt the greatest disgust. They were heart-broken, but they were not disposed to obey and submit to Itiqad Khan.

(c) 'In the midst of such uneasy feeling the *I'd-i fitr* occurred, and nearly 70,000 horse and foot went in the royal procession to the *I'd-gah*. There was great apprehension among all classes, in expectation that Saiyid Abdullah Khan was about to be made prisoner. On that day Saiyid Abdullah had not with him more than four or five thousand horse. . . .After this Saiyid Abdullah began to enlist soldiers. In former days he entertained few except Saiyids of Barha, because he had full reliance on their courage and devotion ; but he now gave orders for the enlistment of 20,000 men of all tribes.

1 *Ibid.*

'When this disturbing intelligence reached *Amir-ul-umara* Husain Ali in the Dakhin, his apprehensions were aroused, and he resolved to proceed to Court. . . .day by day the dissension and rupture between Saiyid Abdullah and the Emperor grew wider. . . .Letters arrived from Husain Ali, representing his wish to come to Court, and complaining that the climate of the Dakhin did not agree with him. . . .On the other hand, letters reached him from his brother urging him to come quickly to Court. . . .

'At the end of *Zil hijja*, he left Aurangabad, and, after halting a week for making arrangements, at the beginning of *Muharram*, 1131 H., having put his artillery in order, and done his best to secure the good-will of the *amirs* and the Marathas, he. . . .commenced his march upon Delhi. . . .Nearly 16,000 Marathas marched with him.'

(*d*) Meanwhile many of the 'friends' of the Emperor also deserted to the enemy, mainly on account of Farrukh-siyar's negligence and the weariness of the Saiyids. 'Sarbuland Khan, in consequence of the resumption of his *jagir*, and the transfer of his prosperous lands to Mir Jumla, and through want of money, inability to pay his soldiers, and pressing demands, had retired from service, resigned his *mansab*, and had given up his elephants, horses, and household effects to his creditors, with the intention of becoming a religious mendicant. Saiyid Abdullah Khan having heard of this, went to him and endeavoured to console him. He furnished him with money, elephants and horses, and appointed him *subadar* of Kabul, thus binding him to him by the obligation of kindness. Nizam-ul-mulk also, through the hard usage of the times favourable only to the base, was called from Muradabad with the expectation of being made *wazir* but his office and *jagir* were given to Itiqad Khan. He was disgusted and burnt with rage against the worthless (favourite). Saiyid Abdullah Khan did his best to console him, and promised him the *subadari* of Malwa. Itimad-ud-daula, who had come to Court without leave or order, fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his *mansab*. Saiyid Abdullah consoled him also. He likewise won over fortune-seekers by rendering them assistance, and inquiring about their affairs. Khan-dauran, who from the beginning had been reckoned as an associate of Mir Jumla, and one of the Emperor's friends, was also brought over to the side of the minister.' Before long Ajit Singh (the Emperor's father-in-law) and Itiqad Khan also were scared away, leaving the Emperor all but alone when the storm burst.

(*iv*) *The Storm Bursts.* "It seems that the servants of the State have made disobedience of orders a habit," said Saiyid Abdullah when Mir Jumla and M. Amin left their respective charges without or against Imperial orders. But Husain Ali Khan's was the most flagrant act of defiance to Farrukh-siyar's express orders. For diplomatic purposes, while he still continued his march to the capital, Husain Ali declared, "If the Emperor no longer retains any animosity and rancour against us, and will deal with us kindly and without malice, we have no other desire but to prove our obedience and loyalty. After paying my homage and reassuring myself about sundry matters I will quickly return to Dakhin." But when he was encamped near the *lat* of Firoz Shah, two or three *kos* from Delhi, he 'showed rebellious designs by ordering his drums to be beaten loudly in defiance ; for it is contrary to all rule for (a subject's) drums to

be beaten near the residence of the Emperor. Complaining of the Emperor, he entered his tents, and repeatedly said that *he no longer reckoned himself among the servants of the monarch.* "I will maintain the honour of my race, and care neither for loss of my *mansab* nor for royal favour."

'But the strangest thing was that the heedless Emperor,' continues Khafi Khan, 'although he heard the sounds of the hostile drums and trumpets, which rose so boldly publicly—and although at the sound of the drum other drums in every street and market beat to arms—even then he did not come to his senses. All resolution and prudence was cast aside. Now raging with anger, he rolled up his sleeves (for action), threatening vengeance against the two brothers ; now taking a conciliatory turn, he sat behind the curtain of dissimulation, and opened the door of amity upon the face of enmity. . . .At the sight of this change of fortune, of the progress of the rebellion of the two ministers, and of the supineness and want of perception in the Emperor, men lost all heart, and many taking their clue from him, went to wait upon Saiyid Husain Ali.

'Four or five days after the arrival of Husain Ali, his brother Saiyid Abdullah made a statement of his brother's grievances, and said that if Raja Jai Singh, the disturbing spirit, were sent home to his country, and if the nominations to the artillery, and to the office of President of the Privy Council, and the appointments of the Emperor's personal attendants, were made in favour of Husain Ali's adherents, and if the fortress were placed under his control, then he would come without any apprehension to pay his homage, and all might be settled to the satisfaction of the two brothers.

The poor dull-witted Emperor, unmindful of the deceitfulness of delusive fortune, *granted the demands of the Saiyids.* He consented to give over the entire control of the appointments to Saiyid Abdullah, the other Saiyids of Barha, and their supporters ; Itiqad Khan and other of his favourites were to be dismissed.

'On the 3rd *Rabi-ul-akhir* Rajadhiraj (Jai Singh), under an order which did not allow of a day's delay, left Delhi for Amber, his home . . . .On the 5th, Saiyid Abdullah and Maharaja Ajit Singh, with their followers, entered the citadel, and, removing the Emperor's men from the gates, they made their own dispositions, and placed their own men in charge. Of all the great men near the Emperor, none were left near him or near the gates of the fortress, except Itiqad Khan. . . ., whose absence or presence made no difference, and some helpless attendants and eunuchs.

'*Amir-ul-umara* Husain Ali, with regal pomp and display, mounted his horse, and entered the fort, around which his army, and that of the Mahrattas, had taken post. . . .Saiyid Abdullah Khan went to the distracted Emperor Farrukh-siyar, along with Ajit Singh, and poured forth his grievances. He said, "In return for all our services to you and your ancestors, we have received nothing from you, ungrateful King, but evil thoughts and suspicions and treacherous designs. We have, as proofs of our words, *farmans* which you sent to the irreligious Daud Khan Afghan, and other miscreants in the Dakhin, directing them to oppose and slay your faithful servant (Husain Ali Khan). . .[1] Our fears and suspicions will not be removed until the control over all the great offices shall be placed in our hands."

1 Similar *farmans* had also been addressed to Raja Ajit Singh and Shahu.

the Nawabs, the Marathas and the English—for the hegemony of Hindustan does not strictly fall within our purview. If the Nawab of Oudh and Bengal, like the Nizam in the Deccan, still maintained the pretence of being Imperial officers, they did so merely to strengthen their own claims with the prestige of the Empire which continued to be a rallying cry down to the 'Mutiny' of 1857.

1. Oudh

The founder of the independent principality of Oudh, which was dissolved by Dalhousie in 1856, was Mir Muhammad Amin Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk.[1] He was leader of the Irani or Persian party at the Mughal Court, and hence a rival of the Irani *wazir*, Nizam-ul-Mulk, whose history we have already traced. He was *faujdar* of Hindaun and Biana (about 50 miles S.W. of Agra) in 1719-20 and, in spite of being a Saiyid and a Shia, had seen his advantage in joining the enemies of Saiyid Husain Ali Khan. He was well-rewarded for his participation in the plot to assassinate the Mir Bakhshi ; being elevated to the rank of 5,000 *zat* and 3,000 *sawar*, with the title of Saadat Khan Bahadur (Lord of Good Fortune).[2] For two years after this (1720-22) he was governor of Agra, when his status was further increased to 6,000 *zat* and 5,000 *sawar*.

At this time the turbulent Jats of Bharatpur joined with their clansmen in the Agra and Mathura districts and rose in revolt. The new governor of Agra marched against them and succeeded in capturing four of their strongholds. But he could not follow up this success as he was recalled to Court and asked to march against Raja Ajit Singh of Marwar.

The latter, having been a supporter of the Saiyid brothers,[3] avenged their fall by following an anti-Muslim policy and showed open hostility to the Imperial government. The other nobles at the Court being reluctant to undertake the punitive campaign, Saadat Khan welcomed the opportunity for further distinction. But unfortunately for him the proposal proved abortive on account of opposition from the jealous courtiers. And to make matters worse, the Jats took advantage of Saadat's absence, and in an attempt to subdue them, his deputy, Nilkanth Nagar, met his death. Saadat Khan, under these circumstances had once more to grapple with the Jats personally. But his stars seemed to be against him. His failure resulted in the transfer of the governorship of Agra to Raja Jai Singh Kachwaha on 1st September, 1722, as the latter made that a condition to his commanding the expedition against the Jats.

The Emperor further showed his displeasure towards Saadat Khan by not even granting him audience but forthwith directing him to proceed to Oudh immediately. On 9th September, 1722, he took charge of his new *subah* ; and its former governor, Raja Girdhar Bahadur, was transferred to Malwa. From this date in fact, though not in name, may be commenced the history of Oudh as an independent Muslim principality. The title of 'King of Oudh' was not assumed however, until 1816, when at the instigation of Warren Hastings, Ghazi-ud-din Haider, the 7th ruler of the house of Saadat Khan, adopted it.[4] The internal history of the *subahdari*, which is largely comprised of Saadat Khan's efforts to subjugate the recalcitrant chiefs and *zamindars* and consolidate his province, need not detain us

1 For his earlier life, read Dr. Ashirvadi Lal Shrivastava, *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh* (Lucknow, 1933).
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.
3 Ajit Singh was made governor of Ajmer and Gujarat in 1719 owing to his friendliness towards the Saiyid brothers.—*Ibid.*, p. 26.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

here. Sometime in 1724 he married his daughter to his nephew Safdar Jung and appointed him deputy-governor of Oudh. With the *subah* thus secured, Saadat Khan preferred to re-enter the high politics of Delhi. A detailed account of the subsequent part played by the Nawabs of Oudh in the destinies of the Empire will shortly follow. Suffice it to note here that Saadat Khan, in 1732, undertook to check the Maratha advance into North India, and made various proposals, such as his appointment to the *subahdari* of Agra, Malwa etc., (in addition to his holding Oudh) with a view to enable him to withstand the Marathas. But these attempts and schemes proved futile owing to the usual opposition from rival nobles at Court. Nevertheless, Saadat Khan was able to inflict a defeat on the Marathas, in the vicinity of Agra, towards the close of March, 1737, to which reference has already been made. The exaggerated reports of this doubtful triumph, sent by Saadat Khan to the Imperial Court, had very untoward effects : On the one hand, they drew the might of Baji Rao upon Delhi, as the Peshwa wanted to contradict Saadat's report of the alleged Maratha discomfiture in the most unmistakable manner, and, therefore, led his army to the very gates of the Imperial capital, as already described ; and on the other, Saadat's rivals made use of these happenings to discredit him before the Emperor. This misadventure led to further fatalities as Nadir Shah invaded India soon after (January, 1739), and dealt a blow that left the Empire "bleeding and prostrate". It is not surprising that Saadat Khan finally conspired with the invader to humiliate the ungrateful Emperor, and after a momentary exaltation, committed suicide on 19th March, 1739.[1] Safdar Jung succeeded him in Oudh, but more about him later.

2. Bengal, Bihar and Orissa

The history of the eastern provinces of the Empire, viz., Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, is somewhat similar to that of Oudh and the Deccan, whose accession to virtual independence we have noticed above. While these provinces nominally owned the sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor, paid tribute and even invoked his aid in times of need, otherwise ignored the Empire altogether. They, therefore, mark the first stage in the dissolution of the Empire ; for the most part their thoughts and activities centred round their own self-aggradisement. A brief account of the *subahdari* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa should here suffice.

At the time of Aurangzeb's death (1707), Murshid Kuli Khan was deputy governor (*naib nazim*) and chief revenue officer (*diwan*) of Bengal and Orissa. But the absence of the governor, Prince Azim-ush Shan, who spent his time at the Imperial Court, made Murshid Kuli Khan the *de facto* ruler of the two provinces. He was made *de jure* governor of Bengal in 1713, but the Emperor Farrukh-siyar ; Orissa was added on to his charge in 1719. Murshid Kuli's strong, honest and efficient administration, love of justice, and strict enforcement of peace and order, observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "increased the wealth and happiness of the people and fostered the growth of trade in the country."[2] He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Suja-ud-daulah Asad Jung, in 1727. Bihar was added on to the two provinces in 1733. This triple charge was handed down by Suja-ud-daulah to his successor, Sarfaraz Khan, in 1739, still in a prosperous condition. But the licentiousness and excesses of the new Nawab led to the usurpation of Ali Vardi Khan, one of his ablest officers. Ali Vardi Khan was till then deputy-governor at Patna. He defeated and slew the worthless

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 72-78.
2 *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 70-71.

Sarfaraz, on 10th April, 1740, at the battle of Gheria. Bribery secured confirmation of this usurpation, by the Emperor whose assistance Ali Vardi Khan sought against his enemies. The most formidable of these were the Marathas under Raghuji Bhonsle. The story of this conflict may be held over for the present. We must now turn our attention to the encroachments of the Marathas in other parts of the Mughal dominion, which resulted in their appropriation of the three rich provinces of Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand. This has been incidentally referred to already. A few observations, however, on the actual separation of these provinces are necessary.

3. Gujarat

Raja Abhai Singh of Jodhpur, it will be remembered, was governor of the Mughal *subah* of Gujarat at the moment the incursions of the Marathas, already alluded to, took place. The *Senapati* Yashwant Rao was in charge of the collection of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* in Gujarat. But he left this task in the more capable hands of Pilaji Gaikwad who had practically made himself master of Baroda. From these beginnings arose the present progressive State of Baroda. The cowardly Abhai Singh got rid of Pilaji by assassination, but the Marathas retrieved their position under Pilaji's son Damaji Gaikwad. The latter not only recovered Dabhai and Baroda, which Abhai had taken, but attacked Ahmedabad and carried fire and sword to the very frontiers of Jodhpur (1733). The result was that Abhai Singh gave way, left the towns conquered by Damaji in his possession, and promised to pay *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* as before, besides 80,000 Rupees from the revenues of Ahmedabad. After this Abhai Singh retired to Jodhpur, leaving Gujarat in nominal charge of Ratan Singh Bhandari. Matters went from bad to worse, and the Marathas became virtual masters of Gujarat from 1735.[1]

4. Malwa

Raja Jai Singh of Amber was governor of Malwa in 1710. When he was called upon to subdue the Jats of Agra province in 1722, Raja Girdhar Bahadur was appointed in Malwa. After a short interval of absence he was reinstated in 1725, and was ever after ambitious to found his own dynasty there. His successor could continue in that charge only by promising the Emperor to keep away the Marathas. But the Rajputs, especially Sawai Jai Singh, were dreaming of a Hindu confederacy against the Mughals. With this object the Marathas were encouraged, nay, invited, into Malwa. On the other side, the Nizam, anxious to divert the Marathas away from the Deccan, also connived at Baji Rao's northward movements. At the end of his expedition (1723-24) the Peshwa left three of his commanders in Malwa, and they became respectively founders of the kingdoms of Indore (Holkar), Gwalior (Sindhia), and Dhar (Pawar).[2] In the expedition of December, 1728, Raja Girdhar died fighting gallantly against the Marathas, at Sarangpur, 50 miles to the N.E. of Dewas. Encouraged by this victory, the latter marched into Bundelkhand being invited by Raja Chhatrasal who was fighting against the Mughal general Muhammad Khan Bangash.[3]

5. Bundelkhand, 1729

Baji Rao, for his timely assistance, was rewarded with the cession of a third of Chhatrasal's kingdom, yielding an annual revenue of 33 lakhs of Rupees. Two years after this the brave Bundela died at the age of 82 (1731), leaving the following will to his two sons, Hirde Shah and Jagatrai :

1 Sinha, *Rise of the Peshwas*, p. 107 (Allahabad, 1931).
2 *Ibid.*, p. 111 n.
3 For a detailed account of the history of this struggle, see *ibid.*, pp. 113-17.

1. "With the exception of expedition beyond the Jumna or the Chambal, both brothers should join Baji Rao Saheb in every campaign, and should share in the plunder and conquer lands in proportion to the troops provided by them.

2. "If Baji Rao should be involved in deccan warfare, the two brothers should defend, for at least two months, the fortress of Bundelkhand.

3. "King Chhatrasal has looked upon Baji Rao Saheb as his son. Baji Rao should, therefore, guard his sons as if they were his blood-brothers."[1]

Consequently Baji Rao got Kalpi, Sagar, Jhansi, Sironj and Hirdenagar. Prof. Sinha observes, "The importance of their acquisition can never be exaggerated. They brought Baji Rao into direct touch with the Doab, and with one of the Imperial cities, Agra, to which Kalpi is so close. From this vantage point he was not only to dominate all Central India, but strike terror into Delhi and the Doab."[2]

Baji Rao's march on Delhi (March, 1737) has already been referred to. The Maratha activities from the death of Chhatrasal to that event need not be here described in detail. Their net result was that the Imperial generals being foiled one after another, the Emperor was obliged to recognize Baji Rao's claim to *chauth* from Malwa and thirteen *lakhs* of Rupees from the revenues of the territory south of the Chambal.[3] But the Marathas had already carried their depradations into most of Rajputana and the Doab, and to impress the Emperor of the helplessness of his condition, Baji Rao had led his expedition to Delhi. The expected happened : the government of Malwa was conferred upon the Peshwa in addition to thirteen *lakhs* above mentioned. As a last resort, the Nizam was summoned to the rescue of the Empire. Towards the close of 1737, he made his last attempt to drive away the Maratha out of northern India. The result was his defeat at Sironj, and the convention of Durai Sarai (16th January, 1738) already described. When the Empire was smarting under this humiliation, a worse calamity was awaiting it in the north-west.

V. Two Fateful Invasions

A. NADIR SHAH, 1739

The doom of the Empire which was weakened from within, as shown above, was sealed by two fateful invaders that came from without. First Nadir Shah and then Ahmad Shah Abdali dealt the tottering Empire blows which it was ill-equipped to sustain. We have only to add a few words about the conditions in Rajputana and the Punjab at this time to enable the reader to visualize the situation that must have tempted these foreign attacks.

Rajputana

The Rajputs who at one time had been the bulwarks of the Empire, thanks to Aurangzeb's disastrous attitude towards them and the growing weakness of the later Mughal Emperors, now realized that their interests lay elsewhere than in the Mughal Empire. Internally also, Rajputana was torn by dissensions between and within its three principal houses of the Sisodias, the Rathors and the Kachhwahas. "The disorder and destruction following from this

1 Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, II, p. 225.
2 Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
3 For greater details, see *ibid.*, pp. 126-28.

contest for primacy," observes Sir Jadunath Sarkar, "were immensely multiplied by the entrance of another factor into Rajput politics in the middle of the 18th century, which ended only in the total ruin and humiliation of this noble race. . . .The Maratha and the Pindhari ravaged the land. Disorder, public plunder, economic ruin, and moral degradation were the chronic condition of Rajasthan from the declining years of Muhammad Shah. . . ."[1] Baji Rao's extortions in Rajputana were like a lurid commentary on the weakness of the Rajputs and the strength of the Marathas. "After a long higgling, the Maharana had to sign a treaty promising to pay annual tribute of Rs. 1,60,000, to cover which the Banhada pargana was ceded to the Marathas."[2]

The Punjab

Though at this time the Punjab enjoyed peace owing to the strong and benevolent rule of its governor Zakariya Khan I (1726-45), the province had suffered much on account of the ravages of plunderers like Isa Khan and Husain Khan Kheshgi. Towards the North-West Frontier were a number of intractable tribes who could be kept under control only when the Power of the Mughal Emperors was strong both at Delhi and at Kabul. At the present time they afforded a gun-powder magazine that might burst out at any moment, and their depradations across the border gave a convenient excuse for Nadir Shah to lead punitive expeditions into these shady regions.

The Persian Invasion, 1738-39

Nadir Shah was a Turkish adventurer who had established himself as the ruler of Persia in 1736. Persia had fallen on evil days and the Safawis had been supplanted by Afghan aggressors in 1722. Nadir Shah, like Nepoleon, though a foreigner himself, proved the saviour and then the champion of his adopted country.[3] This ambitious and successful adventurer carried the war into home-lands of the Afghan usurpers and thereby came into clash with the Mughal governor of Kabul. Early in 1737, Nadir Shah marched against Kandahar with 80,000 men. "So long as that centre of Afghan power was not destroyed, it would remain a menace to the safety of Persia and constantly disturb the peace and prosperity of Khurasan. Moreover, without the conquest of Kandahar the full heritage of the Safawis could not be said to have come into his possession." The fort of Kandahar fell after a year's siege, March, 1737 to March, 1738. But Nadir Shah treated the defeated Afghans very kindly : "released all the prisoners taken, bestowed pensions on the tribal chiefs, enlisted the clansmen in his army, and by transplanting the Ghilzais to Naishapur and other places in Khurasan (the former homes of the Abdalis) and posting Abdali chieftains as governors of Southern Afghanistan (Kandahar, Girishk, Bist and Zamindawar), kept his former enemies usefully employed in his service. *His policy was to tempt the other Afghan forts to surrender to him by creating a reputation for himself as a merciful enemy and liberal master, and to enlist the Afghan soldiers under his banners as devoted supporters of his projected conquests of Central Asia and India.*"[4]

We have not the space for a detailed statement of all the reasons for

1 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-45. For circumstances leading to Maratha intervention in Rajputana, see *ibid*, pp. 249-52.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 262. Similarly Raja Durjan Sal Hada of Kota had to pay to the Marathas a penalty of Rs. 10 lakhs for siding with the Imperialists. For Baji Rao's extraordinary demands from the Mughal Emperor, see *ibid.*, pp. 273-76.

3 For a fuller account of the earlier history of Nadir Shah, read Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-20.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 319-20.

Nadir Shah's invasions of India. In the last analysis this must be attributed to the ambitions of Nadir Shah on the one hand, and the apparent weakness of the Mughal Empire on the other.[1] "Nadir Shah," as Irvine points out, "was no mere soldier, no savage leader of a savage horde but a master of diplomacy and statecraft as well as of the sword. The profoundness of his diplomacy was no less remarkable than the greatness of his generalship in war and the wisdom of his policy to the vanquished after his victories in the field."[2]

Diplomacy

1. The Mughal Emperors had long been in the practice of exchanging ambassadors with the Persian Court. This diplomatic usage was suddenly discontinued when Nadir Shah ascended the throne. The new ruler of Persia resented this all the more because Muhammad Shah had maintained friendly relations with Mir Wais and his son Husain, the usurper of Kandahar, despite the latter's raid into Multan. Nadir Shah duly informed the Mughal Court of his intended campaign in Kandahar and requested the Emperor not to give shelter to the Afghan fugitives in Kabul. The Emperor, no doubt, promised to do the needful, but failed to carry out his undertaking.

2. A second ambassador was sent to Delhi repeating the request, with no better result. In 1737, therefore, when hostilities had already begun in Kandahar, Nadir Shah despatched a third envoy to the Mughal Court expecting an urgent and clear reply. But the Mughal sphinx was as silent as ever. A year passed, and matters crossed the frontiers of diplomacy—Nadir Shah decided on invading India.

Defenceless Frontier

The governor of Kabul, Nasir Khan, was not in the good books of the party in power at Delhi. His alarming reports about the impending danger were, therefore, discredited. He failed to get even the minimum subsidies to maintain his army in a state of defence. The soldiers were ill-fed, ill-armed and five years in arrears of pay. In the words of Ghulam Husain, 'it was impossible for Nasir Khan to prevent Nadir Shah's entrance into India. The Government was rotten, the Emperor was powerless. No money was sent to maintain the administration in Afghanistan. The subahdar, therefore, sought his own comfort and lived at Peshawar, entrusting the fort of Kabul to a *qiladar* with orders to control and watch the passes leading into India.[3]

The Punjab

The Punjab, as stated previously, was at this time under its governor Zakariya Khan. He was no doubt "a brave and active soldier" and a "good administrator" ; but being a Turani foreigner, he was hated by the Hindustanis at Court who enjoyed favour with the Emperor. His appeals for reinforcements in men and money, therefore, fell on deaf ears. The gateways of India being thus in no state of defence, Nadir Shah's invasion was both tempted and facilitated.

The Invasion

On 10th May, 1738, the Persian entered Northern Afghanistan. Ghazni fell on the 31st. The Mughal governor fled, but the people were well treated by the con-

1 'The train had long been laid', writes Anandram Mukhlis, and from these negotiations sprang the spark that fired it....the true cause was the weakness of its (Hindustan's) monarchy.—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 77.

2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

3 *Siyar*, i, 94, cited by Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
Nasir Khan, according to the *Tazkira*, described himself as 'a rose-bush withered by the blasts of autumn, while his soldiery were no more than a feted pageant, ill-provided and without spirit.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 77.

queror. The Hazaras in the hills south-west of Ghazni resisted, and were ruthlessly destroyed. Nadir then advanced upon Kabul, which after a brief defence fell on the 19th June. Here he heard from his envoy at the Delhi Court that the Mughal Emperor would neither reply nor give him his *conge*. At this Nadir Shah despatched an urgent letter of protest with a fast courier accompanied by some leading men of Kabul to offer explanation of the steps taken by the Persians. In this he pointed out how the Emperor had broken faith with him, and explained that in punishing the rebellious Afghan he was really serving the best interests of the Mughal Empire. But as ill-luck would have it, the messengers were murdered within Mughal territory and Nadir Shah had to march against the clans who were responsible for this outrage. He left Kabul on the 19th July, and Jalalabad surrendered on 7th September, 1738. The men were massacred and the women taken captive by way of reprisals against the assassination of the envoys. Some time was then spent in regulating the administration of the conquered country, after which Nadir Shah marched into the Punjab. As the prospects of his returning home seemed distant, he invested his eldest son, Mirza Raza Quli, as his deputy or regent in Persia (3rd November) and sent him back with a great force and suitable pomp.

To Karnal

For consideration of space we cannot dwell on all the details of Nadir Shah's Indian campaign. Peshawar was entered on 18th November. Wazirabad on the Chenab (60 miles N.W. of Lahore) was crossed on the 8th January, 1739. Zakariya Khan, governor of the Punjab, finding resistance impossible surrendered on 12th January and thereby saved the city of Lahore from the wrath of the invader. He was made to pay a contribution of 20 *lakhs* of Rupees and retained in his governorship. His son joined the train of the invader with 500 retainers "evidently as a hostage for his father's fidelity." Similarly, Nasir Khan was restored to the viceroyalty of Kabul and Peshawar. "A Persian force was detached to guard the ferries and seize the boats on the rivers of the Punjab and see that travellers to and from the Persians army during its stay in India could easily pass. *Thus, the flanks and rear of the invaders were completely secured.*"[1]

The situation is well described by Anandram Mukhlis in his *Tazkira*; 'Nadir Shah was now in possession of all the country as far as Attock, and Muhammad Shah and his advisers could no longer remain blind to the danger that threatened them. They understood at length that *this was no ordinary foe against whom they had to contend, no mere plunderer who would be sated with the spoil of a province and then return to his own country, but a leader of unshakable resolution, who shaped his course with his sword.*' But the writer goes on to state how the Emperor and his nobles failed to do the needful and the country was despoiled by the invader : 'How to relate the ruin and desolation that overwhelmed this beautiful country ! Wazirabad, Imanabad and Gujarat, towns which, for population might almost be called cities, were levelled with the earth. Nothing was respected, no sort of violence remained unpractised ; property of all kinds became the spoil of the plunderer, and women the prey of the ravisher.'[2]

'On the 15th of the month,' continues Anandram, 'the Shah continued his march towards Shahjahanabad. He advanced rapidly. Leaving his

1 Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-33.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.

camp equipage at Shahabad, (17 miles E. of Ambala) on the 15th *Zil-kada* he appeared in the neighbourhood of Karnal (20 miles from Panipat), where Muhammad Shah's army awaited his coming.'[1]

Battle of Karnal, 1739

The fateful battle was fought on the 13th February, 1739.[2] The following account of it by Anandram, who was an eye-witness, is valuable :

'Near Karnal flows through a broad plain a canal which issues from the Jamna river, near Mukhlispur, and continues its course to Shahjahanabad. This place was found convenient for the encampment of the army. By degrees news was received of the progress of the enemy. . . .This disposition, which could hardly be considered worthy of an Emperor, was adopted partly to await the arrival of (Saadat Khan) Burhan-ul-Mulk Bahadur, *Nazim* of Oudh, who had been ordered to join the royal army. This nobleman, though suffering from sickness, advanced by forced marches at the head of 30,000 horsemen, and reached Karnal, on the 14th of *Zil-kada*. This addition to the strength of the army created universal joy, and all now thought victory certain.

'The Persians tried to intercept the army which resulted in a premature clash. Muhammad Shah, hearing of what was going on ordered *Amir-ul-umara* (Khan Dauran) to reinforce the *Nazim*. The *Amir* represented that the army had not expected to fight that day, and that the soldiers were consequently quite unprepared ; reinforcements could but add to the severity of the defeat. It was far better to delay a battle until the morrow, when the army could be disposed according to the rules of war, with advanced and rear guards, and their artillery on which everything depended in Indian warfare could be placed in the front. The struggle would then be one of comparative ease, and a little skill would insure an easy victory. The monarch was displeased with these objections, and addressed the *Amir* as a *conceited idler*. But Amir-ul-umara Bahadur was a chieftain who had the good of his master at heart ; never had he been guilty of aught like disobedience, and now, arming himself and mounting an elephant, he gathered round him Muzaffar Khan Bahadur and a few horsemen, all that could be collected in that hour of bewilderment, and hastened to the support of the *Nazim*. The struggle raged so fiercely that firearms and arrows were put aside, and swords and draggers were brought into play. Blood flowed from gaping wounds and crimsoned the combatants ; the red *Kazalbash* caps had the appearance of poppies ; a dense smoke hung over the field of battle.

'The heroic efforts of Amir-ul-umara and his prodigies of valour could not prevail against the Persians, who far exceeded the Indians in number,[3] and had, moreover, the advantage of having been placed in position by the Shah himself. The Mughals broke at length and fled ; but Amir-ul-umara maintained the combat until, mortally wounded in the face, he fell covered with glory[4] . . . . Burhan-ul-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 81.
2 Dr. Shrivastava gives a different date : see *The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, pp. 64-65.
3 Sir Jadunath Sarkar puts down the strength of the Persian army at 55,000 horse. "The number is nearest the truth." He also states "the total Indian fighting force at Karnal could not have exceeded 75,000." But including the non-combatants it was very near a million men ! See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 337-38.
4 'By his decease, Asaf Jah Bahadur (Nizam-ul Mulk) became *Mir Baksh*. Officers were sent by the Emperor's order to seize the property of the late nobleman, which it would have been more generous to leave to the heirs.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 84.

Mulk and Nisar Muhammad Khan Bahadur became prisoners . . . . Had the Emperor himself led his powerful army to the support of Burhan-ul-Mulk, there would have been no cause to lament the loss of such a *sardar* as Amir-ul-umara ; and who can say that victory might not have smiled on his arms.'[1]

'It is probable,' states the *Bayan-i Waki*, 'that if the army of Hindustan had been fully provided with artillery, the Persians would not have been able to oppose it.'[2]

The Result

The result of the defeat has been thus described by Anandram himself : 1. 'The consequences of this disaster were lamentable ; for the loss of baggage and the scarcity of supplies that soon prevailed (four rupees could hardly purchase a *sir* of flour) totally deprived the soldiery of the little spirit they ever possessed.

2. 'The Persian Emperor sent a message offering to treat for peace ; for, though so powerful, he was not to overlook the advantages of negotiation. Wazir-ul-mamalik Asaf Jah was opposed to the proposition ; but his argument did not prevail with the Emperor. On the 16th of the month Asaf Jah Bahadur and Azim-ullah Khan Bahadur were deputed to the Shah, to conclude the negotiations ; they returned to camp that evening.'[3]

Negotiation

'The next day Muhammad Shah repaired in person to the Persian camp . . . . When they drew near, the Shah himself came forth, and the etiquette usual between the Persian and Mughal Courts was faithfully observed. The two monarchs, holding one another by the hand, entered the audience-tents, and seated themselves side by side on a *masnad. It was as two suns had risen in the East, or as if two bright moons shed their light at one time !*

'As Muhammad Shah was unaccompanied by any one of his chiefs, the subject of conversation between the two Emperors has remained unknown. After this had lasted some time, a repast was prepared, the remains of which were given to Amir Khan Bahadur and the other noblemen. Nothing that courtesy and friendship require was omitted during the whole conference, which lasted a quarter of the day. These proceedings restored tranquillity to the mind of the soldiery ; all looked forward with joy to renewed plenty, to return to their beloved Shahjahanabad and the society of friends ; *but fate smiled at these fond hopes, for more suffering and more bloodshed awaited them.'*

March to Delhi

The dying *wazir*, Khan Dauran Samsam-ud-daulah, had enjoyed, "Never take the Emperor to Nadir, nor conduct Nadir to Delhi, but send away that evil from this point by any means that you can devise." But the inevitable came to pass. The unsuspecting Asaf Jah and the Emperor Muhammad Shah during their second visit to Nadir Shah's camp were surrounded and practically taken prisoners, it is alleged, at the instigation of Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk.[4] Nadir Shah compelled them to march to Delhi with the

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 62-84.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 83 n. "The defeat of the Indians at Karnal was due as much to their being outclassed in their weapons of war and method of fighting as to their bad generalship."—Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 350-52.

3 According to other accounts Nizam-ul Mulk conspired with Nadir Shah to inveigle the Emperor into virtual imprisonment in the Persian Camp. See *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, VIII, pp. 62-64 ; also Fraser, *Nadir Shah*, pp. 70-74. *Cf.* Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-58 exculpating the Nizam.

4 Many details are omitted in this summary account. Nizam-ul Mulk in his first visit to the Persian camp had negotiated for Nadir Shah's return on payment of Rs. 50

hope of extorting from the Emperor a larger indemnity than had been promised in the camp.[1] The Maratha ambassador at the Mughal Court, escaping from the embarrassing situation, with a sigh of relief exclaimed : "God has averted a great danger from me, and enabled me to escape with honour ! The Chaghatai Empire is gone, Irani Empire has commenced!"[2] Anandram too states, 'The Mughal monarchy appeared to all to be at an end.'[3]

The conqueror's justification was as follows:

Addressing the Mughal Empire, he stated : 'It is strange that you should be so unconcerned and regardless of your own affairs, that notwithstanding I wrote you several letters, sent an Ambassador, and testified a friendship for you, your ministers should not think it proper to send me a satisfactory answer ; and by reason of your want of command and discipline over your people, one of my Ambassadors, contrary to all laws, has been killed in your dominions.

'Even when I entered your empire, you seemed under no concern for your affairs, nor so much as sent to ask who I was or what was my design. . . .Moreover, your predecessors were wont to take the *Jeziah* from the infidels, and you in your reign have given it to them, having, in these 20 years, suffered the empire to be over-run by them.[4]

'But as hitherto the race of Temur have not injured or misbehaved towards the Seffi (Safawi) family, and the people of Persia, I shall not take the empire from you. Only, as your indolence and pride have obliged me to march so far, and that I have been put to an extraordinary expense, and my men, on account of the long marches, are much fatigued, and in want of necessaries ; I must go to Delhi, and there continue some days, until the army is refreshed, and the *peishe-*

lakhs. On his return, by Nadir Shah's request, the Emperor paid a visit to the Persian camp, and was well received. After Muhammad Shah's retirement, Saadat Khan, owing to his jealousy towards the Nizam, suggested to Nadir Shah that he should secure Nizam-ul-Mulk's person as security for payment of the promised indemnity, and also that if they marched to Delhi, Nadir Shah could extort more. The Nizam on his unsuspecting second visit was forcibly detained. This made the Emperor pay a second visit also. He too being secured was prevailed upon to go to Delhi together with the Persian host. This culminated in a tragedy.—Read Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-60. For the part played by Saadat Khan in this whole affair, see Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-75.

1 The conditions in the camp were heart-rending. According to Maratha eyewitness, 'Grain could not be procured even at 6 or 7 rupees the *seer*. The country was a desert, nothing could be had from the neighbouring villages....only six days after the battle, the supply of *ghee* had become entirely exhausted in the camp.'—*Ibid.*, p. 357. For a description of the march to Delhi, see Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-96. Fraser who wrote his account in 1742, and got his information from Mirza Zaman (Secretary to Sarbuland Khan), also describes the scarcity in the Mughal camp which among other reasons must have been a potent factor in determining the Emperor's abject surrender. "In Mohammad Shah's camp," he writes, "what grain was to be had, was sold from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 rupees per seer, and whoever went to Nadir Shah's camp, were allowed to buy as much as they consumed there, but not to carry any away . ..at last the Emperor declared that affairs were now gone beyond his power and that he must do one of three things ; to-morrow to march out and make one desperate push, to determine his fortune at once ; or put an end to all thoughts and misery by a dose of poison ; or else submit peaceably, to what terms may be imposed. The Emperor's inclination (tho' he did not then declare it) was for the last of these."—*Ibid.*, pp. 90-91.

2 Rajwade. vi, No. 131—cited by Sarkar. (Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 360).

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 87.

4 The reference is to the Marathas. Nadir Shah was a staunch *Sunni*, and hated all infidels. See Fraser, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-69.

cush (tribute), that Nizam-al-Muluck has agreed to (50 *lakhs* of Rupees), is made good to me, after that, I shall leave you to look after your own affairs.'[1]

Massacre at Delhi

The happenings related above had created a state of tense excitement and nervousness at Delhi. Even before the tragedy of Karnal, according to Anandram : 'Many were the false reports circulated which there is no need to record here, and such was the state of the town, that, but for the vigilance of Kotwal Haji Fulad Khan, it must have been plundered, and the Persian army would have found the work done. The *Kotwal*, no ordinary man, was at his post day and night ; his exertions were unceasing, and, wherever there was an appearance of sedition, he seized and punished the guilty parties. The roads were infested with malefactors, and there was safety for none.'[2]

Under such conditions, "The fallen descendant of Babar and Akbar rode into his capital on a portable throne (*takht-i-rawan*) in silence and humility ; no band played, and no banners were carried before him."[3] Nadir Shah followed him into the city, the next day (9th March, 1739). The Emperor welcomed his conqueror, spread the richest carpets, cloth of gold, and other rare stuffs, on the ground for him to set his foot upon (*pa-andazi*). Nadir Shah occupied Shah Jahan's own palace-chambers near the Diwan-i-khas, while Muhammad Shah lodged near the *deorhi* of the Asad Burj. [Anandram] On this day the Emperor acted as the host and placed dinner before Nadir. The Persian army encamped, some round the fort, some on the bank of the Jamuna near the city, and some were quartered in houses throughout the city. [Ali Hazin, Jahankusha 355.][4]

For a time the prospect looked sanguine until it proved sanguinary ; 'By a strange cast of the dice two monarchs who, but a short while before, found the limits of an empire too narrow to contain them both, were dwellers now within the same four walls !' But, as ill-luck would have it, a deep tragedy awaited the people of Delhi. It was heralded by the suicide of Sa'adat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk. Either his failure in raising the promised ransom or some other delinquency in the eyes of the conqueror, led to his severe reproof. The broken-hearted Nawab "took diamond powder to save his name and honour and died about next morning."[5]

Nadir Shah, according to all accounts, appears to have acted with great dignity and restraint. But the situation was such that, if all had gone well to the end, it would have been a great surprise. However, a clash occurred somewhere in the city, between the citizens and the army of occupation. It was the eve of the Holi festival for the Hindus, when excitement and intoxication are considered normal. 'The bad characters within the town,' says Anandram, 'collected in great bodies, and, without distinction, commenced the work of plunder and destruction. A discharge of firearms and other missiles was continued through the night. The darkness of the night and the difficulty of recognizing friend or foe were the cause of numbers of the Kazalbashi (Persians) being slain in the narrow lanes of the town. Scarce a spot but was stained with their blood.

'On the morning of 11th (March, 1739, Sunday) an order went forth from the Persian Emperor for the slaughter of the inhabitants (as an

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 86.
3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 363.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 363.
5 For a discussion on this point, read Dr. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

act of reprisal for the murder of the Persians). The result may be imagined ; one moment seemed to have sufficed for universal destruction. *The Chandni chauk,* the fruit market, the *Daribah bazar,* and the buildings around the *Masjid-i-jama* were set fire to and reduced to ashes. The inhabitants, one and all were slaughtered. Here and there some opposition was offered, but in most places people were butchered unresistingly. The Persians laid violent hands on everything and everybody ; cloth, jewels, dishes of gold and silver, were acceptable spoil. The author beheld these horrors from his mansion, situated in the *Wakilpura Muhalla* outside the city, resolved to fight to the last if necessary, and with the help of God to fall at least with honour. But, the Lord be praised, *the work of destruction did not extend beyond the above-named parts of the capital.* Since the days of Hazrat Sahib-kiran Amir Timur, who captured Delhi and ordered the inhabitants to be massacred, up to the present time (A.H. 1151), a period of 348 years, the capital had been free from such visitations. The ruin in which its beautiful streets and buildings were now involved was such that the labour of years could alone restore the town to its former state of grandeur.'[1]

Results

The loss in lives and treasure was indeed immense. No purpose would be served by dwelling either upon the horrors of the holocaust or counting the casualties. Neither age nor sex were respected by the furies let loose upon the city ; the miscreants in some cases appear to have escaped leaving innocents to be victimised. Several men and women were driven to insanity and suicide in their desperation. The streets and houses were glutted with corpses and soon the stench of these threatened to choke the living. The debris could be cleared and cleansed only by means of fire. The carnage lasted only for five hours, from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m. 'By degrees the violence of the flames subsided,' writes Anandram, 'but the bloodshed, the devastation, and the ruin of families were irreparable. For a long time the streets remained strewn with corpses, as the walks of a garden with dead flowers and leaves. The town was reduced to ashes, and had the appearance of a plain consumed with fire. All the regal jewels and property and the contents of the treasury were seized by the Persian conqueror in the citadel. He thus became possessed of treasure to the amount of 60 *lacs* of Rupees and several thousand *asharfis* ; plate of gold to the value of one krore of Rupees, and the jewels, many of which were unrivalled in beauty by any in the world, were valued at about 50 *krores.* The Peacock Throne[2] alone, constructed at great pains in the reign of Shah Jahan, had cost one *krore* of Rupees. Elephants, horses and precious stuffs, whatever pleased the conqueror's eye, more indeed than can be enumerated, became his spoil. In short, the accumulated wealth of 348 years changed masters in a moment.'[3]

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 88.

2 According to the *Jauhar-i Samsam*, the Peacock Throne was 'bestowed on Nadir Shah with his own munificent hand, as a parting present, by Muhammad Shah.'—E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 89 n 2. According to Fraser, the Peacock Throne was broken to pieces by Sultan Ibrahim and Saiyid Abdullah, in 1720, to meet the expenses of the army. —*Nadir Shah*, p. 30.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 89. For a critical appraisal of details, read Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 370-74. "The entire population of Persia shared their Kings's prosperity. The revenue of that Kingdom was remitted for three years. The chiefs of the army were lavishly rewarded ; the common soldiers received 18 months' pay together, one-third of which was their due arrears, one-third as advance and the remaining one-third as bounty [Bayan 53]. The camp-followers received Rs. 60 per head as salary and Rs. 100 as bounty [*Jaham* 361]." (*Ibid*, p. 374).

In the estimation of Fraser, 200,000 inhabitants of the Mughal Empire had fallen victims to the Persian invader ; and, in addition to 70 *krores* of Rupees, Nadir Shah carried away with him "100 elephants, 7,000 horses, 10,000 camels, 100 eunuchs, 130 writers, 200 smiths, 300 masons and builders, 100 stone-cutters, and 200 carpenters."[1]

A daughter of "Iesdan Bakhsh the son of Kam Bakhsh and grandson of Aurangzeb" was given in marriage to 'Nesr Allah Mirza, Nadir Shah's son. On Tuesday night the marriage was consummated. Mahommad Shah made the young princess a present of jewels to the value of 50,000 Rupees, and in ready money 50,000 more."[2]

Finally, Nadir Shah read the following homily to the Mughal Emperor :

> 'In the first place, you must seize all the omra's jagirs, and pay each of them, according to his mansab and rank, with ready money out of the treasury. You are to allow none to keep any forces of his own, but you yourself are constantly to keep 60,000 chosen horsemen, at sixty rupees per month : every ten men to have *dehbashi* (officer over ten men), every ten dehbashis one *sudival* (officer over 100), and every ten sudivals one *hazari*. You ought to be well acquainted with the merits of each : his name, family and nation (race), not allowing any of them—officers, soldiers or others—to be idle or inactive ; (and) when an occasion may require, despatch a sufficient number, under the command of one whom you can trust for conduct, courage and fidelity, and when that business is over, recall them immediately, not letting any person to stay too long in command, for fear of bad consequences. *You are more particularly to beware of Nizam-ul-Mulk, whom, by his conduct, I found to be full of cunning and self-interested, and more ambitious than becomes a subject.*'

The reporter of the above, Mirza Zouman, goes on to narrate : 'Mahommed Shah knowing these advices proceeded from good-will, was very thankful, and desired him, as his empire depended on him, that he would appoint those whom he thought most deserving of the principal posts. Nadir Shah said, "That will not be at all for your interest ; such officers will have little deference for you in my absence ; when I am gone, dispose of every post to those whom you think most worthy, and should they or any of them rebel, upon the first advice, I will send a person to chastise them ; if it be necessary I'll send forces ; or on occasion, I can be with you myself, in 40 days, from Kandahar ; but upon all events do not reckon me for off."[3]

Persian Annexations

Nadir Shah before his departure on 5th May, 1739, after a stay of 57 days placed the crown of Hindustan on the head of Muhammad Shah and tied a jewelled sword round his waist ; and the Emperor gratefully declared (or was gracefully made to declare) : "As the generosity of the Shahan Shah has made me a second time master of a crown and a throne and exalted me among the crowned heads of the world, I beg to offer as my tribute the provinces of my Empire west of the river Indus, from Kashmir to Sindh, and in addition the subahs of Tattha and the ports subordinate to it."[4]

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 106.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 112.
4 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 374.

Thus, the most vital part of the Mughal Empire, viz., the Trans-Indus provinces including Afghanistan, was now finally lost to the descendants of Babur. "A considerable territory east of the Indus had also been seized by Nadir by right of victory over the local subahdars before the battle of Karnal, and his right to their revenue was not disputed, though they continued to be governed by Muhammad Shah's officers. The governor of Lahore now signed an agreement to send Nadir 20 lakhs of Rupees a year on this account, to remove the reason for any Persian garrison being left east of the Indus."[1]

It must be here recorded with pride that, when Nadir Shah wanted to acknowledge his gratification at Zakariya Khan's (governor of Lahore) conduct during the invasion, by granting whatever he might desire, the latter *nobly begged of the conqueror for nothing more than the release of the Indian captives he was carrying away to Persia !*[2]

Lastly, it may be stated that, ever since Nadir Shah's entry into Delhi, the *khutbah* (the emblem of sovereignty) had been read in the name of the conqueror. Now he graciously declared that henceforth all *farmans* should be again issued in Muhammad Shah's name, as also the reading of the *khutbah* and the issuing of coinage. Finally, Nadir Shah also sent off four *farmans* of his own to Nadir Jang, Nasir-ud-daulah, Rajah Sahu and Baji Rao, urging them to respect the settlement he had made and to obey Muhammad Shah in future.[3]

B. AHMAD SHAH ABDALI

Nadir Shah did not live long to reap the fruits of his triumphs. Eight years after his indian invasion he died by hand of an assassin.[4] We must now turn to the other invader : Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani. He was one of Nadir Shah's chief lieutenants. Of him the conqueror had said, "I have not found in Iran, Turan, or Hind, any man equal to Ahmad Abdali[5] in capacity and character." This estimate of him was justified by Abdali's successes. After the death of Nadir Shah he established himself as independent ruler of Kandahar and Kabul, and consequently laid claim to Western Punjab as the rightful successor of Nadir. To make good this claim he led successive expeditions into Hindustan which culminated in the great disaster (for us) at Panipat in 1761. The situation in Hindustan leading up to this catastrophe is too complicated to be satisfactorily unravelled within the space at our disposal. We shall, therefore, here touch upon only a few of the most salient features to enable the reader to visualise the circumstances attending the extinction of the Mughal Empire. Although, as we have said in the Introduction, the last descendant of Babur to bear the name and wear the crown of the Mughal Emperor was Bahadur Shah II, who died in exile at Rangoon in 1862—a

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 374-75.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 376.
3 *Jahankusha*, 361-62, Rajawade, vi, 167, Ali Hazin 301, Bayan, 57, and Anandram, 803, cited, *ibid.*, p. 375.
4 This took place on 9th June, 1747 at Kuchan in the N.E. corner of Khurasan. It was the outcome of Nadir Shah's deterioration into a ferocious tyrant. See Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 196-200.
5 Abdali's original home appears to have been in Multan. His grandfather had migrated to Herat about 1717 A.D.—(Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 115). He was called *Abdal* (or a man of renunciation and communion with God) by his spiritual preceptor Khwajah Abu Ahmad *Abdal* of the Chisti-order. *Duri-i-Durrani* (or 'Pearl among pearl's) was the title he had himself assumed after his success. (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 200 n.)

full century after the Third Battle of Panipat (1761)—the Empire might be considered to have been truly extinguished with the murder of Alamgir II, on 28th November, 1759. His son Ali Gauhar, was at that time away from the capital and although he proclaimed himself Emperor Shah Alam at Allahabad, he was not destined to return to Delhi except as the protege of new powers (the Marathas and the English) that were contending for the mastery of his Empire. Meanwhile a puppet was raised to the throne, at Shah Jahan III,[1] by the rebellious *wazir*, Gazi-ud-din Firuz Jang ;[2] but he never counted for a legitimate successor. This revolution was precipitated to a very large extent by the invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, which began in 1748 and ended in 1761.

Significance of Panipat

One writer has said, "The Mogul rule began and ended on the field of Panipat."[3] The implications of this statement must be made clear. In the first battle of Panipat Ibrahim Lodi, the Afghan ruler of Delhi, was overthrown, and Babur laid the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India. In the second battle of Panipat, Akbar overthrew Hemu, the Hindu general of an Afghan King, who had set himself up as a new Vikramaditya at Delhi ; but the real overthrow was not of Hindu power but of the Afghans. Throughout Mughal history the fallen and dispossessed Afghans were trying to regain their lost dominion in India ; but they could never regain the capital, Delhi, the real political centre of gravity. Now, after a little over two centuries (1556-1761), it might appear that, Mughal power in India was really and finally extinguished even at Delhi as the result of an *Afghan* triumph on the gory field of Panipat. But it is not to be forgotten that the third battle of Panipat was *not* fought between the Mughal ruler of Delhi and the Afghan invader, but between the *Marathas* and Abdali. The crushing defeat was, therefore, a disaster for the *Marathas* and *not* for the Emperor : if anything it was a triumph also for the Mughal Empire, because both Abdali, Shuja-ud-daula and the Rohillas, were to all appearances the champions of the Mughal (Muslim ?) Empire against the immediate chances of founding a Maratha (Hindu) Empire at Delhi. After his victory of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali retired from Hindustan recognising Shah Alam as the Emperor of Delhi.' But here we are only dealing with *names* and not *realities*. The reality was that, as stated above, there was no Emperor at Delhi after the murder of Alamgir II in November, 1759. This was the work of the rebellious *wazir*, Ghazi-ud-din Firoz Jang, in alliance with the Marathas. As a result, Abdali occupied Delhi by way of challenge to the revolutionaries. The attempt of the Marathas to oust the Afghan from Delhi and the Punjab ended in a catastrophe, *to themselves* and *not to the Mughal Empire* : *the latter had already ceased to exist in 1759*. What Panipat decided was that *the Marathas were not to rule India*.[4] Abdali's sudden withdrawal and recogni-

1 *The Cambridge Shorter History of India* (1934), p. 475. A grandson of Kam Bakhsh, the youngest son of Aurangzeb. The *Ibrat-nama* calls him Shah Jahan II.—E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 243.

2 The wazir also declared Shah Alam a rebel. See Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 166.

3 Kamdar and Shah, *A History of the Mogul Rule in India*, p. 266.

4 Mr. Sardesai has argued with some reason that the Panipat disaster "did not materially affect the Maratha fortunes," and that the Marathas "made good their fortunes" ten years later when the next Peshwa and his spirited generals including Mahadaji Sindhia brought the legitimate Emperor to Delhi and installed him on his hereditary throne under Maratha protection, thus fulfilling *to the letter* the sacred undertaking of 1752, and *indirectly* also the grand ideal of Hindu-Pad-Padshahi for which the Peshwas had been striving from the beginning of their regime." But even he admits that at Panipat "the field was made clear for the third power, viz., the English. This

tion of Shah Alam showed that his purpose in invading India was *not to re-establish Afghan rule at Delhi.*[1] The battle of Plassey in 1757 and Buxar in 1764 also indicated that *not even a subahdar* or the *wazir of the Mughal Empire was to succeed to his heritage of power.* Destiny had prepared an alien race for this important role. How this happened will become clear from what follows.

Five Durrani Expeditions

Ahmad Shah Durrani, like Babur, led altogether five expeditions into Hindustan, the fifth ending with a victory on the field of Panipat ; but the difference between the two was that the former, unlike the latter, did not follow up his triumph. The situation in India was somewhat similar on the two occasions : in 1526, the Empire of Delhi had shrunk to a kingdom, as in 1761 ; it was moreover very much distracted and weakened by internal squabbles and external dangers from its own nominal vassals ; a Hindu power, in both instances, was threatening to eclipse the Delhi suzerain (the Rajput confederacy under Rana Sanga in the case of the Lodis, and the Maratha confederacy under the Peshwa in the case of the Mughals the latter being by far the more formidable) ; the foreigner, under similar circumstances, was invited as an ally to support internal contentions ; but, as ill-luck would have it, the foreigner came to dominate over everything and everybody.

The difference were : Babur came to stay, Abdali was content with a military triumph and the booty it brought him ; Babur fought against the ruler of Delhi, Abdali against the Marathas, the virtual enemies and doubtful allies of the Emperor ; Babur had been invited by Rana Sanga (among others) the leader of the Hindu confederacy, Abdali's principal adversary was the Maratha who—far from co-operating with the parties inviting him—took the main responsibility of fighting the enemies of the country.

First Expedition, 1748

We have no room for all details of the expeditions, but shall record here only such facts as reveal the situation in India. It will be remembered that the Punjab, west of the Indus, had been annexed to Nadir Shah's dominion with a further claim on the revenues of a part of Eastern Punjab as well. Abdali started to reassert these rights, and rallying all the Afghans conquered Peshawar and marched on Lahore. Hayatullah, one of the sons of the great Zakariya Khan, now his successor (or really usurper of the *subah*) had been one of the first to invite Abdali to India to support his usurpation of his elder brother Yahiya's deputy-governorship.[2] But when the invader actually

is amply corroborated by the easy manner in which only four years after Panipat, Clive obtained the Diwani of Bengal, i.e., practically the mastery of that rich province and consequently of India. Bengal had then been subjugated by the Bhonsla of Nagpur and *had the Peshwa been victorious at Panipat, one feels certain that neither the Bhonsla nor the Peshwa would have allowed Bengal to slip out of their hands so easily,* leaving the situation for Clive to manage as best as he could under the prevailing circumstances." (Italics mine.)—*The Modern Review*, September, 1933, pp. 273-74.

1 Kashiraj Pandit attributes the retreat of Ahmad Shah Abdali to the mutiny of his soldiers, as it had happened before with Alexander. Otherwise, he indicates, "He wished to seize on the Empire of Hindostan." But it is difficult to accept this statement in the light of Babur's resolute action under exactly similar conditions. If Abdali was really determined he could have overcome the opposition of his army. (See Rawlinson, *Panipat*, pp. 50-25.

2 For a detailed account of these squabbles over the *subadari* of the Punjab, after Zakariya's death, see Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 191-96. "The civil war between Yahiya and Hayatullah rent the government of the Punjab into two, and made that province too weak to resist a foreign invader." "All these circumstances conspired 'to destroy the peace and prosperity which the just rule of Zakariya

came, blazing his path with fire and loot, Hayat-ullah appeared to have felt the enormity of his blunder, and attempted resistance when it was too late. Under the circumstances he had to bow

Low before the blast,
And let the legions thunder past.

"The capture of Lahore more than doubled the strength of Ahmad. Not only did he gain immense wealth in the form of the city's ransom (Rs. 22 *lakhs* immediately paid) and the property of the governor and his family, but he was thus enabled to equip himself with all the imperial artillery and military stores in the fort, of which he had brought none from Peshawar. Further, he seized all the horses and camels that he could find in and near Lahore, mounted his Afghan footmen on the horses and his swivel-guns on the camels, and in this way added five or six thousand hardy men to his mobile division, with a good number of rapidly portable light artillery."[1]

At such a moment of grave crisis the Mughal Emperor and his Court did not seem to have recovered from the paralytic stroke of Nadir Shah's invasion. As the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah* records : 'The condition of the country after the departure of Nadir Shah was worse than before.' The chronicler's description of the situation is well worthy of reproduction :

> 'Instead of being impressed with the importance of attending to the affairs of his kingdom, and turning his earnest attention as became an Emperor towards the management of the country, Muhammad Shah from the commencement of his reign, displayed the greatest carelessness in his government, spending all his time in sport and play. This neglect on the part of the Sovereign was speedily taken advantage of by all the *amirs* and nobles, who usurped possession of *subahs* and *parganas*, and appropriated to themselves the revenues of those provinces, which in former days were paid into the Royal treasury, and mounted to several *krores* of Rupees. *From these provinces not one farthing found its way into the Royal chest* ; but a small revenue was still derived from those few *khalisa parganas* which yet remained faithful to their allegiance. *As the Royal treasury became gradually emptied, the Emperor's army was reduced to great straits, and at last entirely broken up* ; whilst the nobles of the land, who in the time of former sovereigns could never have got together such an amount of wealth, or so large a force, now amassed large sums of money from their own *jagirs*, and from those Government lands of which they had seized possession, and from the *jagirs* of others, a twentieth portion of which they did not give to the rightful owners. With this wealth they were able to keep up an immense army, with which the Emperor was unable to cope. Thus, the Emperor found himself more circumscribed than his nobles, upon whom he, in fact, became dependent, and was unable to depose or displace any one of them.'[2]

However, by a mere fluke of fortune, belated though the Imperial attempt was to withstand Ahmad Shah's invasion, the enemy was beaten

Khan had given to the Punjab....' Disorder broke out. Everywhere lawless men, plunderers and adventurers, who had so long kept themselves in hiding, now came out of their holes and began to desolate the realm....On one side the Rajah of Jammu rebelled, and on the other the Sikhs began to cause tumult and trouble." (Anandram, 289.) *Ibid.*

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 210-11.

2 This, in fact, is the description of the conditions obtaining on the eve of Nadir Shah's invasion ; after it, as the writer has pointed out, the situation became only worse.—E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 104-05.

at the battle of Manupur, on 11th March, 1748. The Imperial army was under the nominal command of Prince Ahmad assisted by the *wazir* Kamar-ud-din Khan and Safdar Jang, the successor of Sa'adullah Khan, Nawab of Oudh. Abdali's precipitate retreat after this accidental defeat was due to an error of judgment arising from a miscalculation of his foe's fitful strength.[1] However, this was a stroke of good fortune, which saved the Empire for the time-being. The Mughals considered discretion the better part of valour and dared not follow up the victory with a pursuit. If they had done so, Abdali would probably have thought twice before he ventured into India again. But both sides exaggerated each other's vantage !

The great loss of the victors in this battle was the death of the *wazir* Kamar-ud-din Khan. Its effect upon the Emperor Muhammad Shah was like that of the death of Vishwas Rao and Sadashiv Rao Bhau upon the Peshwa Balaji, thirteen years later at the battle of Panipat : the Emperor did not survive the shock. Whatever Kamar-ud-din's failings might have been during his wazirship, the way he met his death is worthy to be immortalised. He was mortally wounded and, when he realised this, he called his son Muin-ul-Mulk from the trenches, and said, "*My son, it is all over with me. But the Emperor's work is not yet finished. Before this news spreads, do you quickly ride out and deliver the assault.*" It was a very critical moment in the flux of the battle. The son rose equal to the situation. He suppressed his filial tears, buried his father hurriedly in his blood-stained clothes, and cried to his captains : "Advance with me or stand back from the battle as you like it, but do not take to flight during the fighting and thereby ruin our cause. I myself shall fight on till my death."[2]

Muin had earned his laurels and was rewarded with the *Subahdari* of Lahore ; Nasir Khan[3] was sent to Kabul. Prince Ahmad returned to find his father dead, and promptly ascended the throne as Emperor Ahmad Shah. In fact, the news of Muhammad Shah's death had reached the Mughal camp at Panipat, and as it had happened with Akbar after the battle of Sirhind (when, on receiving the news of Humayun's death at Agra, Bairam Khan effected his coronation on an improvised throne at Kalanaur), so now Ahmad's impromptu coronation was effected by Safdar Jang, a Persian minister who aspired to play the role of a second Bairam Khan. Safdar Jang indeed became the *wazir*, tried to be his master's master, and almost suffered the fate of Bairam Khan. He was forced to retire from court politics, and died soon after, as we shall presently see.

Ahmad Shah's Reign

Muhammad Shah had come to the throne at the age of 17, in 1719. He, therefore, reigned for 28 years, and died a natural death at the age of 45. Ahmad Shah was 22 at his accession, but "the Emperor's mind inclined to the society of vulgar persons (only), and he practised evil deeds which made him a shame to the country." Under the evil direction of his depraved mother Udham Bai and her shameless paramour Javid Khan, the administration grew weak and degraded ; the pillars of the State were daily shaken ; (and) the Emperor never inquired about the realm, the soldiery, or the treasury,— the three foundations of an Empire." He buried himself, as we have seen earlier, in his *harem* for weeks together, and indulged in all kinds of puerilities and frivolities. "Never since Timur's time," laments a Delhi

1 See Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-33.
2 *Bayan*, 233 ; cited *ibid.*, pp. 223-24.
3 He was already governor of Kabul, but had been put to flight by Abdali.

historian, "had a eunuch exercised such power in the State (as did Javid); hence the Government became unsettled. The hereditary peers felt humiliated by having to make their petitions through a slave and to pay court to him before any affair of State could be transacted."[1] After a fatuous reign of six years, Emperor Ahmad Shah was dethroned by one of his officers, Imad-ul-Mulk, and imprisoned and blinded by formal order of his successor Alamgir II, who was placed on the throne in 1754. It is pathetic to note that when the fallen Emperor cried in his agony of heart and thirst for water to drink, Saifullah, the officer in charge, held up to his lips some water put in a potsherd lying in the dust : the King of kings of an hour ago was glad to drink from it ![2]

Abdali's Second and Third Invasions: 1748-52

The next two invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali took place before the palace revolution above referred to. Before his defeat and flight, according to the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, Abdali had sent 'a camel, with melons, apples, etc., and a letter to the Prince (Ahmad Shah), desiring peace, and stipulating that if the Emperor would leave him Kabul and Thatta, which Nadir Shah had given him, and all the gold which Nadir Shah had brought from Delhi, he would evacuate the country.'[3] But this overture, as we have seen, proved futile, Abdali now returned to retrieve his fortune. Mir Mannu or Muin-ul-Mulk, son of the *wazir* Kamar-ud-din Khan, who had distinguished himself in the first fight against Abdali, was then the *subahdar* of Lahore. He had proved himself a capable governor, but unfortunately he received no support from Delhi. 'Ahmad Khan's (Abdali's) forces, separating in all directions, laid waste the villages and fields on every side, till they arrived in the neighbourhood of Lahore, destroying all the country in its proximity. . . .The news of Ahmad Khan's attack speedily reached the ears of the Emperor and the *wazir*, but no one thought of sending troops to assist Muin-ul-Mulk,' says the *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* ; on the contrary, the wazir was not a little pleased to hear of his embarrassment. At last news arrived that Muin-ul-Mulk had, according to the advice and instructions of the Emperor, ceded to Ahmad Afghan the four *Mahals* of Lahore, viz., Sialkot, Imanabad, Parsarur, and Aurangabad, which had formerly belonged to the ruler of Kabul. Nasir Khan was appointed to manage the four mahals and send the yearly revenue to Kabul. Ahmad Khan, being perfectly satisfied with this arrangement, quitted the Punjab for Kabul, and Muin-ul-Mulk returned to Lahore.[4]

But Mir Mannu would not continue to yield the tribute which had been exacted from under duress. This brought the Durrani on him for a second time in 1750-51. 'Ahmad came by forced marches to Lahore, and began to devastate the country (again). . . .Mir Mannu marched back in alarm to the city, barricaded all the streets, and strengthened the interior defences. Everyday there were skirmishes, till at last the supply of provisions was closed on all sides. There was such a dearth of corn and grass that with the utmost difficulty two *sirs* of wheat-flour could be had for a Rupee, to say

1 For a full and vivid picture of the times, read Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-59.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 544.
3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 108.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 115. Muhammad Asiam's *Farhatun Nasirin* confirms the account.—*Ibid.*, p. 166.

nothing of rice. To procure for horses other forage than rushes or house-thatch was next to an impossibility. This obliged Mir Mannu and his army to take the field.'[1]

The Emperor under the direction of his IRANI *wazir* (Safdar Jang) did worse than nothing. 'The nobles and *mirzas* of Delhi hoped that Mir Mannu (who was a TURANI) might be destroyed, and after this desirable event they would take measures against Abdali (!). They would thus extirpate the thorn which the *Turanis* had planted in their side.'[2] Pursuing this suicidal policy, a rival had been appointed governor of Multan who was promised the *subhadari* of Lahore if he should succeed in getting rid of Muin-ul-Mulk. Under these circumstances even the lion-hearted Mannu could do little. He was defeated and obliged 'to kiss the threshold of the Durrani.' The honourable way in which he did this is worthy of record. Like Porus before Alexander the Great, Muin-ul-Mulk addressed the Durrani thus : "*If you are a shop-keeper sell me (for a ransom), if you are a butcher kill me, but if you are a Padisha then grant me your grace and pardon.*"

Like Alexander, also the Afghan conqueror had the magnanimity to appreciate this courageous bearing of the vanquished. He embraced Muin, called him his son (*Farzand*), and bestowed on him a *khilat* (robe of honour), and aigrette for the crest, and the very turban from his head ![3] Like Zakariya Khan before Nadir Shah, Muin-ul-Mulk pleaded mercy also for his starving people, and Ahmad Shah at his request released his Punjabi captives, and posted his provost-marshalls in the city to prevent his soldiers from robbing or maltreating the citizens. Next day a dinner was given to Abdali and his troops by the grateful Muin-ul-Mulk and the *subahs* of Lahore and Multan were ceded to the Afghans. This was further confirmed by the Emperor who in effect agreed to pay an annual tribute of 50 *lakhs* of Rupees to Durrani : Mir Mannu was reinstated in his charge, but now as a virtual of Abdali.

Marathas and the Punjab

A complication soon arose out of an agreement between the *wazir* Safdar Jang and the Marathas. The latter since the time of Baji Rao I, had become by far the most conspicuous power to reckon with in North India. Whether it was the threat of an invasion of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by the Bhonsle of Nagpur (who was a rival of the Peshwas), or a conflict between the Rohillas and the Nawab of Oudh, an internal dispute about succession in Rajputana, or again the fear of a Durrani invasion in the Punjab, it was the Peshwa and his Maratha confederates that were looked up to as saviours. Thus, the Peshwai Maharthas were called into Bengal by Ali Vardi Khan in 1743 to save his province from the Nagpuri Marathas.[4] This resulted in the annual grant, by the Emperor Muhammad Shah, to Raja Shahu, of 25 *lakhs* of Rupees as the *chauth* of Bengal and 10 *lakhs* as that of Bihar, promised in November, 1746.[5] In 1751 likewise, Safdar Jang the *wazir*, finding himself unequal to the task of suppressing the Bangash and Rohilla Afghans,[6] who had become a menace both to the

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 166.
3 *Miskin and Husaini*, cited by Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 433.
4 See Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 94 ff.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 127. Complications arising from this need not be dealt with here.
6 For a fuller account of these, see *ibid.*, pp. 41-66, 374-404, Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-12 ; 142-95.

Empire and to his own *subah* of Bihar, summoned the Marathas to his assistance. This alliance, originally effected to meet a local problem, soon ripened into what appeared to be a more formidable coalition between the Marathas and the Empire as represented by the *wazir*. The treaty embodying this was made during the third Abdali invasion of the Punjab (1751-52). Its terms were as follows :

1. The Peshwa agreed to protect the dwindling Empire from all its enemies, whether foreign invaders like Abdali or domestic rebels like the Jats, Rohillas or the Sikhs.

2. Fifty *lakhs* of Rupees were to be paid to the Peshwa for this : 30 *lakhs* for driving out Abdali and the rest for other services.

3. In addition the Peshwa was granted the *chauth* of the Punjab and Sindh including the *mahals* of Sialkot, Pasrur, Gujarat, Aurangabad, and the districts of Hisar, Sambhal, Muradabad and Badaun.

4. The Peshwa was also to be appointed Governor of Ajmer (including the *faujdari* of Narnaul) and Agra (including the *faujdari* of Mathura).

5. The above charges were to be administered strictly according to the laws of the Mughal Empire and nominally subject to the Emperor.

6. And finally, the Maratha *sardars* were to be enlisted in the ranks of the Imperial *mansabdars*.[1]

This, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar points out, practically placed the Marathas "in possession of the north-western frontier province, though under the Emperor's suzerainty, so that it would be their interest to resist Abdali, and the Emperor would be relieved of the task of defending it. . . . Safdar Jang even talked of reconquering Kabul with Maratha help." Although the scheme did not materialise immediately, it sufficiently indicated the importance of the Marathas and foisted their gaze upon the province of their doom.

The obstacle in the way of their realisation was the existence of a party at Court opposed to the Irani *wazir* Safdar Jang, during whose absence from Delhi, was precipitated the agreement with Abdali already referred to above. By this the Punjab had already been yielded up to the Durrani (1751-52). Under these circumstances, Safdar Jang's inability to fulfil his agreement with the Marathas brought matters to a head at Delhi. The eunuch Javid Khan the dictator at Court was naturally held responsible by the *wazir*. Failing all other remedies, Safdar Jang determined upon and effected his murder on 27th August, 1752.[2] This political assassination and the domination of the *wazir* over the Emperor and his Court only made the position worse for Safdar Jang ; it increased the number of his enemies. To strengthen himself, Safdar Jang quartered his Maratha allies round about Delhi, and the two together established a tyranny that became increasingly intolerable to all. "The Emperor (Ahmad Shah) keenly resented being reduced to the condition of a captive cut off from free intercourse with society by Safdar Jang's partisans. Such high-handedness on the part of the prime minister could have been borne if his administration had been a success, the revenue secured, and

1 Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-01 ; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 360-62. The latter points out, "This was an anticipation of the policy which Wellesley adopted when he made the English hold the ceded districts along the west border of Oudh, so as to face Sindhia's dominions and bar the path of Maratha advance into the Company's territory."

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 364-74.

the enemy kept out. But a dictator under whom the capital was insulted by a permanent camp of Marathas at its gates, the provinces passed out of the Central Government's control, and the royal household officials and troops all starved, was sure to provoke a universal revolt against his unwholesome domination."[1]

From the close of 1752 there was persistent reports of a fresh Durrani incursion. On 5th February, 1753, an envoy from Ahmad Shah Abdali actually presented himself at the Court of the Mughal Emperor demanding the 50 *lakhs* promised to him in 1751-52. The baffled Emperor consulted his courtiers who only taunted. "The Marathas have undertaken to fight Abdali. You have given them the two provinces of Agra and Ajmer, and the *chauth* of all the 24 *subahs*. You have paid them money and placed all authority in their hands. Ask *them* what should be done now."

This precipitated a crisis at Court. The party in opposition to Safdar Jang cried for his dismissal. A civil war ensued, in the course of which the jats as the allies of the *wazir* plundered Old Delhi : 'lakhs and lakhs were looted, the houses were demolished, and all the suburbs and Churania and Wakilpura were rendered totally lampless.'[2] The capital and its suburbs, when the Afghan was knocking at their gates, were turned into a Field of Mars, not for fighting against the external enemy, but on account of the internal quarrels between the Emperor and his insubordinate officers. At last peace was restored through the mediation of Madho Singh the Rajah of Jaipur, to whom the helpless Emperor appealed in the hour of distress. The mediator was rewarded with the restoration of Ranthambhor which the Rajput had begged for in vain from Muhammad Shah. Safdar Jang, dismissed from his office as *wazir,* retired to his *subah* of Oudh where he died on 5th October, 1754.[3]

"This final withdrawal of Safdar Jang from the capital," observes Sarkar, "completed the process by which the ablest and most experienced of the elder peers, who could possibly have reformed the administration if properly supported by the Emperor, gave up the task in despair and retired to some distant province where they could at least achieve something really great and good, though in a smaller sphere. The practical independence of these provincial governors and their scornful unconcern with the affairs of Delhi, in Bengal, Oudh, and the Deccan, coupled with the Maratha seizure of Gujarat and Malva, and the Afghan annexation of the Punjab, contracted the Empire of India into a small area round Delhi and a few districts of modern U. P., where small men only fought and intrigued for small personal ends."[4]

Imad-ul-Mulk's Domination

The retirement of Safdar Jang, however, brought no peace either to the Emperor or to his capital. The parties changed, but the civil strife continued. The hero of the triumph against Safdar Jang had been Imad-ul-Mulk, a grandson of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He was then the *bakhshi* or the pay-master of the Imperial troops. On the dismissal of Safdar Jang, Intizam-ud-daulah, uncle of Imad and leader of the Turani party, had become the *wazir*. Now the two, uncle and nephew, the *wazir* and the *bakhshi*, quarrelled for supremacy over the Emperor. The latter, being the more impetuous and capable, triumphed in the end over his self-

1 *Ibid.*, p. 460.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 481.
3 Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50.
4 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

indulgent rival. The Emperor had naturally sided with his *wazir*; but when his plans were foiled, the whole strife recoiled on him. Imad set aside both the Emperor and the *wazir*, and raised, as stated already, Aziz-ud-din, a son of Jahandar Shah, to the throne as Alamgir II,[1] and himself became the *wazir* and dictator.

The Marathas

In these squabbles within the Imperial arena, the Marathas had been more than mere disinterested witnesses. We have seen how their puissant arms were coveted in all places. They were not, however, wedded to any party in particular. They assisted Safdar Jang and the Emperor as it suited their ambitious policy in the North. In the civil war between Safdar Jang and the Emperor they had no hesitation in siding with the latter. In the sequel to this struggle they sided with Imad-ul-Mulk. They were clever in always backing the winning horse.[2] The revolutions at the capital, although not the fruits of their intrigues, were all carried out with their assistance. Raghunath Rao, the Peshwa's younger brother, Malhar Rao Holkar, and the Sindhias (Jayappa and Dattaji) were their great generals in the North. They exacted heavy tribute from all and sundry : from the Rajputs, the Jats, and the Mughals alike, and dominate everywhere.[3] The overthrow of Emperor Ahmad Shah was not the last word the Marathas had to say in this tumultuous situation. They continued to be the allies of the vigorous young *wazir*, Imad-ul-Mulk, the new "King-maker" of Delhi.

Reign of Alamgir II

The new Emperor Alamgir II, whose character and fate have already been described by us, was a mere figure-head. His overthrow and murder in 1759 was due to his own pusillanimity. Like his weak predecessors, he gave no unequivocal support to his 'maker' the powerful *wazir*. The latter following a vigorous policy had incurred the enmity of Najib-ud-daulah, the new Rohillah leader, as well as the hereditary enemy of his house, the Nawab of Oudh, Shuja-ud-daulah who had succeeded his father Safdar Jang. In the Punjab also Ghazi-ud-din (Imad had assumed the title of his father), taking advantage of Muin-ul-Mulk's death, had appointed a capable officer named Adina Beg in order to subdue the turbulent Sikhs and to drive out the Afghans. Ghazi-ud-din, therefore, had made a promising beginning to bring the anarchical situation under control. If the Emperor had whole-heartedly supported him in this policy everything would have gone on well. But unfortunately for all concerned, he played into the hands of the *wazir's* enemies. The *wazir* in his desperation had recourse to the familiar stratagem of killing the faineant Emperor and replacing him with another puppet. This was, according to the *Ibrat-nama*, a youth named Muhi-ul-Millat, son of Muhius Sunnat, son of Kam Bakhsh. He was raised to the throne as Shah Jahan II.[4] But he was not recognised by anybody; for the Durrani was once again upon the scene; and the King-maker himself had to fly for his life. The murdered Emperor's son, Ali Gauhar was then a fugitive in Bihar. His succession was sponsored by Najib-ud-daulah, Shuja-ud-daulah and Abdali; yet, he could not return to his capital except under the 'protection' of the Marathas in 1772. We repeat therefore, although the 'Emperor' continued for another century, the

1 The new Emperor was 55 years of age at his accession.
2 The Peshwa's letter to Dattaji and Jankoji Sindhia, dated 21st March, 1759, is an illustration in point. The Peshwa directs them to raise to the *wazir*-ship whosoever might pay 50 *lacs* in addition to other territorial promises. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, p, 232.
3 *Ibid.*, pp 514-22.
4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 243.

Mughal Empire ceased to exist with the political 'vacuum'[1] created at Delhi in 1759, and the occupation and destruction of the capital by the rival forces of the Durranis and the Marathas in 1760. With the subsequent slaughter of the Marathas on the fateful and fatal field of Panipat in the early months of 1761 the Empire had nothing to do ; for the very simple reason that it had already ceased to be.

Iram indeed is gone with all his Rose,
And Jamshyd's Seven-ringed Cup, where no one knows ;
.....
One Moment in Annihilation's waste,
One Moment in the Well of Life to taste—
The Stars are setting and the Caravan
Starts for the Dawn of Nothing—Oh, make haste !

VI. Panipat and after

We cannot close this denouement of the Imperial drama, however, without depicting the tragic circumstances surrounding the chief actors when the curtain dropped for the last time. The main facts of the situation were that the friends of the Empire had turned its enemies and its enemies friends : Abdali and the Marathas had interchanged their places in relation to the Emperor ; similarly the *wazir* and the Rohillas. This 'reversal of alliances' (1757-59) is not less interesting than 'the diplomatic revolution' (1748-56) in the European history of about the same period. Like France and England changing sides in respect of Austria, we find that Abdali and the Marathas exchange places in respect of the Emperor. In the case of the latter, however, the turn of the tide was brought about, not so much by diplomacy, but by sheer force of events. These must be clearly traced in order to view the third battle of Panipat in its proper perspective from the point of view of the Mughal Empire.

Fourth Invasion of Abdali, 1757

The history of the first three invasions of Abdali has made it plain that the invader was considered an enemy of the Empire. The efforts made by the Emperor and his *wazir* to win the support of the Marathas also made it clear that the latter were considered the best friends and defenders of the Empire. The Emperor Alamgir owed his position to the *wazir* Imad-ul-Mulk Ghazi-ud-din Firoz Jang and his Maratha allies. This relationship continued from the accession of Alamgir II in 1754 to the fourth invasion of the Durrani in the year of the battle of Plassey (1757). The years following, up to the battle of Panipat (1761), were momentous years in the history of India. Dr. V. A. Smith has pointed out how "during the short space of time which intervened between June 1756, and the tragedy of Panipat in January 1761, a marvellous change was wrought in the English position both in Bengal and in the peninsula. The conflicts in the south between the English and the French, in which each side was supported by Indian allies, began in 1746 with loss of

1 This phrase is to be understood to mean the compulsory absence of the Emperor from the throne of his ancestors at Delhi. Shah Alam's heir was no doubt all the time at the capital and Najib-ud-daula was acting in his name. But the fact that the Emperor himself *could not* return to his capital was significant of his impotency. As Sarkar has put it : "From 10th Oct., 1760, when Sadashiv Rao Bhau deposed the wazir's puppet Shah Jahan II and proclaimed Shah Alam II as Emperor in Delhi, to the 6th of January, 1772, when Shah Alam rode into the capital of his fathers for the first time as sovereign, *the imperial city was widowed of her lord.*"—Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 373 ; *cf. Ibid.*, p. 525.

Madras and ended on January 6, 1761, a week before the battle of Panipat, with the conditional surrender to British arms of Pondicherry, the chief French settlement. The events in Bengal were still more startling and fateful. The traders who fled in terror to Fulta in June, 1756, were the masters of a rich kingdom exactly twelve months later."[1]

It is hazardous to assert what might have happened to the destiny of India had the reverse happened to the field of Panipat. But the fact that India did not present a united front to the Durrani needs to be well borne in mind. Although in his earlier raids Abdali had been encouraged by invitations from rebellious Indian *amirs*, the disunity of India was not pressed to a fatal point until during the 4th and the 5th invasions of Abdali. These two last raids of Ahmad Shah took place during the fateful period 1757-59, and under the following circumstances.

Emperor and Wazir fall out

The zealous efforts of the *wazir* Ghazi-ud-din to bring matters under his control have already been referred to. 'Imad-ul-Mulk, after arranging the revenue and other matters,' says the *Ibrat-nama*, 'set about the reformation of the cavalry and the *sin dagh system*,[2] which had fallen into a very corrupt state. He removed the Emperor from Shah-Jahanabad to Panipat, and then taking away from the officials of the cavalry the lands which they held round the capital, he appointed his own officers to manage them. The chiefs of the cavalry, *being encouraged by the Emperor and some of his councillors*, were clamorous against the *wazir*, and sent their *vakils* to him to demand their pay.' These demands were followed up by soldiers who 'went to the pavilion of the *wazir*, and, collecting there in a mob, raised a great tumult. The *wazir* heard this, and, proud of his rank and power, came fearlessly out to quell the disturbance. The rioters seized him, and began to abuse him in terms unmentionable. Numbers gathered together from every side, and the mob increased. They tore off his (*wazir's*) clothes, and in the struggle his turban even fell from his head. Then they dragged him through the streets of Panipat to their camp . . . . Meanwhile a message was brought from the Emperor (Alamgir II) to the officers offering to make himself responsible for their pay *if they would deliver over the wazir to him as a prisoner*, and telling them that if he escaped from their hands, they would have hard work to get their pay from him . . . . Imad-ul-Mulk was much hurt and troubled by the part the Emperor had taken. In a few days they returned to Delhi, and he, leaving the Emperor under the watch of his confidants, proceeded to Lahore.'

Abdali's fourth visit

At Lahore, with the help of Adina Beg, an adventurer, he took possession of the *subahdar* Muin-ul-Mulk's family and belongings and 'gave the province to Lahore to Adina Beg Khan for a tribute of thirty *lacs* of Rupees. . . .' The widow (of Muin-ul-Mulk), hurt by the treatment she had received, let loose her, tongue, and in a loud voice reviled and abused the *wazir*. She added, "*This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Shah Jahanabad, and disgrace to the nobles and the State. Ahmad Shah Durrani will soon avenge this disgraceful act and punish you.*"[3]

Ahmad Shah, on hearing of this daring act of Imad-ul-Mulk, came hastily to Lahore. Adina Beg Khan, being unable to resist, fled towards

1 *O.H.*, p. 466.
2 This had been introduced by Safdar Jang, and was so called because horses were branded with the first letter of his name.—*Sin.*
3 *Cf.* Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, pp. 58-61 ; for the help she rendered to Abdali, see *ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

Hansi and Hissar. 'Imad-ul-Mulk was frightened. . . .When Ahmad Shah drew near to Delhi, Imad-ul-Mulk had no resource but submission . . . . With all the marks of contrition he went forth to meet the Shah, and . . . . he was confirmed in his rank and office, upon condition of paying a heavy tribute. On the 7th of *Jumad-al awwal*, 1170 A.H. (28th Jan., 1757 A.D.), he entered the fortress of Shah Jahanabad, and had an interview with the Emperor Alamgir. He remained in the city nearly a month, plundering the inhabitants, and very few people escaped being pillaged.'[1]

The *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Khan* adds other details of Abdali's 4th invasion. It says that the Shah married a daughter of the Emperor's brother to his own son Timur Shah. He also marched against Suraj Mal Jat : After causing a general massacre of the garrison, he hastened towards Mathura, and having razed that ancient sanctuary of the Hindus to the ground, made all the idolators fall a prey to his relentless sword . . . . At this time a dreadful pestilence broke out with great virulence in the Shah's army, so that he was forced to abandon his intention of chastising Suraj Mal, and unwillingly made up his mind to repair to his own kingdom.'[2]

Internal Conflicts

The attempt to collect from Oudh the amount of tribute due to Abdali brought the *wazir* into conflict with Shuja-ud-daula. The same time, 'Imad-ul-Mulk, who was very apprehensive of Najib-ud-daula (the Rohilla chief), excited Datta Sindhia and Jhanku Maharatta to hostilities against him, and promised them several *lacs* of Rupees, on condition of their expelling him from the country which he occupied. The Maratha chiefs accordingly, at the head of their southern armies, attacked Najib-ud-daula with impetuosity, and he, as long as he was able, maintained his ground against that force, which was as numerous as ants and locusts, till at last, being unable to hold out longer, he took refuge in the fort of Sakartal. The southrons laid siege to the fort, and having stopped the supplies of grain, put him to great distress. Sindhia, seeing Najib-ud-daula reduced to extremities, sent for Imad-ul-Mulk from Shah-Jahanabad, in order to complete the measures for chastising him.'[3] In the meanwhile, 'Imad-ul Mulk, suspicious of the Emperor, and knowing that Intizam-ud-daula Khan-khanan was his chief adviser, murdered that noble in the very act of saying his prayers.' Likewise was the Emperor also murdered, and his body thrown out of the window, 'stripped of all the clothes,' and the corpse left stark naked. 'After lying on the ground for eighteen hours, the body was taken up by order of Mahdi Ali Khan, and buried in the sepulchre of the Emperor Humayun.'[4] Immediately a new puppet (Shah Jahan III ?) was raised to the throne, and Imad marched against Sakartal. 'In the meantime,' says the *Ibrat-nama*,

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 238-41.

2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 246-65. For a full account of the atrocities and ravages committed by the Afghan invaders on this occasion, which seem to exceed even those of Nadir Shah's invasion, see Sarkar, *op. cit*, II, pp. 98 ff. The immensity of the booty carried away on this occasion may be estimated from the following account : 'Abdali's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, etc., while 200 camel-loads were taken by Muhammad Shah's widows who accompanied him, and these too belonged to him. 80,000 horse and foot followed him, each man carrying away spoils. His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their chargers. For securing transport, the Afghan King left no horse or camel in any one's house, *not even a donkey*. The guns he had brought....were left behind, because their draught-cattle had to be loaded with plunder,....In Delhi not a sword was left with anybody."—Cited *ibid.*, p. 130.

3 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 242-43. 'This tragedy,' according to this writer, 'occurred on Thursday, the 20th of *Rabi-us Sani*, 1173 A.H. (30th Nov., 1759 A.D.).

from which the above narrative has been abstracted, the report of Ahmad Shah Durrani's invasion spread among the people. Imad-ul-Mulk, in fear of his life, saw no other means of safety than in seeking the protection of Suraj Mal (Jat), and accordingly departed without delay for that chief's territory.'[1] With his flight his puppet 'Emperor' lost this only champion, and when the next year Sadashiv Rao Bhau occupied Delhi, on 9th Oct., 1760, he 'removed Shah Jahan' and 'seated the illustrious Prince, Mirza Jawan Bakht, the grandson of Alamgir II, on the throne of Delhi.'[2] But since Sadashiv Rao also died on the field of Panipat in the course of a few months, this Prince also was left without a champion. This brings us to the last scene of the last act.

Durrani's fifth invasion

We have anticipated a little in speaking of Bhau's occupation of Delhi and his subsequent fate. That was the outcome of the conflict between the Marathas and Abdali rendered inevitable by the entry of both into the Punjab. To understand this situation we have to turn to events upon Abdali's fourth invasion. In the words of the *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan*, 'The Shah, after forming a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of his late Majesty Muhammad Shah, and investing Najib-ud-daula with the title of *Amir-ul-umara* and the dignified post of *bakhshi*, set out for Lahore. As soon as he had planted his sublime standard on that spot, he conferred both the government of Lahore and Multan on his son, Timur Shah, and leaving Jahan Khan behind him, proceeded himself to Kandahar.' Although Adina Beg was placed in charge of the Doab under the new regime, he soon found himself in conflict with his new masters. On account of this Adina Beg allied himself with the Sikhs and the Marathas,[3] the latter of whom had already come to the rescue of Imad-ul-Mulk against Najib-ud-daula.

> Our chronicler continues, 'Raghunath Rao and the rest of the Maharatta chiefs set out from Delhi towards Lahore, at the solicitation of Adina Beg Khan, of whom mention has been briefly made above. After leaving the suburbs of Delhi, they arrived first at Sirhind, where they fought an action with Abdus Samad Khan, who had been installed in that place by the Abdali Shah, and took him prisoner. Turning away from thence, they pushed on to Lahore, and got ready for a conflict with Jahan Khan, who was stationed there. The latter, however, being alarmed at the paucity of his troops in comparison with the multitude of the enemy, resolved at once to seek refuge in flight. Accordingly, in the month of *Sha'ban*, 1171 A.H. (April, 1758 A.D.), he pursued the road to Kabul with the utmost speed, accompanied by Timur Shah, and made a present to the enemy of the heavy baggage and property that he had accumulated during his administration in that region. The Maharatta chieftains followed in pursuit of Timur Shah as far as the river Attock, and then retraced their steps to Lahore. *This time the Maharattas extended their sway up to Multan.* As the rainy season had commenced, they delivered over the province of Lahore to Adina Beg Khan, on his promising to pay a tributary offering of seventy-five *lacs* of Rupees ; and made up their minds to return to the Dakhin, being anxious to behold again their beloved families at home.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 243.
2 *The Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan, ibid.*, p. 278.
3 Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 70-79.

'On reaching Delhi in the course of their return, they made straight for their destination, after leaving one of their warlike chieftains, named Janku, at the head of a formidable army in the vicinity of the metropolis. It chanced that in the year 1172 A.H. (1758-59 A.D.) Adina Beg Khan passed away; whereupon Jankuji entrusted the government of the province of Lahore to a Maharatta, called Sama, whom he despatched thither. He also appointed Sadik Beg Khan, one of Adina Beg Khan's followers, to the administration of Sirhind, and gave the management of the Doab to Adinn Beg Khan's widow. Sama, after reaching Lahore applied himself to the task of government, and pushed on his troops as far as the river Attock. In the meanwhile, Imad-ul-Mulk the *wazir*, caused Shah Alamgir II to suffer martyrdom. . . .On the other side, Duttaji Sindhia, invaded Rohilla territory which made Najib-ud-dula write numerous letters to Abdali to induce him to come to Hindustan. The Shah who was vexed at heart on account of Timur Shah and Jahan Khan having been compelled to take to flight, and was brooding over plans of revenge, accounted this friendly overture a signal advantage and set himself at once in motion.'[1]

The story of struggle which ensued out of the situation so far described does not form part of the history of the Mughal Empire. As Mr. Sardesai has pointed out, "it became a point of honour with both powers (the Marathas and Abdali), the one to keep what was once conquered, the other to reclaim what was lost."[2] Only a few facts connected with this struggle are relevant to our study, and they are as follows :

1. Ahmad Shah Durrani having killed Dattaji Sindhia and put to flight Malhar Rao Holkar at last reached the capital, Delhi, and took up his quarters in the city.

2. On the return of Raghunath Rao to Poona from the North, in 1759, a more formidable army was immediately despatched by the Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, under the command of his son Vishwas Rao and cousin Sadashiv Rao Bhau to drive away the Durrani : "You must destroy the enemy finally, and hold allt he territory up to the Indus." This was the mission on which they were sent.

3. They reached Delhi on 23rd of Sept., 1760, and invested its fort which was then in charge of Yakub Ali Khan, a brother of Ahmad Shah Durrani's prime-minister Shah Wali Khan. After a strenuous siege and defence the fort fell into the hands of the Marathas. 'Bhau, entered the fort along with Viswas Rao, and took possession of the property and goods that he could find in the old repositories of the royal family. He also broke in pieces the silver ceiling of the *Diwan-i khas*, from which he extracted so much of the precious metal as to be able to coin seventeen *lacs* of Rupees of it. Narad Shankar Brahmin was then appointed by Bhau to the post of governor of the fort.'[4]

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 264-68.
2 *Letters and Despatches relating to the Battle of Panipat*, p. iii. On account of Raghunath Rao's exploits in the Punjab the nominal ownership of that province had been passed on to the Marathas, with a promise of 75 *lacs* as tribute from Adina Beg. Likewise, in return for 13 lacs, the Marathas had undertaken to keep 5,000 horse at Delhi for the protection of the Emperor.—Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 159.
3 See Rawlinson, *Panipat*, p. 63.
4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, p. 276 ; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-55, 265-67.

4. Najib-ud-daula (Rohilla), already an ally of Ahmad Shah Abdali, now tried to win over Shuja-ud-daula to his side. Najib went in person 'with a conciliatory epistle, which was as it were a treaty of friendship.'[1] Shuja-ud-daula ultimately came into the net.

5. Sadashiv Rao, 'on the 29th of the month of *Safar*, 1174 A.H. (9th October, 1760 A.D.), removed Shah Jahan, son of Muhi-us-Sunnat, son of Kam Bakhsh, son of Aurangzeb Alamgir, and having seated the illustrious Prince, Mirza Jawan Bakht, the grandson of Alamgir II, on the throne of Delhi, publicly conferred the dignity of *wazir* on Shuja-ud-daula. His object was this, that the Durrani Shah might become averse to and suspicious of the Nawab in question.'[2]

6. 'In the interim, Raja Suraj Mal Jat, who discerned the speedy downfall of the Maratha power, having moved with his troops, *in company with Imad-ul-Mulk the wazir*. . . .betook himself to Balamgarh, which is one of the forts.'[3] This is the last we hear of the Emperor of Delhi and his *wazir*. The gods declared against the Marathas in the wager of battle at Panipat, and consequently the 'Emperor' placed on the throne of Delhi by Bhau in 1760 disappeared with him. The victor, too, was not destined to rule from Delhi. He declared that he came to Hindustan "at the solicitation of his countrymen, the Rohillas, and other Musalmans, to relieve them from their fear of the Mahratta yoke.'[4]

"*Even at this distance of time, the pulses leap as we read of the Abdali reflectively pulling at his hookah as he watches the long lines of the Marathas deploying for action in the dim winter down : the Vazir, in full armour, rallying his men with the cry, 'Our country is far off, my friends ; whither do you fly ?' : the choking dust : the combatants rolling on the ground, locked in a deadly embrace ; the cries of 'Din' ! Din ! 'and 'Har, Har, Mahadev !' and lastly, the dramatic annihilation of one of the most splendid and gallant armies that ever took the field. A defeat is, under some circumstances, as honourable as a victory ; and never in all their annals, did the Maratha armies cover themselves with greater glory, than when the flower of the chivalry of the Deccan perished on the stricken field of Panipat, fighting against the enemies of their creed and country.*"[5]

Last of the Mughals

Nothing more remains to be said about the Mughal Empire excepting the fate of the last descendants of Babur and their shadowy 'power'. The genealogical table of the later Mughals down to Bahadur Shah II, has been given elsewhere in this book. A brief account may be here given of the following, representing 'Mughal Emperors' who were *virtual prisoners*,

1 *Ibid.*, Najib told Shuja-ud-daula ; "the Bhao bears a mortal hatred to all Musalmans; whenever he has the power to show this enmity neither you nor I, nor any other Musalman will escape. Though, after all the destiny of God will be fulfilled yet we ought also to exercise our own faculties to their utmost."—*Ibid.*, p. 11.
2 Sadashiv Rao tried in vain to secure at least the neutrality of Shuja-ud-daula.—*Ibid.* See Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 268-69 ; also pp. 274 ff.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 277-78.
4 Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
5 *Ibid.*, pp. xii-xiii.

at first of the Marathas and then of the British, until the very last of them, Bahadur Shah II, was formally *deposed* and deported in 1858 :

Alamgir II
(1754-59 murdered)
|
Shah Alam II
(Nominal accession 1759 ; restored to Delhi by the Marathas 1772 ; d. 1806)
|
Akbar II
(1806-37)
|
Bahadur Shah II
(1837-58 deposed and deported ; d. 1862)

The only omissions in this are the two Princes raised to the throne of Delhi respectively by the rebellious *wazir* Imad-ul-Mulk and Sadashiv Rao Bhau, during the revolution created by the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1759-60). The first of these, Shah Jahan III, was displaced by Mirza Jawan Bakht (grandson of Alamgir II). But the fact that after Panipat, in 1761, Abdali recognized Shah Alam II as Emperor eclipsed both the nominees above referred to. The latter of the two (Mirza Jawan Bakht) continued to act as his father's representative during the 12 years' exile of Shah Alam from Delhi.

After his victory Ahmad Shah Durrani came to Delhi. According to Kashiraj Pundit, "He wished to seize the Empire of Hindostan ; but God disapproved of this design." His soldiers mutinied and insisted upon immediate retreat to Kabul. So Abdali "was obliged to give up his views in Hindostan, and returned to Kabul ; having received above forty *lacs* of Rupees from Nujeib-u-Dowlah for the assistance which he had given him . . . .Providence made use of Ahmad Shah Durrani to humble the unbecoming pride and presumption of the Mahrattas."[1]

The Persian *Life of Najib-ud-daula* lately published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, gives the following account of the happenings at Delhi after Panipat :

> 'Ahmad Shah entered Delhi. Wakils of the Jat with Rajah Nagar Mal—who was an old imperial *mutasaddi* and had been *diwan of Khalsa*, enjoying honours under Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah and Alamgir II—came from the Jat forts and saw Abdali. The camp of Ahmad Shah was pitched near the city of old Delhi. Rumours arose that he would march towards the Deccan. Najib gave the advice that, if that King went to Malwa, a vast amount (of tribute) would be collected. The Jat Rajah also agreed through Najib to pay a *peshkash* and send a contingent to accompany Abdali in this march. The Marathas also knew it for certain that Ahmad Shah would go to the Deccan. But the Durranis made a great row . . . .Ahmad Shah had no help but to retreat. Najib undertook to pay the expenses of Durrani troops and also said, 'No fighting is now left to be done. If you go to Malwa, I shall bring Nizam Ali Khan to join you on the Narmada, and a spacious and rich kingdom would come into your possession.' But Ahmad Shah, out of regard for the feelings of his regiment of Khans, at once marched for

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 20-52.

Qandahar. Suja and the Indo-Afghan sardars went back to their homes.'[1]

The arrangements made at Delhi by the Durrani before his departure are worthy of note. The above narrative concludes with the statement : "At the time of marching away, Ahmad Shah, by the advice of his own *wazir*, sent the robe of the *wazir* of *India* to Imad-ul-Mulk and wrote to him to come and enter the city of Delhi, declaring him plenipotentiary on behalf of Abdali. . . .In the fort of Delhi were the mother of the Emperor Shah Alam II and (Prince) Mirza Jawan Bakht, passing their time in fear and trembling on account of Imad." The fate of Najib-ud-dula, considering the part he had played in egging on Abdali against the Marathas and his further solicitude towards Ahmad Shah after Panipat, is strange indeed. But it is not unintelligible inasmuch as, according to the same account, Shuja-ud-daula too was equally disappointed in his expectation from the Durrani, and went away from him in a huff. Evidently, Ahmad Shah considered both of them traitors to their own country and therefore unworthy of trust and patronage. This is the only explanation we can give for his appointment of Imad-ul Mulk as his plenipotentiary ; for Imad had retired from Panipat together with Suraj Mal Jat and had kept himself aloof from the struggle.[2]

The Cambridge Shorter History of India (published in June, 1934), however, states : "Ahmad Shah Abdali, before leaving India, nominated 'Ali Gauhar as Emperor of Delhi under the title of Shah Alam.' *Shuja-ud-daula* was appointed *minister*, from which circumstance he and his successors in Oudh were known to the British as nawab wazir, or 'Nabob-Vazir,' until permitted, in 1819, to assume the royal title, and Najib Khan was confirmed in the rank and appointment of Amir-ul-umara."[3]

The *Farhat-un Nazirin* also states : 'Muhammad Kuli Khan came to Allahabad, and the news of Alamgir's death reached Shah Alam in Patna on which he was much afflicted in his mind ; but ascribing the event to the wise di pensations of Providence, he sat upon the throne of sovereignty on the 5th of *Jumad-al awwal. Nawab Shuja-ud-daulu*, after a few days, came to the border of his territories, and having invited the Emperor from Azimabad, *obtained the honour of an interview, and was exalted to the hereditary office of wazir*, and afterwards accompanied him to Allahabad. *It is through the means of that great man that the name of Sahib Kiran Gurgan(Timur) still remains; otherwise, the Abdali would not have allowed any of his descendants to survive.*'[4]

But we are more concerned with the state of the Empire under this titular sovereign. The *Jami-i Jahan-numa* (written in 1779, already cited) gives us an insight ;

> 'When twenty years had elapsed of the reign of Shah Alam,. . . in every corner of the kingdom people aspired to exercise independence. Allahabad, Oudh, Etawah, Shikohabad, and the whole country

1 Sarkar, "An original account of Ahmad Shah Durrani's campaigns in India and the battle of Panipat : From the Persian life of Najib-ud-daulah, Br. Museum Persian MS. 24,410," in *Islamic Culture*, vol. VII; No. 3 (July, 1933).

2 *Cf.* Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 377-78 ; and note p. 532. Najib stole a march over Imad and established his dictatorship at the capital virtually bamboozling the Heir of Shah Alam II and the Queen-Mother. He kept himself in touch with Abdali till 1767 and consulted him about the situation in India from time to time : e.g., in 1762 it was agreed that the Durrani should call upon all Indian princes to recognise Shah Alam II, and he should receive an annual tribute of 40 *lacs* from India.—*Ibid.*, p. 489.

3 *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 478 (*Italics mine*).

4 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 172-73.

of the Afghans (Rohillas) are in the possession of the Nawab Wazir Asaf-ud-daula, and the whole country of Bengal has been subjected by the strong arm of the Firingis. The country of the Jats is under Najaf Khan, and the Dakhin is partly under Nizam Ali Khan, partly under the Mahrattas, and partly under Haidar Naik and Muhammad Ali Khan Siraj-ud-daula of Gopamau. The Sikhs hold the whole *Subah* of the Punjab, and Lahore, and Multan ; and Jain-nagar and other places and held by Zabita Khan. In this manner other *Zamindars* have established themselves here and there. All the world is waiting in anxious expectation of the appearance of Imam Mahdi, who is to come in the latter days. Shah Alam sits in the palace of Delhi, and has no thought beyond the gratification of his own pleasure, while his people are deeply sorrowful and grievously oppressed unto death."[1]

Only a few events need be mentioned here in order to indicate the helplessness and miserable condition of Shah Alam. In 1765, after the English victory over the Nawab Wazir at Buxar the previous year, the Emperor received from the English the districts of Kora and Allahabad with an agreement to pay him 26 *lakhs* of Rupees a year out of the revenues of Bengal, in return for which he issued a grant, to the English, of the *diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The Emperor thereafter lived under British protection until he chose to go over to the Marathas who, under Mahadaji Sindhia restored him to his throne and palace at Delhi in 1772. Thereupon Shah Alam forfeited Kora and Allahabad, which were given to the Nawab Wazir, and also the 26 *lakhs* promised by the English.

In 1788, the Emperor was brutally blinded and subjected to unspeakable horrors in his own palace by an Afghan ruffian named Ghulam Kadir. The *Ibrat-nama* gives harrowing details of the havoc wrought by this fiendish rogue, which only serve to illustrate that the Emperor was not now master even of his own palace and person. He was dethroned, beaten, imprisoned, blinded, robbed ; his sons were similarly manhandled and made to dance and sing before the tyrant ; the ladies of his household were outraged in the most heinous fashion imaginable ; and finally, the monster called for a painter, and said, "Paint my likeness at once, setting, knife in hand, upon the breast of Shah Alam, digging out his eyes !"[2]

When a descendant of Babur and Akbar had fallen into such low and miserable impotency, little need be said about his last two successors. Although the East India Company had refused to pay Shah Alam the 26 *lakhs* of Rupees promised to him in return for the *diwani*, they continued to respect his authority as Emperor for all formal purposes : "The seal of the governor-general purported to be that of a servant of the Mughal. The coinage was still struck in Shah Alam's name. In international discussions the English did not claim sovereignty except in Calcutta and the surrounding region, posing elsewhere as the influential adviser of the nawab who reigned, but did not rule, at Murshidabad."[3]

But the times were changing very fast indeed. "Cornwallis was the first governor-general (1786) to object to the empty formulas in which the company's government was accustomed to protest obedience in his letters to the Emperor. Wellesley, who indeed projected the establishment

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 184-85. Sarkar attributes the failure of Shah Alam largely to the moral decay of the Mughal nobility. "Nowhere could he find a single faithful friend or able lieutenant."—*op. cit.*, II, p. 527.
2 E. & D., *op. cit.*, pp. 244-54.
3 *The Cambridge Shorter History of India*, p. 683.

of British predominance in India, carried matters much further. By Lord Lake's victory at Delhi (1803, over Dault Rao Sindhia), the person of the Emperor passed into the custody of the East India Company. By the arrangements which Wellesley then made, the administration of Delhi was to be conducted in the imperial name, but the only spot in which the Imperial orders were really effective was the palace and its precincts. . . . Lord Moria, who arrived as governor-general in 1813, brought out with him a fixed determination to make an end of 'the fiction of the Mogul government'. The phrase denoting 'the imperial supremacy' was removed from his seal. No more ceremonial gifts were offered to the Emperor, Akbar II, Shah Alam's son, unless he waived all authority over the company's possessions. . . .in 1827, the Emperor consented to meet Moria's successor, Amherst, on equal terms. . . . In 1835, the coinage of Bengal ceased to be struck in the name of the dead Emperor, Shah Alam, whose titles had continued to appear on the company's Rupees till that year. Then it was resolved to induce the Imperial family to remove from the old palace at Delhi to a new residence which was to be built for it near the Kutb Minar, and at last Canning decided no longer to recognise the imperial title after the demise of the existing Emperor, Bahadur Shah. Immediately after this the Mutiny broke out. After the fall of Delhi, the Emperor was placed on his trial for complicity in the murders which had taken place at Delhi and, more doubtfully, for rebellion against the East India Company. He was declared deposed ; he passed the rest of his days as state-prisoner at Rangoon, and the British government became both in form and in substance supreme as well as sovereign in India."[1]

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 684-85. At the Round Table Conference, it was reported some scions of the old Imperial Mughal Family asked for special representation. *Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamier in illis* : the times are changed, and we with them !

CHAPTER 12

Review of the Empire : Its Achievements and Failures

"India, as she is, is a problem which can only be read by the light of Indian History. Only by a gradual and loving study of how she came to be, can we grow to understand what the country actually is, what the intention of her evolution, and what her sleeping potentiality may be." —SISTER NIVEDITA

"History is not simply information regarding the affairs of Kings who have passed away ; but it is a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples." —TARIKH-I-DAUDI

OUR study of the Mughal Empire in India has been laborious but authentic. We have, as it were, combed the pages of contemporary chronicles in order to arrive at a collocation of *facts* that should be the basis of all warrantable generalisations. For "facts are the bricks on which reason builds the edifice of knowledge."[1] But, as the author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* reminds us, 'History is not simply information regarding the affairs of Kings who have passed away ; but it is a science which expands the intellect, and furnishes the wise with examples.' Mughal history is not without its lessons, its inspirations and its warnings. An attempt will be made in this concluding survey to review the Imperial venture as a whole, with a view to assess its achievements no less than its failures. The roots of the present are imbedded in the past, and the glory as well as the mortification of so recent a past, as that we have studied through authentic and undeniable sources, should influence our destiny as a nation, for good and for evil. "History," said Goethe, "must from time to time be re-written, not because new facts have been discovered, but because new aspects come into view, because the participation in the progress of an age is led to standpoints from which the past can be regarded and judged in a novel manner." The *facts* of Mughal history have been fairly well-known ; the *new aspects* will come into view as we proceed. We shall focus our attention here upon the following points :

1 Pigou, *Memorials of Alfred Marshall*, p. 86 (Macmillan, 1925).

(i) The Mughals and the Empire ;
(ii) The Empire and the Afghans ;
(iii) The Empire and the Rajputs ;
(iv) The Empire and the Marathas ;
(v) The Empire and the Europeans ;
(vi) The Legacy of the Empire ; and
(vii) The Lessons of the Empire.

(i) The Mughals and the Empire

Although we have called our study a history of the *Mughal Empire* in India, following an established vogue, the reader will recall to mind the observation made in a note appended to the Genealogical Table of Babur, its founder, viz., that Babur was really a *Turk* descended through the main line from Timur, and Mongol (or Mughal) only in the female line from Chengiz Khan. The practice of calling Babur and his descendants *Mughal* arose from the fact that all Musalmans, coming from the North-West of India, excepting the Pathans, were so called from their earliest contact with this country. At any rate they were known to the Arabs and the Persians.[1] Any satisfactory discussion of the ethnic origins and traits of the Indian Mughals, while it should be of considerable interest and value as an independent study, is too much for us to undertake here.[2] For our purposes the following observations of Khafi Khan should suffice :

'Although from the time of Akbar the word 'Mughal' has been applied to the Turks and Tajiks of Iran (Persia) to such an extent that even the Saiyids of Iran and Khorasan were called Mughols, yet in reality the word is the proper term for those Turks who belong to the descendants and house of Mughol Khan ; and it was used in this sense in the time of the earlier (Moslem) kings of Delhi. The pedigree of the descendants of Mughol Khan reaches down to Changez Khan and the Amir Timur.'[3]

To the above remarks might be added the comments of H. G. Keene who says, "The more the matter is looked into the more likely will it appear that the distinction between Turk and Mongol is not altogether a natural distinction, but one proceeding from comparatively recent and artificial causes—causes arising out of a fusion, more or less complete, of Tajik (Aryan) and Tartar (Mongol nomad). It may be going too far to conclude that a Mongol is merely a Turk in embryo. . . .a Turk little more than a civilized and circumcised Mongol or Tartar ; but Mongol in Turkish mouths becomes 'Moghol' ; the Persians, softening still further, turn it into 'Mughul' or 'Mughal' ; and thus the words 'Mughal Empire'. . . .an evident misnomer—may have come to be applied to the government of India by Tartar conquerors, who had adopted Aryan manners and a Semitic creed (assimilating themselves in both respects to their Osmanli kindred in Eastern Europe), and who had kept little or nothing of the old wild Mughal, or Mongol, either in features or character."[4]

1 See *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.).
2 For further light on this subject the reader is referred to Erskine's Introduction to his *Babur and Humayun*, his Introduction to the *Memoirs of Babur*, and Keene's *The Turks in India*.
3 Cited by Keene, *op. cit.*, p. 24, who also adds : "The writer also notices that the second vowel ought to be written and pronounced long, as indeed it is written in Taimur's Memoirs. So that, of all spellings, Mogul, Mongol, Mughal and Mughol or Mughol, it is the last only that is quite correct. The poet Khusru, too (Arc. 1300) makes the word rhyme with Arabic words of the conjugation faul."
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

Chengiz Khan and Timur

Chengiz Khan and Timur, especially the latter, were names to conjure with among the Indian Mughals who retained some of their fundamental traits for generations. Hence a few observations about each one of these great conquerors would not be out of place. Both of them were noted for their great and untiring energy and ferocity. The Mughal Emperors of India, excepting perhaps their last decadent representatives, retained both these characteristics of their remote ancestors, though, owing to other influences, most of them drew a veil of humanity over their primitive ferociousness.

An examination of the *Yassa* or the Code of Chengiz Khan reveals the fact that the humaner instincts of the Indian Mughals were not altogether wanting in their Mongol forefathers. As Mr. Harold Lamb has pointed out, "A psychologist might say that the *Yassa* aimed at three things—obedience to Genghis Khan, binding together of the nomad clans, and the merciless punishment of wrong-doing." "Himself a man of violent rages, Genghis Khan denied his people their most cherished indulgence, violence." "Regarding strong drink, a Mongol failing, he said : 'A man who is drunk is like one struck on the head ; his wisdom and skill avail him not at all. Get drunk only three times a month. It would be better not to get drunk at all. But who can abstain at all ?' " "The Mongols were both tolerant and rapacious, . . .He (Chengiz Khan) instilled into his victorious Mongols three ideas that persisted for generations—that they must not destroy peoples who submitted voluntarily, that they must never cease from war with those who resisted, and that they must tolerate all religions in equal measure."[1]

As a leader of men, "Genghis Khan had the gift of eloquence to stir deep-seated emotions in them. And he never doubted his ability to lead them." The Mongols had the instinct for organized warfare. As the writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (14th ed.) has observed, "The Mongol force was a machine which worked like clock-work, and this very mobility made it irresistible to troops far more strongly armed and numerous." This was largely the achievement of Chengiz Khan. Under him, Mr. Lamb points out, "The horde itself was no haphazard gathering of clans. Like the Roman legion it had its permanent organization, its units of ten to ten thousand the *tuman* that formed a division, needless to say of cavalry. . . The *Yassa* ruled it, the lash of inexorable authority held it together. Genghis Khan had under his hand a new force in warfare, disciplined mass of heavy cavalry capable of swift movement in all kinds of country. Before his time the ancient Persians and Parthians had perhaps as numerous bodies of cavalry, yet they lacked the Mongols' destructive skill with the bow and savage courage."[2] To this the Indian Mughals added the Turkish accomplishment of the more destructive artillery which Babur introduced into India for the first time.

For almost everyone of the observations made above, the reader will recall scores of illustrations from Mughal history in India : The tireless energy of Babur, Akbar, and Aurangzeb ; their control and discipline of their armies through the influence of personality, eloquence and punishment ; their restraint over soldier and subject in the matter of drink and violence, despite their own personal weakness for both ; the religious toleration of most of the descendants of Babur ; and the *mansabdari*

1 *Genghis Khan*, pp. 74-75, 128 n. (Key-note Library, London, 1934.)
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

organization of Akbar based upon cavalry units of ten to ten thousand and above, etc.

Timur appears to have imparted to the Mughals most of their unamiable traits ; the fanaticism, cruelty, greed for wealth and lust of mere conquest that we find in some of the Mughals is traceable to this source. "My object in the invasion of Hindustan," said Timur, "is to lead an expedition against the infidels, that, according to the law of Muhammad, we may convert to the true faith the people of that country, and purify the land itself from the filth of infidelity and polytheism ; and that we may overthrow their temples and idols and become *Ghazis* and *Mujahids* before God." His achievements in India may be summed up in his own words : "The sword of Islam was washed in the blood of the infidels, and all the goods and effects, the treasure and the grain which for many a long year had been stored in the fort, became the spoil of my soldiers. They set fire to the houses and reduced them to ashes and they razed the buildings and the fort to she ground." His orders were so strict that, according to the *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri* Maulana Nasir-ud-din Omar, who had never killed a sparrow in his life, was obliged to kill fifteen idolatrous Hindus. But with the instinct for savagery that Timur displayed in erecting pyramids of skulls of people destroyed there was also mingled a genius for buildings. This made him spare the artisans, builders, and other craftsmen, even in India, and carry them away like Mahmud of Ghazni to his own homelands. "Several thousands craftsmen and mechanics were brought out of the city, and under the command of Timur, some were divided among the princes, *Amirs* and *Aghas* who had assisted in the conquest, and some were reserved for those who were maintaining the royal authority in other parts. Timur had formed the design of building a *Masjid-i Jami* in Samarqand, his capital, and he now gave orders that all the stone-masons should be reserved for that pious work."[1]

The Indian Mughals

The Indian Mughals, therefore, it will not be wrong to conclude, were the fulfilment of the best and the worst instincts of their forebears. By a prophetic instinct also the followers of Timur as well as Babur had felt that settlement in India would mean deterioration of their character as warriors and conquerors. Their worst fears were fulfilled, though gradually and imperceptibly, in the course of over two centuries. This may not be attributed entirely to the enervating influence of the Indian climate : the Indian part of the modern army has proved its efficiency under all tests. The deterioration of the Mughals must, therefore, be attributed to other causes. But before we proceed to analyse these, we might refer to another dubious factor, viz., the racial intermixture of Mughal with Hindustani and Persian blood. The reader will remember that mothers of most of the Mughal princes, Jahangir onwards, belonged to one or other of these two races. But neither the Persians nor the Rajputs or other Hindustanis who supplied the stalks on which the Indian Mughals were bred were wanting in martial qualities or traditions. There is no reason why any intermixture of them should have proved destructive to those qualities. On the contrary there is ample evidence to believe that, with rare exception among the later Mughals, all the descendants of Babur kept up their physical stamina and courage remarkably well, in the midst of the most adverse circumstances.[2]

1 *Mulfuzat-i-Timuri* and *Zafar-nama*, E. & D., *op. cit.*, III, pp. 394-477 ; 479-522.
2 Keene thinks that the fact of the "uncommon succession of high qualities in

There are instances, no doubt, of Mughal Princes who died of consumption and other wasting diseases ; but these exceptions were due to their own personal dissipations and not the result of the deterioration of the stalk from which they sprang.

What has been said of the Imperial house may not have been equally true of the rank and file. There must have been comparatively greater deterioration among lesser men of the ruling race. But even here it is necessary to remember that the larger part of the Imperial army, after Babur and Humayun, consisted not of the Mughals but other Musalmans and Hindustanis. There were only a few divisions of Mughals as such, in the army, though among the nobility the Mughal or Turani party continued to exercise power in the Empire for quite a long period. These nobles were undoubtedly demoralized on account of a variety of circumstances, but their deterioration need not necessarily have proved fatal to the Mughal Empire.

Causes of Downfall

If the complex disease with which the Imperial structure was stricken in its later days is to be indicated by two of its most outstanding symptoms, we might say that its prostration was brought about by LUXURY and INTESTINAL FEUDS :

'Where wealth accumulates men decay ;
And disloyalty on the Empire did prey.'

The decadence of the Emperors and the nobility under the deadly effects of these two poisons may be illustrated by a few examples. Jahandar Shah and Ahmad Shah may be cited as the worst specimens of the descendants of the hardy and noble warriors Babur and Akbar. Despite the luxury and pomp of the prosperous reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the Mughal Emperors had to a large extent succeeded in maintaining their personal *vim* by means of military campaigns and hunting expeditions. Bahadur Shah I, son and successor of Aurangzeb, was noted for his craze for outdoor life. He never felt at ease under any roof. Even Farrukh-siyar was a fine specimen of the Mughal physique. Kam Bakhsh as a captive on his death-bed regretted that a descendant of Timur was captured alive. But Jahandar Shah and Ahmad were not ashamed to be caught up in the tresses of their concubines who came between them and their duties as Emperors :

'They looked on beauty
And turned away from duty.'

The former fooled himself in public with his Lal Kunwar ; the latter buried himself in his seraglio—which extended over four miles square—for weeks together without seeing the face of a male! When gold rusts what will iron do ? The *amirs* were only in a worse condition. With the exception of a few honourable exceptions like Nizam-ul-Mulk, even where they were not wanting in personal bravery they too were spoilt by luxury, personal ambition, envy of fellow-nobles, and above all by their want of loyalty either to the Empire or to the Emperor. We have seen how the strength and fortunes of the Empire varied with the strength of the Emperor's personal character. The Emperor, in fact, was the keystone of the arch ; the army and the treasury constituted the cement that held the whole structure together. The nobles were the flag-stones. The Empire indeed

born to the people", among other reasons, may be ascribed to "the habit of contracting marriages with Hindu princesses, which.... was a source of fresh blood, whereby the increase of family predisposition was checked."—*The Fall of the Moghul Empire of Hindustan*, p. 16.

fell on evil days when corruption set in all these elements. Foreign invaders like Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali, on the one hand, and internal parasites of all descriptions sucked the Imperial treasury dry ; the army lost its cohesion, discipline and loyalty, being composed more and more of mere mercenaries. "In short," as Irvine has pointed out, "excepting want of personal courage, every other fault in the list of military vices may be attributed to the degenerate Moghuls : indiscipline, want of cohesion, luxurious habits, inactivity, bad commissariat, and cumbrous equipment."[1] Or, indeed, as another writer has described, "The heroic soldiers of the early Empire, and their not less heroic wives, had given place to a vicious delicate breed of grandees. The ancestors of Aurangzeb who swooped down on India from the north were ruddy men in boots : the courtiers among whom Aurangzeb grew up were pale persons in petticoats. Babur, the founder of the Empire, had swum every river which he met with during thirty years' campaigning ; the luxurious nobles around the youthful Aurangzeb wore skirts made of innumerable folds of the finest white muslin and went to war in palanquins."[2] Riding on richly caparisoned horses with bells, chains and ornaments of precious gems and metals, they were more admirably fitted to prance in a peaceful procession than capable of long exertion in protracted warfare. Each nobleman endeavoured to vie with his master in magnificence, and even private soldiers attended to comfort in their tents, "and the line of march presented a long train of elephants, camels, carts, and oxen, mixed up with a crowd of camp-followers, women of all ranks, merchants, shop-keepers, servants, cooks and all kinds of ministers of luxury, amounting to ten times the number of the fighting men."[3]

This effeminacy of the nobility and army was rendered worse by their internal feuds and jealousies fostered by rival claimants to the throne in the Mughal ruling house itself. When Princes of the Royal blood fought among themselves casting all principles of humanity and decency to the winds, for *takht ya takhta* (crown or the coffin), the nobles were compelled to take sides and often act hypocritically and to gain only selfish personal ends. This tendency of rebellion and disloyalty is seen from the very beginning : Kamran, Hindal and Askari, under Humayun ; Mirza Muhammad and Salim, under Akbar ; Prince Khusru, under Jahangir ; Aurangzeb, Dara, Shuja and Murad under Shah Jahan ; princes Muhammad Muazzam and Akbar, under Aurangzeb ; Azam and Kam Bakhsh, under Bahadur Shah ; and so on, the tale of treason and fratricidal strife is carried on to the very end of the utter destruction of the noble house of Babur and Akbar. No wonder that 'King-makers', abortive or successful, arose under each reign : Ali Khalifa under Babur and Humayun ; Bairam Khan under Humayun and Akbar ; Man Singh under Akbar and Jahangir ; Mahabat Khan under Jahangir and Shah Jahan ; Mir Jumla under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb : Munim Khan under Bahadur Shah. These had their heyday under the later Mughals : The Saiyid Brothers, Safdar Jang and Imad-ud-Daula are all familiar to the reader. Last but not the least, the Marathas and the English should be remembered for their role, if not of 'making' kings, of 'unmaking' them. Indeed, as we have pointed out

1 Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 300.
2 "The hardy troops of Balkh had grown soft in the Capua of the Jamna, and their religious convictions had gone the way of the Deputy of Achaie....The rough breath of their highland birth-place was changed to sickly essences ;....and immortality and debauchery had followed close upon the loosening of the religious bond."—Lane-Poole, *Aurangzib*, pp. 18-19.
3 Elphinstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 659-60.

in the Introduction, when Nadir Shah invaded, he not merely despoiled the capital of its wealth, but also robbed the crown of its prestige. In other words, Nadir Shah saw the Empire already at its *nadir*. Abdali and the Marathas only flogged a dead horse and tried either to kill or prop up a creature that was already dead.

(ii) The Empire and the Afghans

Babur founded the Mughal Empire in 1526 by overthrowing the Lodies who were Afghans. In the following years, besides the Rajputs, he had to fight Afghan chiefs in Jaunpur and Bihar before he could make sure that his Empire in India would endure. Still, when he died in 1530, he had not subdued important Afghan dynasties in Hindustan like those of Bengal and Gujarat. After his death the Afghans gave his son Humayun no end of trouble. They rallied round particularly two leaders, viz., Bahadur Shah and Sher Shah. The latter, as we have seen, in the course of less than ten years, drove the son of Babur into exile. The Afghans were inspired to feel that they were in no way inferior to the Mughals ; they were made to realize that they had lost their dominion in Hindustan only on account of their clannishness and want of unity ; and finally they were organized to recover their lost hegemony. And although the death of Sher Shah made his glory a short-lived triumph and enabled Humayun to come back to his own, the real work of the Afghan adventurer endured. Akbar raised his whole administrative structure on the foundations laid by an Afghan genius. The Rajputs were assimilated into the Empire by Akbar's statesmanship, but the Afghans refused to be so absorbed. Gujarat sheltered many a rebel against the Mughal Emperor, and was not subdued until 1573, and Daud Khan in Bengal held aloft the Afghan standard until three years later (1576).

The next five years were memorable on account of the great social and religious reforms sought to be introduced by Akbar. As we have seen, matters came to a crisis in 1581 when all the reactionary elements attempted to overthrow the regime of the reforming Emperor. The afghans during this period of storm and stress must have aligned themselves with the enemies of Akbar, but the tempest subsided soon after. There was no trouble from the Afghans for the rest of the reign. But after the death of Akbar, on account of the frequent transfer of governors, they found an opportunity in the eastern province of Bengal. The rebellion of Usman during this period has already been dealt with in the proper context. On 12th March, 1612, the rebels were defeated finally and Usman, the Afghan Hereward the Wake, died of a fatal wound. "The political power of the Afghans, who had been so long hostile to the Mughal rule, was completely broken and Jahangir by his conciliatory policy turned them from foes into friends of the Empire." As the author of the *Mukzan-i-Afghana* observes : 'Nuruddin Ghazi (Jahangir) pardoning them their former trespasses, attached them to himself by the bonds of bounty ; and paid so much attention to them, that they abolished all further treasonable designs from their minds, and thought themselves bound to continue subservient and attached to him, even to the sacrifice of life.'[1] Thereafter the Afghans merged their separate and independent existence in the fabric of the Mughal Empire and seemed to reconcile themselves to the lot of many another proud community. Soon they were favoured with the loaves and fishes of the official hierarchy and were all but absorbed like the Rajputs.

1 See Sarkar and Datta, *Text-Book of Modern Indian History*, Vol. I, pp. 109-10.

The hold of the Mughals over Kabul, from 1504 (when it was first acquired by Babur) to 1738 (when it was captured by Nadir Shah) gave the Empire a vantage-ground for full 235 years. In it the Emperors possessed the key to the north-western gateway of India ; and it also proved an invaluable recruiting centre for an important section of the Imperial army. But, when it slipped away, on account of the bungling and impotency of Muhammad Shah and his successors, the life-blood of the Empire oozed away. The master of Kabul appeared to be destined to dominate over the plains of the Punjab and Hindustan. As Babur had done two centuries and a half earlier, Ahmad Shah Abdali, made use of Kabul as a stepping stone for entry into India. That he did not attempt to found another Afghan dynasty at Delhi was one of the accidents of history. He found among the Rohillas and Bangash Afghans of Hindustani loyal supporters and allies, but still he chose to reinstate a Mughal Emperor rather than uproot the usurpers of the dominion of his race. The Afghan generals (whether Bangash, Rohilla or Pathan) played an important role under the later Mughals ; and they also formed the backbone, together with some of the Turani nobles, of the orthodox *Sunni* party—opposed to the *Shias* who were mainly composed of the Hindustan Musalmans and the Iranis or Persians, It was these Afghans that, after two centuries and a half, had their full measure of vengeance against the Mughals. It was they that invited their national hero, Durr-i-durrani, to invade India once more, and under the guise of friendship really established an Afghan dictatorship at Delhi under Najib-ud-Daulah for nearly a decade after the third battle of Panipat (1761-69). But, alas, it was the revenge of the blind Sampson. The whole Philistine structure crashed over their heads no less than over others. The Marathas and the English did not allow them to enjoy this dubious satisfaction for long.

(iii) The Empire and the Rajputs

Babur's victory over Ibrahim Lodi had placed him on the throne of Delhi ; but before he could make sure of his mastery over Hindustan, he had to subdue Rana Sanga and Medini Rai, besides the fugitive Afghan chiefs scattered over North India. The strength of the Rajput resistance to the founder of the Mughal dominion is not to be minimised because of its failure. But for Babur's advent, the Rajputs had come very near recovering their hegemony over western Hindustan, at any rate, down to Gujarat and Malwa. Babur himself recognized the strength and valour of Rana Sanga and had to put forth all the skill and effort his genius could command.

Rana Sanga left no worthy successor, and Rani Karnawati of Mewar had to appeal to Humayun for assistance when Chittor was besieged by Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. Yet, Sher Shah, who succeeded in driving the Mughal out of India and refounding Afghan dominion, confessed, at the end of his arduous Rajput campaign, that, for a handful of *bajra*, he had come very near to losing his empire in Hindustan. He could defeat the Rajputs only by having recourse to the ruse of the forged letters. It is not surprising to note that he entrusted the building of New Rohtas to Raja Toder Mal[1] who appears on the stage of history for the first time in this connexion.

1 Raja Todar Mal seems to have been a *Khatri* by caste, and Raja Birbal (referred to later in this section) a *Brahman*. But both these have been included here under the *Rajputs*, because *in spirit* and *outlook*, as well as by *vocation*, they were indistinguishable from the Rajputs. Likewise, no distinctions of clans and sections of the Rajputs have been specified, the term being used in a very broad sense.

Humayun had sought refuge in vain from Raja Maldeo of Jodhpur during his flight. Nevertheless it was the Rana of Amarkot that sheltered the fugitive for a time, and Akbar seemed to carry in his blood the feelings of gratitude that his sorely tired father must have felt at that moment. Despite that ruthlessness that attended his conquest of Chitor, his policy and attitude towards the Rajputs as a whole were characterised by a broadmindedness that converted the enemy into a bulwark of the Empire. The chivalrous instincts which prompted Akbar to erect memorials to his heroic enemies, Jai Mal and Patta, could not but evoke an echo in the hearts of his more chivalrous adversaries. Rajas Bhar Mal, Bhagwan Das, Birbal, Todar Mal and Man Singh were the most loyal supporters of Akbar, who formed the pillars of his State. As the exalted position accorded to these and the dignified terms that were conceded to the Hadas of Bundi (cited earlier in this book) indicated, Akbar respected the Rajputs and the Rajputs respected him. But for the strength derived from the Rajputs, both in the civil and the military departments, the Mughals would have lost much of the glory that they achieved under Akbar and his immediate successors.

Thanks of Akbar's marriage policy, his son Jahangir was in blood half Hindu and half Muslim.[2] Jahangir in his turn, following in the footsteps of his father, left a successor, Shah Jahan, who was racially more Hindu than Muslim. It is strange, in view of this pedigree, that Shah Jahan should have initiated the swing of the liberal pendulum in the opposite direction. Akbar had wisely attempted to knit the social and political fabric of his Empire closely by means of intermarriages and abolition of all racial and religious distinctions in the matter of 'Imperial preference'. Jahangir's reign saw no 'rift in the lute' ; on the other hand, the cement was allowed to set. But in the next generation, the Muslim blood in the veins of Shah Jahan seemed to be in conflict with his Hindu blood. This made him partially to reverse his father's and grandfather's policy, as shown by his abolition of the *sijdah* and sun-worship and more positively by his destruction of the Hindu temples at Benares. This reaction, as we have seen, reached its acme of fanatical fervour in the person of Aurangzeb, the next ruler. He could console himself that no infidel fathered or mothered him ; but he took to wife a Princess who was Rajput, by birth at any rate, and through her left a successor, Bahadur Shah I, whose father alone could claim to be a Mughal. But even the fanatical Alamgir, who penalized the Hindus on account of their religion, destroyed their temples and levied from them invidious contributions like the *jaziya*, could not dispense with the services of great Rajput generals like Mirza Raja Jai Singh and Raja Jaswant Singh. Though he proved ungrateful to them in the end, much of Aurangzeb's military strength and diplomatic talent were drawn from them. Shivaji would have defied the Empire with greater non-chalance but for a Jai Singh being on its side. The greatest folly of Aurangzeb lay in alienating such great supporters. He made the vain endeavour of subjugating them by sheer brute force, and his failure indicated that the Rajput could support the Empire as well as ruin it. Prince Akbar was won over by them and they came very near to teaching Aurangzeb the lesson he most needed.

Bahadur Shah recovered much of the Rajputs by his more conciliatory policy. He practically allowed them to enjoy their liberty in their own desert homes unmolested. The effect was seen in Ajit Singh being

1 Readers will recall to their minds the union of the Lancastrians and Yorkists in England by Henry VII's marriage with Elizabeth of York.

prepared to give his daughter in marriage to Farrukh-siyar, though after the fall of that Emperor he took her back to his home. Under the Emperors that followed, there was increasing chaos both within Rajputana and the Mughal Empire. The corrupt generals of the latter could effect little in Rajputana, and the Rajputs themselves sought relief at the hands of the equally, if not more, dangerous Martahas who proved their ruin. Even under such conditions, the Emperor Ahmad Shah could get rid of a rebellious and dictatorial *wazir*, like Safdar Jang, only by invoking the aid of the Rajput Madho Singh of Jaipur. The grateful Emperor placed on the Raja's head his own jewelled turban and loaded his followers with gifts, and what was more welcome to Madho Singh, the fort of Ranthambhor was restored to the Rajputs. Had Akbar's cordial relations with the Rajputs continued, without being interrupted by Aurangzeb's fatal fanaticism, perhaps it would have gone well with both. But the Toder Mals and Jai Singhs were destined to be mere memories.

The Rajputs have been credited with more valour than wisdom. But, if they are to be judged by their contributions to the Mughal Empire, they distinguished themselves equally in both. Rana Sanga's resistance to Babur, the heroic stand of Chitor against Akbar, the unconquerable spirit of Rana Pratap, the intrepid activities of Durgadas—all showed that the Rajputs would sooner break than bend. On the other hand, the disappearance of Rana Sanga after Khanua, the retirement of Udai Singh into the Aravalis, the submission of Amar Singh to Jahangir, the acceptance of Mughal peerage by even Ajit Singh and Durgadas, in the end, equally indicated that the Rajput knew when to yield, as well as he knew when to fight. Birbal, Man Singh, Todar Mal, Jaswant Singh and Jai Singh served the Empire both by their valour and their wisdom. While eminently distinguished for their heroic resistance to the Muslims throughout their history, the Rajputs as a race revealed remarkable capacity for compromise when they yielded up their daughters to be mothers of Muslim Princes and provided the Mughals the best military acumen that India could then offer. This was no meek or abject surrender, but honourable co-operation that lent dignity to him that gave and him that took, and blessed both. The Rajput's love of independence under these conditions is perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in the Treaty of the Hadas, already referred to, and in the answer that Man Singh gave to Akbar when he was invited to accept the *Din-i-Ilahi* : "I know of Islam and respect it ; I know of Hinduism and am proud to own it ; but I know nothing of this new faith, and cannot accept it." It was this spirit of self-respecting co-operation that gave strength to the Mughal Empire during the period of its survival. It was the undermining of that spirit, by the folly of Aurangzeb, that laid the axe to the root of its existence. Even after their homes were harried by the desecrating hands of Aurangzeb and his generals the resumption of a more accommodating attitude, by Bahadur Shah I and his successor, again found in the Rajputs the spirit of responsive co-operation. The folly of losing their support, therefore, was entirely on the side of the Emperors. Who, except a politically blind and bankrupt people, would have failed to enlist the sympathy and support of a race that possessed the chivalrous qualities of the Rajputs ? Even in their degenerate days, under the later Mughals, when an Imperial army that had been sent to conquer them was dying of thirst in the deserts of Rajputana, the noble Rajputs offered their enemies water to drink, before they stood up to fight them ! Few countries can boast of such chivalry ; add to this Raja Todar Mal's '*Bandobast*' which was the sheet-anchor of the Mughal revenue system,

and we have the best contributions of the Rajputs to the Mughal Empire, not to speak of the influence of their art.

(iv) The Empire and the Marathas

The Rajputs, by their very geographical situation, were called upon to lead the Hindu opposition against Islamic dominion in Hindustan. But their chivalrous instincts and traditions, coming into contact with the tact and statesmanship of Akbar, enabled the two to effect a compromise which proved on the whole beneficial to both and to the country at large. This state of social and political equilibrium, though disturbed by Aurang/eb to a very large extent, was restored in some degree under his successors. Rajputana had become a *subah* of the Mughal Empire, its Rajas held a proud position in the hierarchy of the Mughal nobility, and the Rajputs seemed to have acquiesced in this position. Their wars under Aurang/eb and later were only defensive wars intended to preserve their isolated independence within the four corners of their desert land. Even then, when the hand was proffered them, they did not fail to co-operate with any of the Court parties, chiefly the Hindustani party. As we have seen even the proud and interpid Ajit Singh and Durgadas accepted *mansabs* under the Emperors and gave a daughter in marriage to the Mughal ; a Madho Singh came to the succour of the Emperor when his own *wazir* had rebelled against him. But the Empire's relations with the Marathas were of a very different order altogether.

The Maratha led the Hindu reaction against the Muslims both in the Deccan and in the North ; and on the whole their resistance was more determined than that of the Rajputs or any other non-Muslim community in Hindustan. The Sikhs, the Jats and the Satnamis also fought against the Mughals, but their opposition never amounted to anything more than a minority struggling to maintain its religious or political rights. None of them challenged the Imperial pretensions of the Mughals. This task was reserved for the Marathas to pursue to the end ; and although they did not succeed in establishing a lasting Maratha Empire in India (this failure being due to a variety of causes extraneous to the Mughal Empire), they yet proved the most potent external instrument that wrought the ruin of the Mughals in India. How this was achieved has been shown in the body of this work, and no purpose would be served in recounting the tale. But a few comments on the main phases of the struggle should prove useful.

The great Shivaji represented the very soul of the resurgence in Maharashtra. The history of this mighty movement and the political struggles that ensued from it are bristling with controversies. It is beyond the scope of these comments to discuss them. Likewise, it is to be remembered that the Hindu renaissance in Maharashtra, which carried the Marathas beyond their own homelands, was a complex movement, the positive sides of which it is not our purpose to describe here. A mere political movement would not have appealed to the temperamentally tame and ignorant Mawal peasants and shepherds ; nor a merely predatory instinct enabled them to sustain their dominion over the larger part of India during more than a century. We agree with Ranade that "like the Protestant Reformation in Europe in the 16th century there was a religious, social and literary revival and reformation in India, but notably in the Deccan in the 15th and 16th centuries. . . .This religious revival was also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes. At its head were saints and prophets, poets and philosophers, who sprang chiefly from the lower orders of society, tailors, carpenters, potters, gardeners, shopkeepers,

barbers, and even scavengers, more often than Brahmans."[1] It was this popoular and all-sided awakening that was at the root of the Maratha movement, however clumsy its political manifestation might have appeared at times and places. To lose sight of this factor is to miss the true import of a mighty force which determined to a large extent the fate of the Mughal Empire. If the Marathas were mere plunderers, like the pindaries, of a later period, the Mughal Emperors would have blotted them out as did the British. That even a veteran general like Aurangzeb, with all his resources in men and money, could not so stamp them out, alone should suffice to show the deep-rooted and dynamic character of the Maratha rising. "Thus," as Sir Jadunath Sarkar has well pointed out, "a remarkable community of language, creed and life was attained in Maharashtra in the 17th century even before political unity was conferred by Shivaji. What little was wanting to the solidarity of the prople was supplied by his creation of a national state, the long struggle with the invader from Delhi under his sons, and the imperial expansion of the race under the Peshwas. Thus, in the end a tribe,—or rather a collection of tribes and castes,—was fused into a *nation*, and by the end of the 18th century a Maratha people in the political and cultural senses of the term had been formed, though caste distinctions still remained."[2]

A remarkable demonstration, both of the strength of the movement and of its self-directing energy, was made during the crisis with which Maharashtra was faced at the death of Sambhaji. The magnitude of this trial was not less than that which France had to face in the early days of its conversion into a republic. Suddenly, in both countries, the King was removed (though in each case by an altogether different cause), and the people were called upon to shoulder the dual responsibilities of internal administration and external attack. That the movement did not collapse under this crisis, but rather gathered momentum and turned the tide against the enemy, was a clear proof of its essentially national character. It is surprising, therefore, in the face of this to find a writer like Sir Jadunath Sarkar declaring that "the cohesion of the peoples in the Maratha State was not organic but artificial, accidental, and therefore precarious. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the country ceased to produce supermen."[3] We are not here engaged in analysing the causes of Maratha failure in their period of decline, but rather concerned with the sources of their strength in the period of their power ; because this power contributed largely to the break up of the Mughal Empire.

The above observation with regard to the want of cohesion in the State could be more appropriately made with reference to the Empire of the Mughals. The unity of that structure was certainly not organic but artificial, because it was superimposed. It was solely dependent on the ruler's extraordinary personality and disappeared when the *dynasty* ceased to produce supermen. As regards the Marathas, for nearly two centuries, they did produce a wonderful succession of 'supermen' and 'superwomen' who with a remarkable tenacity of purpose overthrew the dominion which had excited their wrath. Hence, there was an essential contrast between the Marathas and the Mughal Empire : the former produced supermen and superwomen because there was among them a genuinely *national* movement, dynamic in its creative energy ; the latter was a fabric that was

1 *The Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 10.
2 *Shivaji*, pp. 17-18.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 485-86.

sought to be woven, no doubt by the hands of supermen, but supermen that had an exotic origin, and had to be produced by the ever-declining vitality of a single family of rulers transplanted in a new soil.

The Marathas were, no doubt, lucky in having to confront the Mughals, for the most part, in the period of their decline, unlike the Rajputs who had to face them in the period of their freshness. But a large part of their zeal was evoked by the political domination of the Sultans of the Deccan, on the one hand, and the religious fanaticism of Aurangzeb, on the other. The reaction in Maharashtra was, therefore, both political and religious ; it was as it were, the child of these two parents. Hence, in its owtward manifestation, it took the shape of a Hindu rebellion against the Islamic State. Its typical apostle was Swami Ramdas and its typical protagonist Shivaji. The advice of the former to the latter is contained in the following lines :

तीर्थ क्षेत्रें मोडिलीं । ब्राह्मण स्थानें भ्रष्ट झालीं ।
सकल पृथिवी आंदोलली । धर्म गेला ।।

(Places of pilgrimage have been destroyed ; homes of the Brahmans have been desecrated ; the whole earth is agitated ; *Dharma is gone.*)

मराठा तितका मेलवावा ।
आपुला महाराष्ट्रधर्म वाढवावा ।।

(Marathas should be mobilized ; or *Maharashtra Dharma* ought to be propagated).

बहुत लोक मेलवावे ।
एक विचारें भरावे ।
कष्टें करून घसरावें । म्लेच्छांवरी ।।

(Rally all people ; fill them with a singleness of purpose ; sparing no effort, fall upon the *Mlechhas*).

Chivalry in war towards the enemy was the distinctive virtue of the Rajput. The Maratha had little scruple in taking his adversary at a disadvantage. But the Rajput (e.g., Ajit Singh is alleged to have) retaliated Muslim fanaticism with the destruction of the mosques and the oppression of the Muslims. Shivaji's conduct in this respect was exemplary ; and his model appears to have been kept up on the whole by the Marathas. The testimony of Khafi Khan (who calls Shivaji 'hell-dog' and 'sharp son of the devil') regarding this should suffice : "He made it a rule that whenever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God, or the women of anyone. Whenever a copy of the sacred *Kuran* came into his hands, he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Musalman followers. When the women of any Hindu or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty." Likewise does he state, "Shivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans and troubling mankind ; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and anyone who disobeyed them received punishment."[1] It is not averred here that such purity and nobility of conduct were adhered to very punctiliously by the Marathas at

1 E. & D., *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 260, 305.

all times. Perhaps the extent of their adherence was the measure of their success or at any rate the justification of their conquests.

The inveterate hatred of the Marathas that had marked Aurangzeb's relations with them terminated with his death. It is hazardous to guess what turn their relations would have taken if Aurangzeb had treated Shivaji as Akbar had done with most of the Rajputs. The difference in the character of the Marathas and the Rajputs, as a people, would count for much in such a calculation. However, with the accession of Bahadur Shah I on the throne of Delhi, and of Raja Shahu in Maharashtra, we enter upon a new phase in their mutual relations : better understanding, if not friendship, takes the place of suspicion and hatred. The personal characters of both the sovereigns perhaps, had much to do with this *rapprochement* ; both were amiable monarchs and were not, evidently, obsessed with their predecessor's antagonisms. This attitude was turned to good account by the diplomatic abilities of the Peshwas, who now to a large extent determined the policy of the Marathas towards the Mughal Empire.

Bahadur Shah's concessions to Shahu were the first fruits of this change. The vantage thus gained was further confirmed and consolidated by the Marathas, in the period of confusion that followed the death of Bahadur Shah I. They now became the virtual master of, not only their home-provinces, but also of some of the districts they had conquered from the Mughal Empire. With this leverage, under the second of the Peshwas Baji Rao I, they pushed forward in all directions within the Mughal dominion. More than anything else, they realised the weakness of the Mughal Empire and, in the words of Baji Rao, decided to strike at the trunk of the tree, being convinced that its withered branches would fall off as a matter of course. We have observed how the Empire, divided against itself, could not stand against the diplomatic and military incursions of the Marathas. Far from being considered its enemies, they were soon welcomed as its saviours, little reckoning that the Mararthas were making good every opportunity to feather their own nests. The good-for-nothing Emperors as well as their corrupt and self-seeking ministers and nobles, each in his own way, unwittingly perhaps, but none the less with the certainty of Fate, furthered the cause most dear to the hearts of the Marathas. The latter became willing instruments in the game of King-making, fatal to the one and fateful to the other. This involved a dual consequence : the Marathas had to shoulder the responsibility of the defence of India against an external invader like Ahmad Shah Abdali, on the one hand, and to face the jealousy of their Muslim rivals in India, on the other. They heroically faced both, with what result need not be adjudged here. So far as the Mughal Empire was concerned, it was completely at their mercy. To mention only the last, the Emperor Alamgir II was murdered with their connivance, his stop-gap successor was placed on the throne by Sadashiv Rao Bhau, during his ephemeral dictatorship at Delhi, and finally the fugitive Shah Alam II was restored to the capital of his ancestors by Mahadaji Sindhia. Even the very last of the Mughal 'Emperors', Bahadur Shah II, was supported by the last of the Peshwas' representative, Nana Saheb, and both fell together.

(v) The Empire and the Europeans

In 1858 the last of the Mughal Emperors was condemned by the English for high treason against their Company's Government, and exiled; at the same time, the last claimant for power on behalf of the Peshwas, Nana Saheb, absconded in order to escape the wrath of the same English Government in India. Thus, the two great powers—the Mughals and

Marathas—were finally superseded in their dominion by an European government at one and the same time. But the English were not the first Europeans to enter India. The Portuguese Vasco de Gama had landed on the Malabar Coast at Calicut in 1498—three hundred and sixty years before the momentous happenings above referred to. The history of these 360 years, read from the point of view of the rise of British Dominion in India, is remarkable even in the chequered annals of this country. These years saw the rise and fulfilment of the Mughal dominion, as well as its decline and fall, together with that of the Marathas ; they also witnessed the adventures—commercial, missionary and political—of a multitude of European powers : Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, French, German and Flemish, besides the English. Neither the rivalries of these powers, fascinating in themselves, nor the causes of the ultimate triumph of the last named, form the subject of our scrutiny here.[1] But the representatives of all these nationalities, as well as others not mentioned here (like the Italian, Spanish, Greek, Armenian and Turkish), had vital contacts with the Mughal Empire in a variety of ways which are worthy of notice even in a general review such as is attempted in this brief resume.

So far as the Mughal Empire was concerned, the national distinctions between the various Europeans were of little account. With the exception of the Turk or Rumi they were all infidels, Christians or Firangian. For our purposes, therefore, it is both desirable and historically more accurate to speak of the Europeans as a whole, rather than of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, etc. However, to be fair, the nationality of each party cited must be borne in mind, though only as a subordinate factor. Perhaps, it will also be convenient to consider the relations of the Empire with the Europeans under the following heads : (1) Commercial, (2) Missionary, (3) Political, and (4) Miscellaneous.

1. Commercial

It was Europe accustomed to the luxuries of 'the gorgeous East' that, finding its customary route blocked by the Turk, sought new ways of reaching Asia. These endeavours resulted in two great discoveries, among several, which have shaped the destinies of both the East and the West since. The discovery of America by Columbus, in 1492, and of India by Vasco de Gama, in 1498, were both momentous events in the history of the world. The former, being an undeveloped continent, led to a scramble for colonies among European nations ; the latter having settled governments and an ancient commerce, naturally led to commercial rivalries. The Portuguese having been first in the field, as a matter of course, reaped the first advantages. But they were not satisfied with mere commerce ; their missionary zeal and political ambitions made their relations with the Muslim states rather complex and complicated. They had acquired a strong footing on the West Coast with their conquest of Goa, in 1510, and their relations were at first confined to their neighbouring kingdoms of Gujarat, Bijapur, Vijayanagar, etc. Akbar was the first of the Mughal Emperors to come into direct contact with them. Their relations with them have already been traced in some detail earlier in this book. From a commercial point of view, these relations were on the whole very friendly, resulting in advantages to both parties. The Mughals, being essentially a land-power, had no navy to speak of ; hence, they were obliged to be friendly towards the Portuguese and other Europeans who could easily disturb their pilgrim and other

1 For this purpose the Reader is referred to Major B. D. Basu's *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, and Thompson and Garrett's *Rise and Fulfilment of British Dominion in India*, as also *The Cambridge History of India*

traffic on the West Coast. Despite this consideration, however, under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb particularly, the harmony between the Empire and the Portuguese was broken by the close association of the latter with piracy, both in the Arabian Sea and in the Bay of Bengal. This constitutes a dark chapter in the history of European doings in the East which involved the Dutch and the English as well. Not satisfied with the legitimate profits of commerce they ventured into the shady regions of privateering, evaded the customs and other duties of the Empire and thereby brought down upon themselves the might of the local or central authorities. Otherwise, the Europeans of all nationalities participated in the rich trade of the Empire through their 'factories' scattered throughout the Mughal dominions and outside, along the coasts as well as inland.

A few glimpses of this have been given in the body of this work, such as the account from Bernier. Tavernier, Manucci and other contemporary European sojourners in India also throw ample light upon the European commerce of this period, as well as the rivalries, mutual recriminations and jealousies of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the English, in their scramble for the patronage of the Great Mughal. From the Dutch records we have cited a passage indicating the protection that even the fanatical Aurangzeb afforded the European factories after Shivaji's sack of Surat. Sir Thomas Roe and the host of English ambassadors visited the Emperors only to secure such patronage. In short, the history of the English in India is the story of the transformation of a company of traders into the rulers of this paradise of commerce ; that story also involving the discomfiture of both their European rivals and the Indian rulers, including the Mughal Emperors.

2. Missionary

One of the secrets of the success of the English was their non-interference in religious matters. In this they were guided both by the traditions of their own country and the warning of the Portuguese example. In tracing the history of the Jesuit missions to the Court of Akbar, we noticed how the Portuguese and their instruments, the Jesuit missionaries, tried to serve the interests of both this world and the next ; in other words, they aimed at the establishment in India of a firm and lasting Christian dominion. The attempt to convert the Mughal Emperor, as a thin end of the missionary wedge, failed after Akbar and Jahangir. Under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb set in a Muslim reaction. But, from a religious point of view, the Christians as such did not suffer even under the bigoted Alamgir. The treaty between this Defender of the Muslim Faith and the Portuguese is, therefore, of peculiar interest. The extent of patronage shown to the missionaries under other Emperors of the house of Babur was extraordinary ; it looks even excessive and obsequious when we remember the times in which they lived. They were the honoured guests of the Emperors ; they enjoyed privileges which were the envy of the Mughal nobility ; Christian effigies and symbols were received within the Imperial palaces ; Princes of the Imperial house were allowed to be baptised, and churches to be built at Agra, Lahore and other Imperial cities ; preaching and proselytising were freely permitted ; and the Gospels were translated into persian under Imperial auspices. Jesuit fathers like Manrique and Xavier were even appointed tutors to the Princes ; and the careers of Mirza Zu'lqarnain[1] and Donna Juliana[2] indicate the extent of Christian influence under the later Mughals. Even instances of the reconversion of Christian fugitives,

1 Maclagan, *op. cit* , 170-77.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 181-87.

after their conversion to Islam, are not wanting. The 'persecutions' under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb have been demonstrated to be not religious but provoked by the political intransigence of the Portuguese.

3. Political

The political proclivities of the Portuguese have already been alluded to. Though less decided, the other Europeans were not lacking in political ambition. The exertions of Dupleix to found a French Empire in India are well known. Sir Thomas Roe had warned the East India Company against diverting their energies into wasteful and precarious channels such as the Portuguese had done. But, as we have noticed, there were other Englishmen like Sir Josiah Childe who believed in the possibilities of establishing a lasting English dominion in India. Though the attempts of that generation failed, for the time being, the ultimate achivements of the British have demonstrated the essential soundness of that dream. We have not the space to deal with all the political escapades of the English and their European fore-runners in this direction ; but the trend of European ambitions in India, especially during the declining days of the Mughal Empire, is indicated by the following passage from Bolt's *Considerations of the Affairs of Bengal*[1] :

"The Mughal Empire is overflowing with gold and silver. She has always been feeble and defenceless. It is a miracle that no European Prince with a maritime power has ever attempted the conquest of Bengal. By a single stroke infinite wealth might be acquired, which would counterbalance the mines of Brazil and Peru. *The policy of the Mughals is bad ; their army is worse ; they are without a navy. The Empire is exposed to perpetual revolts. Their ports and rivers are open to foreigners. The country might be conquered, or laid under contribution, as easily as the Spaniards overwhelmed the naked Indians of America.*

"A rebel subject, named Ali Vardi Khan, has torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughal Empire. He has treasure to the value of thirty million sterling. His yearly income must be at least two millions. The provinces are open to the sea. Three ships with fifteen hundred or two thousand regulars would suffice for the undertaking. The British nation would co-operate for the sake of the plunder and the promotion of their trade."

4. Miscellaneous

We stumble against Europeans of all descriptions throughout the history of the Mughal Empire in India from the moment of Akbar's first acquaintance with them at Cambay. Besides traders, missionaries and political agents, they appear also as mercenaries, physicians, surgeons, distillers,[2] engineers, gunners, pirates and impostors. This miscellaneous lot came from all nationalities of Europe. They were acting as individuals mostly, or perhaps in groups, but always representing themselves, and not any national or responsible organization. Still, the times were such, that even their more respectable compatriots in India often winked at their doings, because they were helpful in their own way in pushing forward the cause of the Europeans in this country. The support derived from these insidious forces in building up European enterprise, whether commercial, military or political, is not to be lost sight of. The European on that account was both feared and respected, if not also looked upon with suspicion. In relation to the Empire, or rather the Emperors, we come across great missionaries like Manrique, Aquaviva and Xavier, high political and commercial emissaries

1 Cited by Basu, *op. cit.* (2nd ed.), p. 44.
2 Europeans had often the monopoly of this trade. See Manucci, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

like Mildenhall, Roe and Hawkins, La Boulle le Gouz and Bebber,[1] individual adventurers like Manucci, disinterested travellers like Bernier and Tavernier, Mughal officials like Zu'lqarnain and god-mothers like Donna Juliana. In the writings of some of these, we have pen-portraits of a host of European path-finders who have directly and indirectly contributed to the destruction of the Mughal Empire and the raising of a new edifice out of its ruins.

(vi) The Legacy of the Empire

'A tree, it is said, is judged by the fruit it bears.' Having surveyed in some detail the history of the Mughal Empire in India, the question that naturally arises in our minds is, *What fruit did that Empire bear* ? We have witnessed its seed planted by Babur, the sapling uprooted under Humayun, replanted in a soil weeded and enriched by the labours of Sher Shah, nurtured at the hands of Akbar, bearing fruit under Jahangir and Shah Jahan—a golden harvest, perhaps, which yellowed in the autumn of Aurangzeb's rule, then withered rapidly in the winter of the 'later Mughal' regime, its branches either falling or hacked off to prevent the rot, which had set in at its roots, reaching its surviving parts. The Marathas struck at its rotten trunk which could not be propped up with all the efforts of the Afghans, Najib Khan and Ahmad Shah Abdali. Its revivifying offshoots were smothered either by the Marathas or by the English. An English oak now stands where once stood an Indian banyan. The Nizam's dominions alone survive today to remind us of its several *subahs*. But this to all outward seeming, the discerning eye might still see the entire past at our doors. The best and the worst of the Mughal legacy is in our very midst.

It would take us very long, indeed, to prepare a full inventory of our multitudinous heritage, but a few categories might be suggested as samples. We shall consider this subject, therefore, under the following heads : (1) the Political Legacy ; (2) the Economic Legacy ; (3) the Social Legacy ; and (4) the Cultural Legacy.

1. Political Legacy

This is perhaps the most delicate of all the issues involved in our study to be discussed with the frankness that the subject demands. The present is never entirely the legacy of the past ; it is the outcome of a multiplicity of causes among which contemporary forces are undoubtedly the most dynamic. Nevertheless, it is not to be denied that the legacy of the past—especially the more recent past—is one of the most potent influences at work in shaping our future, for better or for worse. Hence, a candid recognition of our indebtedness to the past (mixed as it is in its character) is a desideratum to progress. To cite only the most recent acknowledgment of this, the *Report of the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform* (1933-34)[2] states, "The arts of government and administration were not indeed unknown to the earlier Hindu Kings, and *the strong hand of the Moghul Emperors who reigned between 1526 and 1707 maintained a State which ultimately embraced the larger part of India and did not suffer by comparison with, if it did not even surpass in splendour, the contemporary monarchies in Europe.*"

This 'splendour' was not merely a deceptive glow, as is often repre-

1 Durate, on "The First French Embassy to the Mughal Court" in *The Times of India Annual, 1935.*

2 Vol. I, Part 1, p. 3. (Italics mine).

sented, but the true luminosity of a radiant object. It will not be forgotten, however, that there are black spots even in the sun ; and in the words.[1] of the Report above cited, "Though we claim for it neither infallibility nor perfection, since, like all systems of government, it has, at times, fallen into error, it is well to remember the greatness of its achievement." We might also caution the reader against the not too infrequent habit of judging the Mughals by the standards of our own times rather than by theirs ; and secondly, to remember that there is always a disparity between the promise and the fulfilment, whether in the medieval or in the modern governments of all countries. Yet, like the British, the Mughals, although they were foreigners, gradually (perhaps more rapidly) worked up towards popular acceptance. The measure of their success or failure is not without instruction to our generation.

The predominant trait of the Mughal rulers of India was their political instinct, if by this we understand the passion for conquest and the desire to rule. All their virtues and vices as rulers are traceable to this source. The adventurous Babur, the vacillating Humayun, the determined Akbar, the self-indulgent Jahangir, the imperious Shah Jahan and the dogged Aurangzeb displayed this character to an eminent degree, each in his own individual manner. Even under the later Mughals, most of whom were far advanced in age when they ascended the throne, we witness their love of campaigning as with Bahadur Shah I, their unconquerable spirit as in the proud declaration of sorrow by Kam Bakhsh at his being captured alive, their propensity to govern as in the peurile appointment of infants to high offices in which the imbecile Ahmad Shah indulged, and in the maintenance of all the regalia of their once imperious state by the last of the Mughals, even when the 'Emperor' was not master of his own person. The training of Princes of the ruling house to bear Imperial responsibilities, on the one hand, and their ruthless oppression of all other instincts in their one consuming passion to ascend the throne, on the other, were indications of the same trait. The successive revolts of the Mughal Princes and their declaration, not merely of independence but of their assumption of the insignia of the Imperator, were equally symptomatic of that identical characteristic. Akbar's conception of the union of secular and spiritual sovereignty in his own person, looked at in the light of this political instinct to rule, appears but as the obverse of which Aurangzeb's fanatical idea of a Muslim State was the reverse. The one pointed the way to success, the other to failure ; hence Mr. Pringle Kenedy's philosophic warning to his countrymen—quoted earlier—"The English won India by pursuing the methods of Akbar, let them not lose it by imitating those of Aurangzeb."

The essence of Political genius lies in the spirit of compromise, the capacity to understand divergences of interest, the ability to assimilate and synthesise. The Mughals showed these virtues eminently, generation after generation, during their rule of over two centuries in India. Babur and Humayun, though of an essentially religious frame of mind, could subordinate their sectarian loyalties to political exigencies seeing that they could gain the support of Persia only by changing their creed from *Sunni* to *Shia*. Akbar, not less intensely (perhaps more truly) religious than Aurangzeb, saw at once, with the unerring insight of a statesman both the true essence of all religions and the vital requirements of the political situation. He, of all rulers of India, seemed to have grasped the secret of welding into a national harmony the composite and discordant elements

1 Referring to the British achievements in India.—*Ibid.*

dwelling within this "warring world of Hindustan," and honestly attempted to "alchemise old hates into the gold of Love, and make it current."

Aurangzeb, the very embodiment of an uncompromising 'die-hard' in matters religious, could still keep in high command powerful Rajput generals and diplomats like Jaswant Singh and Jai Singh, and refrain from either killing or converting Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, who was completely at his mercy. Jahangir and Shah Jahan and all the other Mughals, whatever their personal leanings, on the whole maintained the eminently practical policy of Akbar, with negligible exceptions.

As a result of this, the conception of National State was possible, a State in which all sects of Muslims and all castes of Hindus, foreigners and Indians alike, could find employment for their talents, whether they belonged to the ruling race or not. In modern times, strange to say, under more enlightened auspices this ideal is yet to be reached by 'progressive' stages in some distant future. The reason for this is not far to seek. The English came to India as traders ; their instincts, unlike those of the Mughals, were for making large profits. Although the Company of traders has ceased to rule India, their compatriots who hold the destiny of this country in their hands, have not ceased altogether to look at this *Eldorado* with the eyes of their ancestors ; hence the 'safeguards'. The spirit of Queen Victoria's magnanimous Proclamation is being retailed to us in the pettifogging scales of traders. The enlightened trust and confidence which Akbar's policy breathed is checked every now and then by the shrinking suspicions of an Aurangzeb. This is due to the essential difference between the two : the Mughals settled in this country and made this land their own. There was, therefore, a complete identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled—at least to the extent it was possible under a monarchy, and a medieval monarchy at that. In their subjects' contentment lay their best security. After a generation or two the Mughals became *Indians*. They made this country their *patria* and did not look forward to enjoying their pensions or their profits away in distant homes. Hence they employed native Indians in all departments of the State, both civil and military, without restriction and without any racial discrimination. They needed no safeguards because they had nothing to keep away safely from their subjects, excepting their throne ; but even this evoked a genuine loyalty (except under Aurangzeb) because the person who occupied it was not unoften the son of a Muslim father and a Hindu mother (though never *vice versa*) ; the throne itself and the palace in which it stood displayed the workmanship of Hindu and Muslim craftsmen ; the wealth which made it possible, and partly was made possible by it, came from Hindu and Muslim coffers, collected by Hindu and Muslim officers ; as also were the armies that defended them all, manned and officered by Hindu, Muslim, foreign and Indian men, selected on a basis of merit rather than of race. In short, as Lord William Bentinck confessed—"In many respects, the Mohammedans surpassed our (British) rule ; they settled in the countries which they conquered ; they intermixed and intermarried with the natives ; they admitted them to all privileges ; the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and the conquered became identical. Our (British) policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this,—cold, selfish and unfeeling."[1]

We and the British have been the common inheritors of this legacy in India. Through the acquisition of the *Diwani* and other rights of the

1 *The Modern Review*, Dec., 1907 (Calcutta).

Mughal *subah* of Bengal, by the Company of traders, the administrative institutions of the Mughal Empire were transmitted to the British dominion in India ; but these—by the flux of time and circumstances, have been transformed almost beyond recognition now. Still, the original groundwork is visible in some parts ; our provincial and district administrations are derived from Mughal prototypes ; the powers of our externally appointed governors and viceroys, not altogether responsive to the chords of national life, are the relics of a past that is still living ; our Civil Service, composed of men-of-all-work imperially selected to administer Imperial as well as local interests, still reminds us of the *mansabdars*, shorn of course of their feudal military character and functions, and selected on more scientific lines ; our legal system is modern, but some of our laws are derived from codes prevalent in Mughal times ; our revenue system is a direct descendant of the Mughal organization ; our army is manned mostly by Indians, no doubt, but is largely officered, financed and controlled by an authority not more responsible to the people for whose defence it is ostensibly maintained than was the Mughal army ; and finally, the salaries of our governors, viceroys and our secret service men, just as they are still on the grand Mughal scale, are controlled as well by a power that has stepped into the shoes of the great Mughals.

This is not to denounce the present administration, but only to point out the historic survivals of a system that still persists despite the well-meaning efforts of an enlightened nation that is making the unique experiment of engrafting occidental democracy on an oriental stalk. Perhaps it could not have been otherwise in the nature of things, as the progenitors of the present government, consciously and deliberately, aimed at emulating the Mughals, as may be inferred from the following passage from a despatch of Warren Hastings, recommending to the Court of Directors of the East India Company the publication of Gladwin's translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

The work, says the Minute, "will serve to assist the judgment of the Court of Directors on many points of Importance to the first interests of the Company. It will shew where the measures of their administration approached to the principles, *which, perhaps, will be found superior to any that have been built on their ruins*, and certainly most easy, as the most familiar to the minds of the people, and when any deviation from them may be likely to counteract, or to assimilate with them."[1]

But, if Mughal survivals are to be traced in comparatively purer forms they might be found perhaps in our Indian States. For, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar has observed, 'The two hundred years of Mughal rule . . . .gave to the whole of northern India and to much of the Deccan also, oneness of official language, administrative system and coinage, and also a popular *lingua franca* for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. *Even outside the territory directly administered by the Mughal Emperors, their administrative system, official titles, Court etiquette, and monetary type were borrowed, more or less, by the neighbouring Hindu Rajahs.*" He further points out, "All the twenty Indian *subahs* of the Mughal Empire were governed by exactly the same administrative machinery, with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the one language used in all official records, etc. . . .Official and soldiers were frequently transferred from one province to another. Thus,

1 Gladwin, *Ayeen Akbery*, ed. by Jagdish Mukhopadhyaya, (Calcutta, 1906 ?), Preface, p. v.

the native of one province felt himself almost at home in another province ; traders and travellers passed most easily from city to city, *subah* to *subah*, and all realized the imperial oneness of this vast country."[1]

2. The Economic Legacy

No extensive survey, adequate or satisfactory in itself, of the economic conditions in the Mughal Empire, is possible in a brief and general review like this. What is aimed at, therefore, is to give some idea of the continuity of our present economic life, with reference to our heritage from those times. India at present occupies high and honoured place in the commerce of the world. Although her trade-history dates from very ancient times, her modern prestige is largely derived from the days of the Mughals. In more recent times, no doubt, our trade has grown considerably in volume and also changed in character ; but many of the conditions that have contributed to this transformation are directly traceable from the history under study.

In the first place, such valuable commercial traditions, as our country undoubtedly possesses, presuppose the existence of economic prosperity ; secondly, it is also axiomatic that such prosperity itself could not exist without there being continuous peace over stretches of time and country. We are too aware of the wars and rebellions, piracies and dacoities, famines and pestilences that punctuated the annals of the Mughals in India, to exaggerate the extent of that peace and prosperity ; but, when due allowance is made for all such accidents, in the history of those two hundred years and more, we have a clear balance in favour of an economic surplus. If it had been otherwise, the numerous Europeans who flocked to this country would have left our shores long ago, as mice do a sinking ship.[2] The East India Company built up the British Empire in India out of this trade ; and its 'nabobs', in service and in retirement, stimulated the Industrial Revolution in all its phases in England. In a sense, a substantial part of the political and economic greatness of England has risen out of the Mughal Empire.

The Mughals themselves were comparative strangers to the sea, and did not therefore, perhaps, pay as much attention to the creation of a fleet as the situation increasingly demanded. There are, however, references in the *Ain-i-Akbari* to the 'Admiralty', ship-building and the shipping trade, regulation of customs, etc., though most of this must have reference to river traffic. The Tamils and the Maplahs of Malabar were used to a sea-faring life, but their adventurous spirits were not harnessed by the Mughals, perhaps on account of their Empire not having extended far enough to include them. One contemporary writer has affirmed that "the Mogul's ships carry greater burdens than those of Europe, ... They use neither the Compass nor Quadrant, but sail from India to Persia, Bassora, Mocha, Mozambick, Mombasa, Sumatra, Maccassar, and other places, only by the help of the North-Star, and the Rising and Setting of the Sun."[3] But more and more, particularly under the later

1 *Mughal Administration*, pp. 238-39.
2 *Cf.* Chablani, *The Economic Conditions of India during the XVII Century*, pp. 69-71,
3 See Pant, *The Commercial Policy of the Moghuls*, p. 270. Really, this subject needs careful investigation before we dogmatise. The following evidence cited by the late Prof. Chablani, in his valuable study of "The Economic Condition of India during the Sixteenth Century," is of considerable interest :

"Our foreign travellers," observes Prof. Chablani, "speak not only of 'many ships' and 'large trade' in the many ports of India mentioned by them, but also of many 'Cambay, Bengala and Malabar ships' at the foreign ports. . . .The Venetian Nicolo Conti observes that the Indian ships then were *'larger than ours* (Venetian),

Mughals, the trade with Europe was carried on in foreign bottoms, and the Mughals found themselves increasingly at the mercy of the Europeans even to defend the shores of the Empire from pirates, as also the pilgrim traffic to Arabia. That this legacy of comparative neglect of the marine and naval requirements of India has duly come down to our own times is apparent from our subsequent maritime history. The following abstract from *The Times of India* of October 2, 1934, will be read with interest and profit :

"Of the forces in existence in India to-day the Royal Indian Navy (just inaugurated) must be the oldest. There has always been a sea force of some description in Indian waters from the early days of the East Indian Company ; in fact, the present Indian Navy was born in 1612 when the newly formed Company sent a squadron of four ships under Captain Thomas Best to trade with the country. Though the vessels were merely merchantmen, they were quite capable of defending themselves—a necessary provision considering that the Portuguese had already been here for nearly a hundred years.

"As a matter of fact Best's squadron was not long in showing what it could do. It anchored in Surat Roads and immediately afterwards, in a three-days battle, defeated the Protuguese. *These apparently so impressed the Emperor Jahangir that he granted the squadron a firman to trade.*

"The Moghul Emperor's interest in the force did not lapse after the first affair at Surat, and *from* 1759 *to* 1829 *a Captain of the Indian Marine was appointed annually to the post of Admiral to the Moghul Emperor, with head-quarters at Surat, in order to defend Moghul trading vessels. The officer fortunate enough to hold the post received about Rs. 85,000 for his year's service.*"

The East India Company's marine had, therefore, to do service as the "Indian Navy", while the Mughal Emperor's marine conscience was satisfied with the payment of Rs. 85,000 to his "Captain of the Indian Marine." That the same attitude has been maintained by the British Government in India is clear from the fact that since 1863 "*it was decided on grounds of economy to abolish the Indian Navy as it stood, and turn the defence of Indian waters over to the Royal Navy (of Great Britain). India subscribed £ 100,000 a year as its share along with other dominions and colonies for empire defence.*"

The nucleus of the Indian Navy now inaugurated (Oct., 1934), "At present consist of *four* sloops armed with 4 in. Q. F. guns, *one* building

capable of containing 2000 butts, and with five sails and as many masts.' Their l ower part is said to have been constructed with triple planks in order to withstand the force of tempests ; but some ships were so built in compartments that 'should one part be shattered, the other portion remaining entire accomplish the voyage'. . .. Calicut is described by Abdur Razzak as 'one of the greatest shipping centres of the world in this period,' and men of Calicut as 'bold navigators known as the Sons of China,' whom the pirates did not dare to attack. . . .Not content with their *atalvas fustas* and *zambucos*, the merchants of Goa met the Portuguese menace by gathering together a great sum of money and building in the Goa river 'fair *galleys* and *brigantines* after the Portuguese fashion and style' and made such good speed that in a short time a *great* part of the fleet was ready,' proving thus the existence of social facilities for ship-buiiding on the Western coast. . . .One of the Gujarat ships stopped by Sir H. Middleton on its voyage to the Red Sea in 1612 was 153 feet long, 42 beam and 31 deep and said to be 1500 tons burden ; and Edward Terry tells that . . . .'In these ships are yearly abundance of passengers, for instance, in one ship . . . .that year we left India, came seventeen hundred.' And this in an age in which English ships were 300 or 350 tons at most." (For further information read Chablani, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-69).

armed with the latest 4.7 in. Q. F. guns, *two* fast patrol boats and a mixed armament of 4 in. and 12 pounder guns, *one* survey vessel and *one* depot training ship. The personnel is roughly 117 officers, executive and engineer, and 1,027 other ranks. . . .Regarding the Indianization of the force, there are at the moment *two* Indian officers and *three* Indian executive officers, and there are *two* executive and *seven* engineer cadets, all Indians, *at present in England under instruction.*"

The main point to be noted is that, as under the Mughals, our maritime interests are still in other than Indian hands.

As regards other economic survivals from Mughal times, we might say that our internal trade still follows in the main the beaten tracks of old—the same roads and river routes and the same vehicles and country-craft are to be found, where these have not been displaced by the railways and other modern innovations ; agriculture still forms the most extensive industry and retains all the features it possessed, perhaps, in earlier than Mughal times ; some of the Mughal canals still water large tracts of agricultural land, especially in the Punjub ; indigenous banking and instruments and modes of exchange still operate in most parts of the country as they did in Mughal times ; and the Indian coins and weights and measures, where they are not identitical, are cognizable direct lineal descendants of their Mughal ancestors[1] *Virjee Voras* and *Jagat Seths* of Mughal fame have their descendants still dominating our economic life to the extent that their foreign rivals permit them to exercise their talents. The Industrial Revolution with its infinite trails of transformations still encounters, at every step in this country, obstacles bequeathed to us by the Mughal economy.

3. The Social Legacy

The Mughals were as bold in their social innovations as they were adventurous in the political field. To appreciate their endeavours in this direction we have to remember the character of Muslim rule in India prior to their advent, the conservative traditions of the Hindu and Muslim society in which they worked, and the nature of the times in which they lived. No doubt theirs was the age of Nanak, Kabir and the great socio-religious movements in all provinces ; but to initiate reforms on a comprehensive national basis, it was necessary that the attempt should be made by the Padishah of Hindustan and not merely by the founder of a new sect. Akbar is enshrined in our hearts even to this day, because he did not shrink from the great task of attempting to found a new society in India, a new nation that would be neither Hindu nor Muslim merely, nor any other, but INDIAN. In the memorable words of Bartoli, quoted earlier, "*For an Empire ruled by one head, it was a bad thing to have the members divided among themselves, and at variance one with other. . . .We ought, therefore, to bring them all into one, but in such a fashion that they should be* one *and* all, *with the great advantage of not losing what is good in any one religion, while gaining whatever is better in another. In that way honour would be rendered to God, peace would be given to the peoples, and security to the Empire.*"

Society in India is essentially religious and was more so under the Mughals. Hence, the social reformer had to encounter at every step the deep-seated religious sentiments of the people, whether Hindu or Muslim. And when that reformer was an alien like Akbar, the obstacles assumed a formidable shape. If a reformer arose among the Hindus or the Muslims

1 E.g., Our Rupee, the sheet-anchor of our currency to which our Government clings with inordinate attachment, is identical with the coin introduced by Sher Shah four hundred years ago.

themselves, however difficult his task, it did not seem quite so presumptuous as when an Akbar attempted to transform both and fuse them into, not a new sect like the *Nanak-panthis* or *Kabir-panthis*, but a new and homogeneous NATION. We have already traced the history of his Herculean endeavours in this direction, and there is no need of repetition. The prohibition of cow-killing and compulsory *sati*, the raising of the age for circumcision and marriage, the social control of drink and prostitution, the composition of sectarian differences among various communities by suggesting a common solvent, the abolition of invidious taxes based on religious differences, despite the loss to the treasury, the admission of all to equal official status, irrespective of race or creed, and above all, the encouragement of intermarriage between such divergent communities as the Hindus and the Muslims,—were the various channels through which Akbar sought to realize his great dream : to

> —"cull from every faith and race the best, ...
> gathering here and there
> From each fair plant the blossom choicest grown,
> To wreathe a crown not only for the king,
> But in due time for every Musalman,
> Brahmin and Buddhist, Christian and Parsee,
> Thro' all the warring world of Hindustan. . . .for no
> Mirage of glory, but for power to fuse
> My myriads into union under one,. . . .
> And alchemise old hates into the gold
> Of Love, and make it current."

That dream of Akbar is still the dream of India, and that is why we cherish in our hearts the dreamer no less than the dream. For a time the orthodox Brahmin and the proud Rajput, the heterodox *Shia*, and even the orthodox *Sunni*, with a few notable exceptions, seemed to acquiesce in the great endeavour ; nay, the idealists among both communities even looked forward to the coming of a Mahdi or the advent of a Ramraj ! Croakers like Badaoni, of course, there were, who denounced Abkar as an apostate, but the willing acquiescene and active co-operation of the unbending Rajput in the attempted social synthesis was the measure of the reformer's success. That this did not endure in all its manifoldness throughout the Mughal regime was due to a variety of causes (the most notable being the reaction under Aurangzeb) which need not be examined here. But that the dream was cherished by successive generations is indicated by the characters of Princess Jahanara and Princes Dara and Akbar. The re-admission into the Hindu fold of the daughter of Ajit Singh after having been Farrukh-siyar's queen until his assassination, as late as 1719, might be taken as the last historical token of this reformation started in the sixteenth century by Akbar. That enlightenment was eclipsed in the general decadence that followed, until certain aspects of it were re-emphasised by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Lord William Bentinck, Swami Dayanand Saraswati in more recent times. Even the unrealized or partially realized social dream of the great Mughal is, therefore, one of the most valuable of his legacies to our struggling generation. The Indian National Congress is attempting to solve the very problems which the Ibadat-khana had failed to resolve even under the auspices of Akbar's eclectic and synthesising genius.

4. The Cultural Legacy

Mughal Culture is a very vast subject which is as alluring as it is inexhaustible. We do not seek to dwell upon all its phases here. We have space only for a few comments

on some of its most striking and permanent features. The Empire of the Mughals has vanished for ever, but their personality endures in a thousand forms, visible and invisible. In our dress, speech, etiquette, thought, literature, music, painting and architecture, the impress of the Mughal is ever present. It is neither purely Hindu nor purely Muslim, but a harmonious and exquisite blending of the two. The art of a people truly reveals their soul ; and the real *Indian* art of to-day is a legacy came down to us from Mughal times. Where the earlier Muslims merely destroyed everything Hindu, the Mughals assimilated, synthesised and recreated in immortal form.

Our Hindustani dress, both of men and women, which is so elegant, graceful, dignified and charming, when not hybridized with European misfits, is the same that we see in Mughal paintings. Our Hindustani bearing, etiquette and forms of address, which are so majestic and yet not pompous, are a bequest to us from the Mughal courtiers and citizens. Our Hindustani music and musical instruments are those that gave pleasure to Mughal sovereigns, sardars and subjects alike, and derive their melodies from the soul of a melodious people. Our Hindustani painting with its delicate touches and delightful hues is but a vivid reflection of those picturesque times. Our Hindustani literature, whether Persian, Hindi, Sanskrit or Urdu, has come down to us with the impress of writers who either directly or indirectly enjoyed Mughal favour and patronage. And lastly, our Hindustani architecture, whether Hindu or Muslim, instead of following radically different lines, as might have been expected, "exhibits, on the contrary, precisely the same fusion of Hindu and Muslim ideals, the same happy blend of elegance and strength." As Sir John Marshall has observed, "Seldom in the history of mankind, has the spectacle been witnessed of two civilizations, so vast and so strongly developed, yet so radically dissimilar as the Muhammadan and Hindu, meeting and mingling together. The very contrasts which existed between them, the wide divergences in their culture and their religions, make the history of their impact peculiarly instructive and lend an added interest to the art and above all to the architecture which their united genius called into being."[1]

The efforts of the two large communities, which were apparently hostile to each other, to bring about a social harmony would indeed be a very profitable field of research and must be taken up independently. But it will be noted here in passing that the spirit of the age was peculiarly favourable to such endeavours. Among the Muhammadan rulers of the several kingdoms into which the Delhi Sultanate had broken up were several who might be considered the forerunners of the Mughals in this respect. Ferishta mentions that one of the Purbiya Sultans of Gaur enlisted 5,000 Hindu footmen as his bodyguard ;[2] and, according to Havell, "Muhammadan culture in Gaur, as in other parts of India, was a graft upon the old Hindu stalk and not an exotic transplanted from Arabia to Indian soil."[3] Likewise, at Jaunpur, under the patronage of the Sharki Sultans, mosques were built by Indian master-builders, both Hindu and Musalman. The memory of Husain Shah (1452-78) is still cherished in Bengal for his efforts to bring together the Hindu and Musalman communities, and his patronage of vernacular literature and art. The first Bengali translation of the *Bhagavata* is said to have been done by Maladhar Vasu, by his

1 *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 568 and 640.
2 Briggs, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 337.
3 *Aryan Rule in India*, p. 336.

orders ; as also a translation of the *Mahabharata.* The Sultan is also credited with founding the *Satya-Pir* cult,[1] a forerunner of the *Din-i-Ilahi.* The Hindu Chaitanya and the Muslim Kabir owned a large following from the Muslim and Hindu communities respectively. In the South, in the Bahamani kingdom, Brahman ministers controlled the finances of a Muslim State,[2] and the Vijayanagar rulers, despite their political conflicts with their Muslim neighbours, enlisted Musalmans in their armies and patronized their religion.[3] Prince Ibrahim of Golkonda (1560-81) similarly patronized Telugu literature.[4] In Gujarat, Malwa and Rajputana there are numerous examples of the blending of the Hindu and Muslim in architecture. But perhaps the most eminent of the forerunners of Akbar was Zain-ul-Abidin, Sultan of Kashmir (1417-67). Besides his abolition of the *jaziya* and the toleration of the Hindus, he encouraged literature, painting and music, and caused many translations to be made from Sanskrit, Arabic and other languages, irrespective of religion.

Under the Mughals, we find, therefore, only the fruition of this widespread tendency in a more prominent form. After a detailed survey of the history of Mughal painting, Smith observes, "Perhaps the most fruitful general observation arising from such persual is that of the predominance of Hindu names. For instance, in the *Waqiat-i Babari,*. . . out of twenty-two names, nineteen are Hindu, and only three Muslim. Similarly, in Abul Fazl's catalogue of seventeen artists, only four are Muhammadan, while thirteen are Hindu."[5] As with painting so with architecture and other arts and literature. It is not so much the number of Hindus that were employed that matters, but the fact that they were generously appreciated and patronized on a large scale and not merely as exceptions. Among the thousands of artists, artisans and master-builders that were engaged throughout the Mughal period in the construction of the numerous buildings, palaces and mosques, there were both Hindus and Muslims who worked in unison in order to produce the exquisite effects which attract to this day admiring tourists from all parts of the world. In some, as in the Jahangiri Mahal, the Hindu type predominated : in others, as in the temples of Brindavan, the Muslim restraint in external ornamentation showed itself. But these might be considered as experimental and tentative designs. The perfection was reached where the Hindu and the Muslim both merged their individualities in a sublime form, like that of the Taj Mahal, which is neither Hindu nor Muslim but INDIAN.

A few words may be added on our literary and scientific heritage. Hindu mathematical works like the *Lilavati* were translated into Persian. Sawai Jai Singh of Amber constructed his wonderful astronomical observatories at Jaipur, Mathura, Benares and Delhi.[6] A Sanskrit Pandit like Jagannath was patronized by even the comparatively orthodox Muslim Emperor Shah Jahan. The Hindu Epics and the *Vedas* and *Upanishads* and several other works on Hindu religion and philosophy, like the *Yogavasistha* and *Bhagavad Gita* were not merely translated by Muslim scholars into Persian, but were also studied with great avidity by Mughal Princes like Dara Shikoh and even Mughal Princesses like Jahanara.

1 Sen, D. C., *History of Bengali Language and Literature,* pp. 102, 222 and 797 (cited by Havell).
2 Ferishta, *op. cit.*, II, p. 292.
3 Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire,* I, pp. 395-413.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 413.
5 *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon,* (2nd ed.) p. 218.
6 See N. N. Law, *Promotion of Learning in India,* p. 196.

Likewise was Persian literature imbibed by the Hindus in the *madarsas* which were attended by both communities alike. Rajas Man Singh and Todar Mal were great enthusiasts in the propagation of Persian among their co-religionists. Thus chronicles in Persian came to be written by Hindus like Ishver Das, Bhim Sen and Sujan Rai. Birbal received the title of *Kavi Rai* on account of his poetry ; and Sur Das (the blind bard of Agra) was greatly admired. As another poet of Akbar's court declared, "Gang excels in sonnets and Birbal in the *kavitta* metre ; Keshav's meaning is ever profound, but Sur possesses the excellency of all three." Nevertheless, by universal acknowledgment the Emperor of Hindi literature in the age of the Mughals was Tulsi Das. Vincent Smith has described him as "the tallest tree in the 'Magic Garden' of mediaeval Hindu poesy." "That Hindu," he writes with admiration, "was the greatest man of his age in India—greater even than Akbar himself, inasmuch as the conquest of the hearts and minds of millions of men and women effected by the poet was an achievement infinitely more lasting and important than any or all of the victories gained in war by the monarch."[1]

The Mughals, no doubt, conquered Hindustan and established their Emipre therein, but a survey of their culture leads one to believe that their hearts were taken captive by the spirit of other-worldliness which has been so characteristic of Hindustan in all ages.

Thus, the Titan Aurangzeb sighed at the end of his days : *"Old age has arrived and weakness has grown strong ; strength has left my limbs. I came alone and am going away alone. I know not who I am and what I have been doing. The days that have been spent except in austerities have only left regret behind them. I have not at all done any (true) government of he realm or cherishing of the peasantry. Life, so valuable, has gone away for nothing. The Master has been in my house, but my darkened eyes cannot see His splendour. Life lasts not ; no trace is left of the days that are no more ; and of the future there is no hope.*

"Whatever the wind may be,
I am launching my boat on the water."

The greatest of the Mughals wisely inscribed on the *Buland Darwaza* (Fatehpur Sikri) at the end of all his glorious achievements :

"The world is a bridge ; pass over it, but build no house upon it. The world endures but an hour : spend it in prayer ; who sees the rest ? Thy greatest riches is the alms which thou hast given. Know that the world is a mirror where fortune has appeared, then fled ; call nothing thine that thy eyes cannot see."

(vii) The Lessons of the Empire

History, it hath been said, is philosophy taught through examples. Our eminent historian, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, has declared, "History when rightly read is a justification of Providence, a revelation of a great purpose fulfilled in time."[2] Whatever History may be, as promised in the Introduction, I have written "not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider." Nevertheless, I hope, the lessons of the Mughal Empire in India will not be lost sight of by the reader. Nothing is easier than, for us who live in power and prosperity, to judge lightly those that had their day and are no more.

1 *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 417.
2 *Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 473.

'Judge not that ye be not judged. Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.'

It is well for readers of the history of a fallen Empire to bear these Christian maxims in mind. But too frequently we find that, particularly foreign historians of India, in their conscious or unconscious desire to show that we moderns live in the best of times, apply to the Mughals tests and criteria that they would not apply to themselves. On the contrary, there are not a few among our own countrymen, who seek to glorify our past to such an extent that we easily become the butt of foreign ridicule. It is not to be forgotten that history hath its *inspirations* as well as *warnings*. The purpose of this Epilogue is to lay the finger on some of these.

Those who overemphasize the military character of the Empire, either lose sight of its positive contributions to culture and civilization or deliberately overlook these in order to traduce the past. "At its best," says one writer,[1] "the Mughal Government sought no higher goal than the maintenance of internal order and the preservation of external peace." That the Mughal Empire was not a mere "police state" has been demonstrated beyond doubt. The State-organization of several industries, the patronage of arts and letters and the social legislation of the Mughals, to which reference has been made already, are enough refutation of this preposterous hypothesis. That the Empire collapsed with the deterioration of its military strength is no proof in support of it ; no Empire, neither ancient nor modern, could stand if the 'sanction' of the military and police were either weakened or removed. But at the same time, no State can endure for long if it relies on physical force alone. Aurangzeb demonstrated the futility of this beyond all doubt.

Another fallacy of a like nature is the theory that efficiency of administration in India is directly dependent on the importation of foreign talent and vigour. The gradual disappearance of this invigorating exotic element, is attributed by the writer already cited to "the policy of 'India for the Indians' enunciated by Akbar." "The Mughal dominion," says he, "was thereby deprived of its real strength, and the way was paved for 'the dead rot and corruption which normally grasp an Eastern rule, when vivifying external sources of life are stopped."[2] In the first place, this is a misreading of Akbar's policy ; for Akbar, as admitted by the writer, never debarred foreigners. On the other hand, his "civil and military departments were staffed chiefly[3] by foreigners."[4] 'India for the Indians' is, therefore, to be interpreted as primarily in the interests of the Indians. This could by no means have contributed to the weakening of the Mughal dominion. As we have seen, Akbar's Indian policy made for its greater strength and stability ; the reversal of it set it on the downward course. The fall of the Mughals was due to other causes discussed already, and not due to its 'Monroe doctrine.'

Secondly, with regard to 'the dead rot and corruption which normally grasp an *Eastern rule*,' it will be recollected that the French Monarchy of the same period was only more rotten and corrupt than the Indian. Hence 'the dead rot' is by no means a necessary concomitant of 'Eastern rule'.

1 Edwardes and Garrett, *Mughal Rule in India*, p. 351.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 345-55.
3 What about the Man Singhs and Todar Mals ? Badaoni, as we have noted, inveighs against the exclusion of Muslims to give most of the chief places to native infidels.
4 Edwardes, *loc cit.*, p. 355.

The primary lessons to be learnt from the history of the Mughal Empire in India are that (1) Monarchy was good in its day and in its own way, but India to-day wants a more broad-based government ; (2) that, given the opportunity, she possesses the necessary resources and talents to shoulder such responsibilities ; (3) that, in order to avoid her mistakes of the past, she should find a NATIONAL and Rational, in place of her out-worn communal basis of life ; and (4) that she should remember, as Sir Jadunath has expressed, "No nation can exist in the present-day world by merely cultivating its brain, without developing its economic resources and military power to the high pitch attained by its possible enemies."[1]

The morning sun of the new age has risen.
Thy temple hall is filled with pilgrims.
The day is come,
But where is India ?
She lies on the dust in dishonour,
Deprived of her seat.
Remove her shame,
And give her a place in thy House of Man,
O Lord ever awake !

—*Rabindranath Tagore.*

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